STANDARD SERIES EDITION.

V. I.

THE POPULAR

HISTORY OF ENGLAND:

OF

SOCIETY AND GOVERNMENT FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO OUR OWN TIMES.

BY CHARLES KNIGHT.

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STANDARD SERIES.
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KNIGHT'S POPULAR HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

A HISTORY OF SOCIETY AND GOVERNMENT FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO OUR OWN TIMES.

By CHARLES KNIGHT.

VOLUME I.

To His Royal Highness Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, K.G., etc., etc., etc.:

Sir: My attempt to write a History of England more in unison with the requirements of the present age than the histories, still in common use, which were published in the last century, has reached its close after a continuous labor of long duration. My work is concluded at the period when your Royal Highness is about to complete your twenty-first year. On this auspicious birthday I present this history to your Royal Highness, dedicating it to you with profound respect.

The history of our country, thus soliciting your Royal Highness's gracious reception, was entitled "Popular," as being intended to form a history of the people as well as a history of the State. In tracing the gradual advance of this people out of slavery, feudal oppression, and regal despotism, to the attainment of equal justice and well-guarded rights, my duty has been to show how the union of liberty with order has at length made the British throne the securest in the world, reposing upon deep-rooted institutions possessing that capacity for safe because gradual development, which, at every stage of our national progress, has been fruitful in salutary improvement.

Humbly acknowledging the bounty of that Providence which has conducted this nation to a period of unexampled repose, apparent safety, and manifest prosperity, I echo the universal feeling in expressing my conviction that, to the constitutional principles and public virtues of the Queen, and to the great example of private excellence exhibited by her Majesty and the deeply-lamented Prince Consort, we owe very much of the good we now enjoy. Those social ameliorations which have been the happiest characteristics of the Queen's beneficent reign, and which it was the unwearied endeavor of your Royal Highness's illustrious father to promote, will, I have the assured belief, receive a new impulse from your Royal Highness's fostering care.

With the earnest prayer that by the Divine blessing your Royal Highness may be strengthened in every patriotic work, and may live long in the enjoyment of all domestic happiness, surrounded by the affections of the people, I have the honor to subscribe myself your Royal Highness's obliged and devoted servant,

Charles Knight.

PREFACE.

I wish to set down with plainness and sincerity the motives that have induced me to undertake a new history of England, and the objects I propose to myself in the task.

In October, 1854, upon the occasion of Lord John Russell delivering an address at Bristol on the "Study of History," the following observations appeared in the *Times*:

"We have no other 'History of England' than Hume's. The cool, scoffing philosopher, who could relate with unruffled temper the outrages of despotism, the vices of kings, and the extravagances of superstition, and reserved his criticisms for genius, and his sarcasms for zeal, still retains his place on our shelves and our tables. Goldsmith has put him out of boys' schools, and Mrs. Markham has hit on a style that does admirably for young ladies; but when a young man of eighteen asks for a 'History of England,' there is no resource but to give him Hume."

Many of the materials for "The Popular History of England" had been collected and arranged before these remarks were published. I had long desired to write a History of the People; a history which should not merely disport in "a gay wilderness of anecdotes, manners and customs, furniture and fashions," but should connect domestic matters with the course of public events and the political condition of the various classes of society. One observation of the accomplished journalist gave a definite character to this desire. I considered the "young man of eighteen" the representative of a very large class of readers in the present day—those, of either sex, who, with the average amount of intelligence that has now made us a reading people, have no superabundant leisure for pursuing the history of their country as a laborious and difficult study. The lawyer and the statesman cannot be satisfied with a compendious history. They must toil through much of the same mass of documentary material as that upon which the historical writer constructs his narrative. But for the great body of present readers, even twenty octavo volumes constitute a formidable undertaking. Hume was compendious compared with Rapin. But when we are content to forget "the scoffing philosopher" in the narrative powers of one of the most perfect masters of style—and can even patiently endure his studied perversions of historical evidence in our wonder at the skill of the most subtle of casuists—we have yet to seek for a history of England. Hume gives us the history of our country to 1689. More than a century and a half of the most instructive history of modern times is to be sought in professed "Continuations," which, if they are free from the taint of Hume's manifold defects, have little claim to share the honor of his surpassing merits. Smollett takes up the narrative of Hume; and, with no great labor of research, finds his way through another seventy years. We have to choose between the "Continuations" of Smollett for the history of nearly a century before we reach our own period. Looking at the bulk of these various performances which have been accustomed to travel in an ill-assorted companionship with Hume, we may ask if a history of proportionate dimensions is not wanting in our time? Above all, is not a *compendious* work, full without overflowing, and written upon an uniform plan, particularly needed, "when a young man of eighteen asks for a 'History of England'?"

In coming to a definite view of the nature of the book which I should desire to offer, I had no inducement to depart from my original design of writing a History of the People. Such a history appears to me best suited for those who are putting on the duties of life, and looking forward to discharge them with a clear view of their rights and obligations, founded upon a comprehensive understanding of the past. But to avoid giving an impression that I was about to write the domestic history of our country, apart from its public history, I determined to entitle my book "The Popular History of England." Let me endeavor to explain my views on this second point.

Dr. Johnson, in conversation with Dr. Robertson, is related to have said: "I have heard Henry's 'History of Britain' well spoken of; I am told it is carried on in separate divisions, as the civil, the military, the religious history. I wish much to have one branch well done, and that is the history of manners, of common life." To this Robertson answered: "Henry should have applied his attention to that alone, which is enough for any man." Dr. Robertson, I pre-

sume to think, did not take a complete view of this subject. "The history of manners, of common life," is essentially dependent upon "the civil, the military, the religious history" of a nation. Public events act upon the condition of a people, and the condition of a people interchangeably acts upon public events.

But history, as it is generally written, deals too exclusively with public events; and it is carried on too much "in separate divisions." We ought not only to chronicle the acts of sovereigns and statesmen, but we should "read their history in a nation's eyes." We should understand the inseparable connection between the State history and the domestic. When there is prosperous industry and fireside comfort, then, it may be assumed, there is good government. When labor is oppressed and homes are wretched, then, however powerful may be authority, and arms however triumphant, there is "something rotten in the State."

Properly to trace this essential connection between government and people, we must look at history from a new point of view. We must put the people in the foreground. We must study events and institutions, not as abstract facts, but as influencing the condition of a whole nation,

"The monstrous creed of millions made for one—"

it is gone. Let us look at the "millions" with another faith—the faith of our own times.

The people, if I understand the term rightly, means the commons of these realms, and not any distinct class or section of the population. Ninety years ago, Goldsmith called the "middle order of mankind" the "people," and those below them the "rabble." We have outlived all this. A century of thought and action has widened and deepened the foundations of the State. This people, then, want to find, in the history of their country, something more than a series of annals, either of policy or war. In connection with a faithful narrative of public affairs, they want to learn their own history—how they have grown out of slavery, out of feudal wrong, out of regal despotism, into constitutional liberty, and the position of the greatest estate of the realm. They want to know how the course of events, the principles of government, and the progress of all our social institutions, have affected their condition. They want to know how the discoveries of science and the refinements of art and literature have raised them in the moral and social scale. They want to know how the great work of the elevation of industry has progressed from age to age in past times, and from year to year in our times. They want to learn the history of the English home, as well as the history of the English State.

The province of the historian is symbolized by those paintings of the Muse of History which represent her with a half-expanded scroll. She has a great office—to make the past intelligible to the present for the guidance of the future:

"Past and Future are the wings
On whose support, harmoniously conjoin'd,
Moves the great spirit of human knowledge."

But the contemplative and passionless muse also points out the humbler but not less important duty of the patient antiquary, who unrolls many a forgotten document "rich with the spoils of time." This is the office which Sir Philip Sidney somewhat satirized when he described the historian, "loaden with old mouse-eaten records; authorizing himself for the most part upon other histories, whose greatest authorities are built upon the notable foundation hearsay; having much ado to accord differing writers, and to pick truth out of partiality." This is the especial labor of him who attempts to write a popular compendium of the history of England. But to be popular he need not be unphilosophical; to be truly philosophical he must be invariably accurate, and occasionally minute. He has to select from a vast storehouse of facts; but he cannot make a judicious selection without a broad comprehension of their relative value. How these facts are to be grouped—what the prominence to be given to individual facts—depends very much upon his preconceived theory of the office of historian. "History," it is said, "is philosophy teaching by example." This aphorism was promulgated when it was thought expedient to regard history as a vast collection of raw material that might be worked up into illustrations of moral science, in which science political and religious theories were necessarily included. But the tendency of much modern historical writing has been somewhat in the opposite direction. Striking events and interesting personages have been exhibited in prominent relief, without any great attention to the figures of the background, or the relation of the scene to the multitudinous occurrences and opinions of its own age or of previous ages. It is in the due admixture of the individual and the general that history should find the course of its highest duty—that of popular instruction. For myself, I may say that having no pretension to aim at what is called the dignity of history; not laboring to establish any preconceived theory of public good beyond asserting the great principle of social progress; and cherishing a disposition more to general tolerance than sectarian animosity; I aspire only to make the history of my country a connected narrative of the progress of the people of my country. If I accomplish this I shall not be very careful about selecting facts that may especially vindicate "philosophy teaching by example." I shall tell fairly what I believe to be true, without concerning myself whether it offend or conciliate adverse opinions, political or religious. The time is long since past when the deposition of Richard II. was considered a dangerous precedent as regarded the Crown; and the time is not far distant when Dunstan and Becket may have a candid appreciation without a real or implied prostration before any principle of Church supremacy. All men who have had a marked influence upon their time demand to be exhibited in connection with the circumstances amid which they operated. On the one hand, whatever may be the spirit of an age, individual worth and delinquency, wisdom and folly, reason and passion, have had very much to do in the advancement or retardation of that spirit. On the other hand, the spirit of an age, however hidden or imperfectly seen, has always exercised a great control upon all individual action, for good or for evil. Gray, in his quality of a philosophical poet, has said that,

"Love could teach a monarch to be wise,
And gospel-light first dawned from Bullen's eyes."

But out of the fierce passion of Henry, or the fatal ambition of Anne, no "gospel-light" would have shone, had not Wickliffe and Luther banished some of the darkness that preceded the dawning.

The one great fact that renders it so imperatively necessary that the Englishman should be familiar with the history of his country—not merely of its regal annals, but of all the varying aspects of society—is this: All that we justly pride ourselves upon, whether in our institutions or our national character, has resulted from the principle of growth, and not of creation. The history of every nation "has been in the main sequential." Each of its phases has been "the consequence of some prior phase, and the natural prelude of that which succeeded it."* Most especially must this great principle be borne in mind—a principle which the writer now quoted terms "the new science"—in writing upon English history, with the advantage of our modern additions to the materials of historical knowledge. It will be my first endeavor to keep this principle in view, in treating of our national history, civil and ecclesiastical, before the Conquest. The early history of the Anglican Church—its martyrdoms and its conversions, its humanizing influences of piety and learning, its rich endowments, its corruptions, its struggles for supremacy—is a history to be traced in all the subsequent elements of our ecclesiastical condition. Upon the Roman and Saxon civilization were founded many of the great principles of government which have preserved their vitality among us during the lapse of sixteen centuries. The Norman feudality could not destroy the municipal institutions which we derived from the one, nor weaken the spirit of personal liberty which we inherited from the other. The Norman despotism was absorbed by the Anglo-Saxon freedom; and feudality could only maintain itself by the recognition, however incomplete, of the equal rights of all men before the law. From the deposition of Richard the Second to the abdication of James the Second, every act of national resistance was accomplished by the union of classes, and was founded upon some principle of legal right for which there was legal precedent. Out of the traditional and almost instinctive assertion of the popular privileges have come new developments of particular reforms, each adapted to its own age, but all springing out of that historical experience which we recognize as constitutional.

* "History, as a Condition of Social Progress," by Samuel Lucas, M.A.

It is this step-by-step progress which renders it so imperative upon the modern historian not to leap over any one phase of national advance; and thus it necessarily results that it being now seen that no portion of the history of our country is unimportant, our earlier history must require an expanded treatment, if we would rightly comprehend the essential connection of every one of its parts as links of the same chain.

It may be desirable to indicate, very briefly, the general distribution of the several parts of this history. It will not be carried on "in separate divisions." It may be convenient to a writer to treat of a period under distinct heads, such as those adopted by Dr. Henry—Civil and Military; Ecclesiastical; Constitution; Learning; Arts; Commerce; Manners—but such an arrangement necessarily involves a large amount of prolixity and repetition. The intervals, also, at which the several divisions occur in works so conducted are much too long; for, in a century and a half, or two centuries, social changes are usually so great that the laws, learning, arts and customs of the beginning of such a period have little in common with those of its conclusion. At convenient intervals, in this work, a chapter will follow the State history, in which these various aspects of society will be embraced. Thus, accompanying the early narrative, Chapter III. is devoted to such matters in connection with the Roman period, under the head of "Condition of the Country at the end of the Third Century." The same principle will be adopted at a marked point of the Saxon period; the same of the Norman; and so on to modern times. Neither will the distinction of reigns be so emphatically observed as is usual in our histories. The regnal years are most convenient chronological marks—as useful as milestones to the traveller. But as the traveller does not halt at each mile-stone to survey the country, so the historical reader should not be compelled to make a dead stop when a second William succeeds to a first, or a third Edward to a second. Except in very remarkable cases, which may be called revolutionary, society undergoes little change at the immediate period of the accession of one Plantagenet to another Plantagenet, or even of a Stuart to a Tudor. The changes are gradual, like those of the natural world. Great historical eras are as marked as the seasons. But as spring slides into summer, and autumn into winter, so we pass on from Domesday-book to the Charter of Liberties, and from the Conformity Bill to Catholic Emancipation, not by jumps from reign to reign, but by progressive scenes, in which others than sovereigns are conspicuous, and in which the accessories representing public opinion and society are of as much importance as the chief actors.

CHARLES KNIGHT.

CHAPTER I.

Belief that Albion was once part of the Continent—Legends—The Gauls—Britons assist the Gauls—Druidism in Gaul—Druidism in Britain—The People of Britain—Cæsar's Invasion, B.C. 55—Second Invasion, B.C. 54—The Romans quit Britain, B.C. 54—Condition of the Country after the Roman Invasion—Abury—Stonehenge—The Druidical Assize—Cunobelin.

ALBION was once believed to have been originally a part of the Continent: "That our ISLE of Albion hath been CONTINENT with Gallia hath been the opinion of divers." Thus writes Richard Verstegan some two centuries ago, and supports "the opinion of divers" with "sundry pregnant reasons."* One very satisfactory reason was pleasantly imagined a century earlier by Sir Thomas More: "Howbeit as they say, and as the fashion of the place itself doth partly show, it was not ever (always) compassed about with the sea. But King Utopus, whose name, as conqueror, the island beareth, even at his arriving and entering upon the land, forthwith obtaining the victory, caused fifteen miles space of uplandish ground, where the sea had no passage, to be cut and digged up; and so wrought the sea round about the land."† If King Utopus (by which name is shadowed forth Brutus, the mythic colonizer of Britain) had not performed this prodigious feat—compared with which a ship-canal through Darien would be the work of children scratching runnels in the sands—or if some greater power had not willed, in countless ages before Troy fell, and Brutus was a wanderer, that this labor was unnecessary—no history of England would have been written. The Commentaries of Cæsar, our first authentic historian, would have dealt with that small peninsula as a portion of Gaul. The Roman, the Saxon, the Dane, the Norman, would not have struggled for the mastery of THE ISLAND during ten centuries. For four centuries onward the great mixed nation, which had grown upon the island, would not have gone forth in their ships to crusade or conquest. What is more important, they would not have gradually modelled their own institutions at their own will, and have created a national character, which, at the end of four centuries more, enables them to look back upon a course of unceasing progress, whether of power in the state, or of civilization in the people. If this sea-bridge had remained, no "nook-shotten isle of Albion" would have planted America, or built up an empire in India, or colonized Australia. The language which was filling the earth would have had no distinct utterance. In the literature of that language, we should not have boasted a nobler possession than "the wealth of Ormus or of Ind." The history of England would have been the history of a province.

Our island history commences with Cæsar. Fables, such as Geoffrey of Monmouth's, translated out of the language of Brittany, of a line of kings before the Romans, have left one legend that has become to all a wondrous reality—the story of King Lear. But all these legends, the cherished lore of the monasteries, were the assured belief of the chivalric ages. Spenser has versified them; Milton has embodied them in stately prose, with a poet's half credulity. No one now craves "to read those books," as the Knights of "The Faery Queen" desired:

"burning both with fervent fire
Their country's ancestry to understand."

Our genuine ancestry has stirring stories enough for the gratification of the most romantic temper. For in the real narratives of that ancestry, we not only read, in the very earliest times, of kings and priests, and mighty warriors, but of a people with strong passions and generous impulses: brave, enduring; dangerous enemies, zealous friends. The first distinct trace of this people is an interesting record of the beginnings of a great nation.

In that portion of Brittany which is now known as the department of Morbihand welt a maritime tribe, whom Cæsar describes as the Veneti. The Morbihan, or Little Sea, is a gulf, navigable, amid shoals and sand-banks, to Vannes—a name derived from the Roman name of the inhabitants. The towns of this dangerous coast, where the storms of the Atlantic render even modern navigation very difficult, were built, according to Cæsar, upon promontories and tongues of shore almost inaccessible, defying a land force when the tide was at flood, and secure that hostile ships would be stranded at the ebb. The hardy race living on this seaboard had a navy of no contemptible character. Their vessels were of small draught, so as to navigate the land-locked shallows; and yet so strongly built as to dare the tempests of the great ocean. The Veneti traded with Britain. In all probability they had a common language with the natives of our southern coasts; unquestionably they had a common religion. Cæsar had overrun the greater part of Gaul; but the Veneti defied him, and seized his envoys who were commissioned to procure corn. The vigorous Roman built a fleet on the Loire, and prepared to march into the revolted country. The Veneti sent for succor to Britain, and the Britons answered the call. They came, no doubt, in strong boats, such as Cæsar described the Veneti to possess, with flat bottoms, and high prows, and sails made of hides—boats which would bear the fury of the gales between the Lizard's Point and the Bay of Biscay. They came to resist oppression, without a fear of being themselves oppressed. They knew of the power of Rome from the merchants who trafficked with them for the produce of their tinmines; but in their island strength they had no dread of their own subjugation. The Roman poet called them "the Britons almost separated from the whole world." "What greater barrier is there," said Titus to the Jews, "than the wall of the ocean by which the Britons are surrounded?"* In that wall they placed their security. But the barrier that rolled between them and the European continent was even then their great highway. They sailed to the aid of the Veneti; and by this fearless generosity brought down upon themselves the vengeance of Cæsar after he had made a conquest of their allies.

* "Restitution of Decayed Intelligence," chap. iv. 1673.
† "Utopia," book ii. chap. i.

* Flavius Josephus, lib. ii. c. xvi.

Of the masterly description which the conqueror of Gaul has left of the people of that region, very much applies to the people of Britain, of whom his pictures are less minute. The peculiar characteristics of our own islanders are tolerably well established by various testimony. In the religious condition of the Gauls and the Britons there was no difference. There was little difference, perhaps, in their civil state.

Very near the confluence of the river Auray with the waters of the Morbihan is the plain of Carnac, where stands a vast monument of the days of Druidism; larger far than Stonehenge, but of less finished construction. The common road passes between rows of high stones for half a mile: and of these rows there are eleven, the separate stones having intervals of about fifteen paces. Of this stupendous work there still stand four thousand stones. The district is full of other works of man which we call Druidical. Even at the beginning of this century the religion of the simple people of that stormy coast was associated with the legends of the antique worship. Once a year priests came in a boat to say mass over the remains of an engulfed city, where great blocks of stone, held to be relics of Druidical temples, were to be seen at low water.* And the people in their fishing-boats gathered round the priests, and the voice of prayer went up to Heaven—a voice of solemn memorial to ancestors whose faith still lingered amid a purer worship, as the mistletoe of the Druidical oaks still mingles with the evergreens of Christmas. "The system of Druidism," says Cæsar, "is thought to have been formed in Britain, and from thence carried over into Gaul; and now those who wish to be more accurately versed in it go to Britain, in order to become acquainted with it."

"Nothing in the early existence of Britain indicated the greatness which she was destined to attain."† Thus writes the most eloquent historian of our own day. It has been too hastily supposed that mere savages peopled this Britain in her early existence. The Britons, as known to the Romans, were a people of high courage, disciplined and obedient to authority, and yet impatient of subjection; not unacquainted with some important arts of life; exchanging commodities for money of copper and iron; mining and smelting their native tin; possessing an agriculture not wholly unscientific, for they understood the process of marling, and raised cattle in great numbers: a naval people, with boats and probably vessels of burden, sailing far away into a tempestuous sea; a warlike people, with swords and shields and chariots, that could not be fabricated without some mechanical knowledge; a religious people, building temples of gigantic proportions, and raising memorials of the dead in earthworks that rival the wonders of modern engineering. Their priests were their law-givers, and the great ministers of whatever moral or material civilization they possessed; and we see that the most perfect element of the learning of the priests was considered to exist in Britain. Were these teachers and lawgivers surrounded by few votaries and subjects? "The population is very great, and the buildings very numerous," says Cæsar. All merely savage nations never replenish a land, because they never subdue it to their use.

"The system of Druidism" has been minutely described by Cæsar. The Druids were the ministers of sacred things. The young resorted to them for instruction. They were the arbiters of disputes, the judges of crime; and men under their interdict were held accursed, and were banished from human intercourse. Over this body one chief Druid presided. The Druids were exempt from military service and from the payment of taxes. Their instructions were oral. They held that after death the soul does not perish. Their sacrifices were brutal; for they offered up criminals to propitiate the gods, and if criminals were wanting they sacrificed the innocent. Their teaching was not confined to their own worship. They discoursed of the heavenly bodies and of their motions—of the extent of the world, and the people of distant climes. But there was another order with power and privilege—the Equestrian. The Knights had armed followers, as the Druids had studious disciples. There were bards also who sang the praises of their heroes, even as Sir Philip Sidney heard the old song of Percy and Douglas sung by some blind crowder—for the crowd, or rote, a wheel striking on strings, was the instrument of these our ancestral lyrists. But the great mass of the people were dependent upon the two privileged orders, at least in Gaul, and were oppressed by grievous exactions—the vassals of hard taskmasters. The land, however, being divided among many tribes, under chieftains with royal authority and military command, there was probably a species of clanship, in which there was servitude on one hand and protection on the other. Diodorus Siculus, a contemporary of Cæsar, says that the Britons, whom he describes as simple in their manners and frugal in their modes of living, have many kings and princes, and for the most part live peaceably together." However brave and however cruel in the debasing custom of human sacrifice, their passions were under subjection to their intellectual leaders. Diodorus says of the Gauls, "not only in the concerns of peace, but even of war, not friends alone, but even enemies also, chiefly defer to them [the Druids] and to the composers of verses. Frequently, during hostilities, when armies are approaching each other with swords drawn and lances extended, these men rushing between them put an end to their contentions, taming them as they would tame wild beasts."* Ptolemy, the geographer, who flourished about a century and a half after the Romans had become acquainted with Britain, describes its inhabitants as "impatient of restraint, and fond of liberty; warlike, laborious, fierce and imperious, ingenious and high-spirited."† The Roman writers who have told the stirring story of their conquest, have exhibited, with a just admiration, some heroic examples of this national character.

Upon the shores, then, of this our Britain, in the latter part of the summer of the year 55 before the birth of the Redeemer, appeared a mighty fleet crossing the narrow sea from a port between Calais and Boulogne. Nineteen hundred years ago, on those chalk cliffs whence the coast-guard now watches the steamboat threading its rapid way over the Channel, stood the solitary fisherman, amazed at the sight of eighty ships of burden, and vessels with oars, bearing upon a land whose natural harbors had as yet given shelter but to the petty barks of foreign traffickers—the exchangers of copper for tin, and of ornaments for oysters. He might know that ambassadors and hostages had been sent to Cæsar; he might know that his countrymen had fought against the Roman, and that vengeance was threatened. It was now at hand. The alarm went inland through many a tribe. The four princes of the Cantii, or men of Kent, rapidly gathered their followers. Nearer and nearer came the galleys. And now the gazers from the cliffs could descry the legionaries and their ensigns. The armed natives crowded to the heights, shouting defiance from their natural defences. There was risk in encountering a fierce people at such a point. Cæsar had acquired some information of the character of the coast; and he turned his prows northward. Between Walmer and Sandwich the flat beach offered a safer place to plant the foot of a conqueror. The ten thousand soldiers on board the ships saw the beach crowded with horses and chariots, and skin-clothed and painted infantry, with great pointless swords, and small shields, howling in contempt, or encouraging each other with songs of battle. The Romans hesitated; but the standard-bearer of the tenth legion leaped from one of the galleys into the water with the cry of "Follow me." Then met the British and the Roman arm in mortal conflict; but discipline made good a landing against obstinate courage.

The Britons retreating before the legions, Cæsar advanced into the interior, and encamped, according to some writers, on Barham Downs. The great Consul had no desire to remain in the country, and he contemplated wintering in Gaul. He was ready, therefore, to conclude a treaty with the invaded tribes. But a storm arose and scattered the ships which were bringing the Roman cavalry to these shores; and a heavy spring tide—an unfamiliar phenomenon to the people of the Mediterranean—dashed the transports on the beach, and swamped the lighter galleys. The Britons, encouraged by these misfortunes of their enemy, broke the peace. Cæsar says the Britons were signally defeated. He hastily repaired his ships, and sailed to the opposite shore, even without hostages. But early in the next year he returned, with a greater armament, to a sterner conflict. Again he landed on the flat shores of Kent, now undefended; and he marched forward to meet those whom he describes as the inland people, who, "for the most part, do not sow corn, but live on milk

* P. Chevalier, "La Bretagne," p. 639.
† Macaulay, "History of England," chap. i.

* Hist. lib. v. c. xxxi. † De Judiciis, lib. ii. c. iii.

and flesh, and have their clothing of skins." The people of Cantium either left his passage free or made no effectual resistance on the sea-marshes; but when he arrived at a river, most probably the Stour, he saw the rising ground behind occupied by the natives. His cavalry drove them into the woods.

Plutarch has an anecdote which he gives for the purpose of showing "the good-will and devotion of Cæsar's soldiers to him," but which also shows the nature of the resistance which he encountered in his invasion of Britain: "In Britannia, on one occasion, the natives had attacked the foremost centurions who had got into a marshy spot full of water, upon which, in the presence of Cæsar, who was viewing the contest, a soldier rushed into the midst of the enemy, and after performing many conspicuous acts of valor, rescued the centurions from the barbarians, who took to flight. The soldier, with difficulty attempting to cross after all the rest, plunged into the muddy stream, and with great trouble, and the loss of his shield, sometimes swimming, sometimes walking, he got safe over."* The marshes were familiar to the Britons in a period long after that of Cæsar. A later historian says, "Many parts of the British country, being constantly flooded by the tides of the ocean, become marshy."† The marshes remain where the tides of the ocean still contend against the labor of man.

Again a tempest arose; and Cæsar returned to the coast. Meanwhile a leader had sprung up, who had marched some eighty miles from the country divided by the Thames from the maritime states; and he, Cassivelaunus, or Caswallon, gathered his once hostile neighbors round his war-chariot, and showed a bold front to the Roman masses. Pressed by the invader, he fought his way back to his own territories; and, having crossed the Thames, he endeavored to stop Cæsar's advance by fixing sharp stakes in the bed of the river at the only fordable point. Bede, called the Venerable—the most interesting and trustworthy of our Saxon historians—writing in the eighth century, says, "An immense multitude of the enemy had posted themselves on the farthest side of the river, under the conduct of Cassibelan, and fenced the bank of the river, and almost all the ford under water, with sharp stakes; the remains of which stakes are to be there seen to this day, and they appear to the beholders to be about the thickness of a man's thigh, and, being cased with lead, remain immovable, fixed in the bottom of the river." A part of the river, near Oatlands, is called Coway-stakes even now; and there to *this* day in the bed of the river the stakes remain, formed of the bodies of young oak-trees. The map of England will show how direct a course it was from the country about Canterbury to the Thames near Walton, without following the course of the river above London. Having crossed the Thames, Cæsar would march with no obstacle, from the nature of the country, upon the capital of Cassivelaunus—St. Alban's, in the territory of the Cassi, from whom we probably derive the name of Cassio-hundred. According to his own account, the people whom he encountered in his progress were the Cantii of Kent, the Trinobantes of Essex, the Cenimagni of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridge; the Segontiaci, the Ancalites, and the Bibroci of Hants, Berks, and Wilts; and the Cassi. Cæsar represents his second landing as a conquest, and that the tribes one by one submitted. But the invaders quitted the country the same year, and went back to Gaul. Hostages he carried with him. Captives he might have taken to adorn his triumph. But he is recorded to have exhibited no trophies beyond a corselet of British pearls. Cæsar did not conquer Britain, says Tacitus, but only showed it to the Romans. It was ninety-seven years before another invasion was attempted. In the course of that period there was peaceful communication with Rome; and the whole island, according to Strabo, became "intimate and familiar to the Romans." But the people were as free as if Cæsar had never landed.

In this interval of our history, which it would be useless as well as tedious to attempt to fill up with any of the apocryphal annals of British princes, let us imagine a Roman peacefully traversing the island, and making himself "intimate and familiar" with the face of the country and the customs of the people. Let us take the period of Cunobelin, the Cymbeline of Shakespeare, who was brought up at the court of Augustus, and lived at the time of the accession of Caligula.

In passing from the coast to the interior, and traversing the island, it is not easy to believe that before the Roman dominion this was a country without roads. "King Dunwallo," says Fabyan, the chronicler, "called also Molmucius or Mulmutius, began the four highways of Britain." These, according to the same authority, were perfected by Belinus, his son, "who caused workmen to be called, and set them to pave with stone the said ways, that they might sufficiently be known to all way-goers or travellers." This is tradition—always doubtful and uncertain. The learned Camden has no faith in roads before the Romans. But the celerity of Cæsar's own military movements; the four thousand chariots which Cassivelaunus is recorded to have opposed to his progress, render it impossible to imagine that the country could have been so penetrated without roads. The marshy nature of the coast lands rendered roads absolutely necessary for communication; and some lands of the interior continued marshy when the Romans had been settled in Britain for a century. The British roads and the Roman roads alike indicate the character of the country. The British generally run along the chain of hills, throwing out lateral branches, as if to adjacent towns. The Roman, often elevated by great labor like a modern railway, run for the most part in a direct line from station to station. The natives availed themselves of the natural advantages of an undulating country to pass from place to place; the Romans saw that art and industry would convert the marshy places into firm causeways. Thus then, following the windings of the hills, and occasionally descending to the plains, where there would be sometimes thick woods, through which the roads passed—and sometimes corn-fields contiguous to the roads, where the laden cart moved the produce to the towns, crossing little streams at pebbly fords—would the stranger advance through a varied region. He would find the towns situated in a tract of woody country, surrounded by a deep trench, and defended by felled trees. The houses would show the same poor appearance which Caractacus alluded to when a captive at Rome: "Why do ye, who possess such numerous and durable edifices, covet our humble cottages?"* There were, perhaps, more durable habitations even then in Britain than wattled huts. Chun Castle, in Cornwall, with granite walls of prodigious thickness, is held to have been such a British work. The inhabitants of these wooded villages would be agricultural or pastoral, according to the nature of the soil. The corn-growers of the island would show the Roman, in peaceful confidence, their subterranean granaries. Diodorus Siculus says, "They gathered in the harvest by cutting off the ears of corn, and storing them in subterraneous repositories." They were a people who evidently had some great principle of association in their industry as in their religion. Passing through Kent, the stranger would see such pits near Crayford, narrow at the mouth like a well; but at the bottom spreading out into large vaulted chambers, one within another, supported by chalk pillars. In the estuaries, the Roman would observe the oyster-dredgers, whose labors supplied the luxurious tables of Rome, as well as their own simple boards. There, too, would be the mussel-seekers, now and then finding a pearl in the shell of a peculiar species. In the small streams would be seen the fisher in his coracle, rowing swiftly with one hand, and managing his lines with the other, even as the dweller on the Wye fishes at this day. On the rivers, on lakes, and on the coast, would be canoes of transit, carrying on a traffic of commodities, rudely and imperfectly, no doubt, but still the beginnings of a higher civilization, whose great elements are communication and interchange. Such a boat was found in 1834, in a creek of the river Arun. Hunters, too, he would see, chasing the hart, and the boar, and the bear, with small, lean, and shaggy dogs, as Oppian, a Greek poet of the second century, has described them, with blinking eyes and matchless scent. Wherever the stranger went he would find a people not devoid of energy. Their cold and uncertain climate compelled a laborious perseverance to secure the means of life.

The Roman visitor, as he proceeded inland, would be struck by some of the monuments of a rough but grand art which we are accustomed to regard as belonging to the religious rites of the Britons. As the popular faith of the Greeks and Romans was associated with the beautiful, that of Britain was connected with the vast; and these

* Life of Cæsar, s. 16, Mr. Long's translation in "Civil Wars of Rome."

† Herodian.

* Zonaræ Annalium, lib. xi.

erections, the results of great physical and mechanical power, were held to be the works of giants or spiritual beings. Of their peculiar uses we now know little or nothing. Near Aylesford, in Kent, the traveller in our day may step a short distance from the road and see Kit's Coty House—three large stones placed upright, the least stone being inclosed in the side ones, with a fourth stone laid flat over the three, leaving a space within where men can stand. There are similar monuments on the banks of the Jordan; at Darab, in Persia; and in the principality of Serapur, in India. We call these buildings in England cromlechs; and it is said they were erected for the purpose of human sacrifice. The Roman traveller would confide in the assertion of Cæsar that these sacrifices were frequent, and the victims numerous; and the people among whom he sojourned would not shrink from narrating the immolation of criminals as a laudable custom, even as their civilized descendants have approved of legalized slaughter for many offences which are now dealt with more mercifully. If he passed on to the great chalk downs of Wiltshire, he would see a vast tract of open country, whose chief features have probably undergone little change during more than eighteen hundred years. A road, acknowledged to be British, still crosses Salisbury Plain into Berkshire. A vast earthen rampart called Wansdyke extends for miles—a supposed defence of one tribe against another. If it were possible to imagine that our England of the nineteenth century should, in the lapse of ages, become again a country of dense woods and impervious marshes—if the record of our arts should perish, and our literature be as forgotten as the songs of the old British bards—some antiquary might speculate upon our railway cuttings and embankments, and hold that they were for purposes of warlike communication. In Wiltshire there are deep covered-ways or lines of communication from one British town to another, with broad dykes and banks of equal height on each side. Speaking of the people of this island at the time of the Roman invasion, Southey says, "The ferocity of their manners, little as is otherwise known of them, is sufficiently shown by their scythed war-chariots, and the fact that in the open country the path from one town to another was by a covered-way."* The covered-ways and war-chariots tell of something more than ferocity of manners. Burke, though disclaiming a belief in any great amount of what we call civilization among the British tribes, candidly says, "I cannot help thinking it something extraordinary, and not easily to be accounted for, that the Britons should have been so expert in the fabric of those chariots, when they seem utterly ignorant in all other mechanic arts."† If the Roman stranger came among these covered-ways, and saw the war-chariots driven along them in some great gathering for civil or religious celebration, he would recollect Cæsar's description of the British *essedæ*, and of the mode in which the charioteers would drive their horses down steep descents, rush onward to meet their enemy, and sometimes, leaving their chariots, fight on foot, man to man. But the Roman would also recollect that such was the practice of the warriors of Homer; and he would think the people not quite so barbarous as Rome believed. He would compare their mode of fighting with that of Hector, who, when dyke and wall opposed the passage of his chariots,

> "Full-arm'd betook him to the ground;
> And then all left their chariots when he was seen to lead,
> Rushing about him, and gave up each chariot and steed,
> To their directors."‡

Toward the northern extremity of the Wiltshire downs is the great temple of Abury—a circle of enormous stones, inclosing an area of twenty-eight acres, within which were two other circles. Year after year have these mighty blocks been broken up for building; but the plan of this vast amphitheatre can be distinctly traced. Near this monument is Silbury Hill, the largest artificial mound in Europe. The Roman might learn the history of this magnificent mound, in whose formation thousands must have labored for some great common object, some heart-stirring purpose, some form of hero-worship, some elevating impulse of reverence. Wandering amid these plains, the stranger would perpetually meet with sepulchral mounds, now called barrows. Here, in the tumuli where generation after generation were gathered, we still find the relics of old British art, such as the Roman might have observed, as ornaments of the person, or conveniences of the household, or weapons of war. Here are dug up flint and bronze arrow-heads and spear-heads, bodkins, necklaces and beads, urns and drinking-cups. The plains would look to him, as they do at this day, as a vast unpeopled region. But in truth the district is not level, but presents a succession of ridge upon ridge, with little cultivated valleys, where the abodes of man are hidden. The scene probably presented the same character in the early times—a pastoral district thickly populated—the seat of a central religion and government. In the heart of these plains is Stonehenge—once a perfect structure of huge materials symmetrically arranged. Cæsar says of the priests and judges of Gaul, "These Druids hold a meeting at a certain time of the year in a consecrated spot in the country of the Carnutes (people in the neighborhood of Chartres), which country is considered to be inthe centre of all Gaul. Hither assemble all, from every part, who have a litigation, and submit themselves to their determination and sentence." Stonehenge might have exhibited such an assize to the Roman visitor. From the great British towns of Silchester and Winchester, pilgrims might have poured across the plains by the roads which led direct to them. At twenty miles distant was Abury. The town and hill-fort of Sarum was close at hand. The solitude which now reigns around Stonehenge might have been broken by the tramp of multitudes, when the Roman traveller crossed these downs. He might probably encounter some wretched victim of the stern Druidical laws, who had been judged at this assize—a wandering outcast from society—an offender for whom life would have no further solace, even if life could be preserved in desert places, where he might herd with the fox and the wolf; for such penalties waited upon the offenders whose lives were spared by the sentence of the priestly lawgivers. They were cut off from fire and fuel. In the lapse of a century or two a milder worship and a more merciful law were to be the lot of the British people. Christianity was to come for a little while; and afterward a long night of barbarism, till it again returned to the coast of Kent, and the light shone in darkness, never again to be extinguished. But of those who brought Christianity to these lands, in the early days of which we have spoken, there is no record. Our poet, Wordsworth, alludes to the conjectures that belong to this unsolved question:

> "Wandering through the West
> Did holy Paul awhile in Britain dwell,
> And call the Fountain forth by miracle,
> And with dread signs the nascent stream invest?
> Or He, whose bonds dropp'd off, whose prison-doors
> Flew open, by an angel's voice unbarr'd?
> Or some of humbler name to these wild shores
> Storm-driven, who, having seen the cup of woe
> Pass from their Master, sojourn'd here to guard
> The precious current they had taught to flow?"

These questions cannot be answered. Enough that the stream has long flowed *for us:*

> "That stream upon whose bosom we have pass'd,
> Floating at ease, while nations have effaced
> Nations, and Death has gather'd to his fold
> Long lines of mighty kings."

In the early intercourse of Rome with Britain, the southern and eastern coasts were probably known to the strangers most completely, if not exclusively; but in subsequent periods the midland and northern districts became familiar to them, in a series of tremendous struggles with the hardy people. Cunobelin, one of the few famous of British names, was the most powerful of the kings before the invasion of Claudius. Nearly a century had elapsed between the invasion of Cæsar and that period, and the government of the country had manifestly sustained great changes. The separate dominion of many petty chieftains had been merged in that of kings, each ruling over large parts of the island. Cunobelin was king of the Trinobantes, whose territory embraced a large portion of South Britain. His capital, Camalodunum, is now considered, by most antiquarian authorities, to have been Colchester, or the immediate neighborhood. It was favorably situated for maritime communication by the estuary of the Colne. That Cunobelin was surrounded by some attributes of a later civilization may be gathered from the various coins of his reign which still exist. There are earlier coins, some bearing the name of Tasciovanus, supposed to be the father of Cunobelin. The numerous coins of the king of the Trinobantes were once thought to be of

* Colloquies, vol. i. p. 64. † English History, chap. ii.
‡ Iliad, book xii., Chapman's Translation.

Roman workmanship; they undoubtedly exhibit an acquaintance with the mythology of Rome and with Roman customs; on the reverse of some of them we see Apollo, Hercules, Pegasus, Medusa; on others we have types of British productiveness—a pig and an ear of barley.* There is abundant evidence that the great idea of imperial Rome was familiar to the rulers of England, although they were yet free from her chain.

CHAPTER II.

Caligula's mock triumph, A.D. 40—Expedition of Plautius, A.D. 43—Arrival of Claudius in Britain—Camalodunum—Temple of Claudius—Roman estimate of the British People—Defeat of Caractacus A.D. 50—Attack of Suetonius upon Mona, A.D. 61—Revolt of Boadicea—Destruction of British Cities—Defeat of Boadicea—Consulship of Agricola, A.D. 78—Defeat of Galgacus, A.D. 84—Hadrian: his Wall, A.D. 120—Severus, A.D. 208—Death of Severus, A.D. 211.

"Why tribute? Why should we pay tribute? If Cæsar can hide the sun from us with a blanket, or put the moon in his pocket, we will pay him tribute for light; else, sir, no more tribute."† The dramatic poet has faithfully interpreted the spirit of the Britons in their dealings with Rome, after the generation had passed away which had witnessed the might of the great Julius. The island was, no doubt, under the shadow of the eagle's wing, but there was no homage, and no violence. "There was a long oblivion of Britain," says Tacitus.‡

In the fortieth year of the Christian era, and ninety-five years after the invasion of Cæsar, Adminius, a son of Cunobelin, who had been banished by his father, placing himself under the authority of Caligula, instigated an invasion of his native country. During the previous reign of Tiberius there had been courteous intercourse between Britain and Rome; for the soldiers of Germanicus, who were shipwrecked on the British shore, were rescued and sent home by the islanders. Caligula, one of those monstrous examples which all history, and the Roman especially, presents, of an insane will united with an unbridled power, hastily resolved—abandoning the war which he was carrying on in Germany—upon a causeless invasion of Britain. He marched his legions to Boulogne; he embarked in a stately galley; and, having looked upon the white cliffs as he sailed a little way from the shore, he returned to the port, and, ascending a throne, commanded his troops to gather all the shells of the beach, and bear them in triumph to Rome, as "the spoils of the ocean." One monument of this folly remained for ages. On a cliff near the entrance of the port stood, till the year 1644, a Roman lighthouse, held to have been the building which Caligula is asserted to have set up on this occasion. In that year the cliff was undermined by the sea, and the lighthouse fell. At Dover there was a corresponding Roman pharos. The remains of each carry us back to the time when the masters of the world, amid the pride and luxury of their ambitious empire, left the footprints of a great civilization wherever they trod. They marked their course by works of utility. The Roman historians despised Caligula, his ocean-spoils and his lofty throne. But his pageant was to be played over again with a nearer approach to a stern reality. Seventeen hundred and sixty-four years after Caligula's survey of the coasts, came to the same spot another young emperor, flushed with power; and there he encamped his legions, and prepared his rafts for a mighty invasion. Suetonius tells the story of Caligula;* Thiers that of Napoleon.† The parallel is somewhat remarkable. In the centre of an amphitheatre, on the margin of the sea, was erected a throne for the French emperor. Before it, "after the model of the Roman people assembled in their vast arenas," were ranged the various corps of the army in close columns; and as the hero distributed rewards, the chosen "swore to shed their blood on the coast of England, to assure to their country, and to the man who governed it, the uncontested empire of the world." The camp broke up, almost as hastily as Caligula's. A useless column remains to tell of the modern pageant.

The mock triumph of Caligula had soon to be succeeded by a real struggle. Claudius became emperor; and he was stirred up to the hazard of an invasion of Britain by discontented fugitives from the power of the native rulers. He resolved to make Britain a province of the empire; and selected Aulus Plautius to cross the sea with an army from Gaul. At first he had to encounter a mutinous soldiery. A century had nearly elapsed since the Roman arm had come into conflict with the British. The popular opinion was that the Britons were a fierce people, beyond the bounds of the habitable world, whom Cæsar had vainly attempted to subdue, and who refused tribute to Augustus. The contemptible termination of Caligula's expedition might have been the result of similar forebodings among his legions. The troops of Plautius at last consented to embark. They were divided into three bodies, so as to land at several points. They were anxious and dispirited; but at length the Roman courage was aroused by the Roman superstition. As the fleet was coasting from east to west a meteor travelled over their course, shooting flames from the east, as if to indicate the point to which they should navigate. They landed without opposition; "for the Britons," says Dion Cassius, "from what they had learned, not expecting that they would come, had not assembled together; nor even when they arrived did they attack them, but fled to the marshes and woods, hoping to wear them out by delay; and that, as had happened under Julius Cæsar, they would go back without effecting their purpose."‡

During the reign of Caligula, Cunobelin had died; and his two sons, Caractacus and Togodumnus, succeeded to his power. It was against these princes that Plautius directed his attacks. There was the same course of strategy on the part of the invaded as in the time of Cæsar. They fancied themselves secure when they could place a river, of which they knew the fords, between themselves and their enemy. But the Romans had expert swimmers in their ranks, who, again and again, surprised the too confident natives, and drove them onward to their marshes. In the treacherous swamps and the pathless woods, large bodies of the Romans themselves perished; and Plautius, in the midst of victories, became irresolute, and sent for succor to his emperor. Togodumnus had fallen; Caractacus remained to brave the imperial power. Claudius comes: "He who waited ready with a huge preparation, as if not safe, though amid the flower of all his Romans, like a great Eastern king, with armed elephants marches through Gallia. So full of peril was this enterprise esteemed, as not without all this equipage, and stronger terrors than Roman armies, to meet the native and the naked British valor defending their country."§ Caractacus had retreated to the west. Claudius having, after his landing, joined his forces to those of Plautius, marched with an overwhelming power upon Camalodunum. His expedition to Britain was more a parade than a conquest. He was only sixteen days in the island. The army saluted him with the title of Imperator; and he returned to Rome, to assume the name of Britannicus, and to be worshipped as a god. The memory of his Britannic triumph is preserved upon his coinage.

In the ancient town of Colchester stand the walls of a vast square building, known as the castle. It is a work of most extraordinary size and solidity, far exceeding in dimensions and strength any of the Norman keeps, such as those of Rochester and London. The Roman tile is imbedded, with considerable regularity, in many parts of the wall; and the internal arrangement appears to be essentially different from the remaining examples of Norman defences. A theory therefore has been set up, and supported with great ingenuity, that this is the veritable temple erected by the Roman colonists of Cama-

* It is now held by many numismatists that the Britons practised the art of coining previous to the Roman invasion. In the received editions of Cæsar's Commentaries there is this passage: "Utuntur aut ære aut taleis ferreis ad certum pondus examinatis, pro nummo;" from which it is inferred that the Britons determined the value of pieces of metal by their weight, having no coinage. Mr. Hawkins has discovered that the passage in Cæsar was altered in the seventeenth century, and that all the principal manuscripts of Cæsar give the passage thus: "Utuntur aut ære aut nummo aureo aut annulis ferreis ad certum pondus examinatis pro nummo;" from which is derived the opposite conclusion—that they had brass and gold money. See "Remarks on the Ancient British Coins," in Monumenta Historica Britannica, p. cii.

† "Cymbeline," act iii. sc. 1.

‡ It is unnecessary to refer to the numerous passages of Tacitus which form the chief authority for many of the facts of this chapter.

* Cap. 46. † "Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire," livre xx.

‡ Dion Cassius, lib. lx.

§ Milton, "History of England," book ii.

lodunum, in honor of the deified Claudius. Tacitus, describing the revolt of the Iceni, seventeen years after the invasion of Claudius, repeatedly mentions the Temple of Camalodunum. "They" (the Britons) "regarded the temple erected to the god Claudius as the bulwark of eternal domination;" "Their substance was devoured by the priests who ministered in the temple;" "The veterans relied upon the shelter and strength of the temple." Without adopting or controverting the opinion that the Castle of Colchester is the actual Temple of Claudius,* the locality itself possesses the highest interest as one of the principal scenes of that great conflict which, after various fortunes, ultimately placed the whole of South Britain under the power of Rome.

It is extremely difficult minutely to follow the relations of the ancient historians in regard to the localities of the long Roman warfare with the British tribes. Nor is it necessary. We know distinctly that Vespasian, the lieutenant of Plautius, afterward emperor, conquered the Isle of Wight; but we also learn that the success of this general, who subjected twenty towns, was not accomplished without a perpetual struggle. His son, Titus, who in Britain was acquiring that military training which made him the great instrument of the divine will in the destruction of Jerusalem, is recorded to have saved the life of his father, who was "hemmed in by the barbarians, and in imminent danger of being slain." Although the southern and south-eastern parts of the island were comparatively tranquil and the Romans could pour in reinforcements along the whole line of the coast, and by the estuaries of the Thames and the Colne, numerous tribes were in arms in the north and the west; and those of the south and east, who had been imperfectly subdued, were ready for new efforts to throw off the yoke. The triumphs which Rome bestowed upon her victorious generals Plautius and Vespasian; the perseverance with which the most ambitious of her sons went again and again to the struggle with the so-called barbarians, are sufficient to show the importance that was attached to this distant empire. The common opinion of the low state of civilization among the people who thus contended with the greatest military power of the world, is amply refuted by the naked facts of this early history. Till Agricola came with the tranquillizing power of the great colonizer superadded to the brute forte of the remorseless conqueror, there was a perpetual series of revolts against the invader, more or less national. The stirring histories of Caractacus and Boadicea have furnished subjects for the poet and the painter; and the Roman annalists themselves have been eloquent in their panegyrics of the noble captive and the warrior queen. But, however magnified by the ancient historians may have been the heroism of individual leaders, the character of the people has received ample praise from the most acute and discriminating of Roman writers. According to Tacitus, they were resolute and fierce by nature; they would pay tribute and submit to the Roman levies, but they would bear no insult or injury; they would obey, but they would not be slaves. Assuredly the great composite edifice of the British character has been raised upon very solid foundations.

There is a lofty hill in Shropshire, near the junction of the Clun and the Teme, which still bears the name of Caer-Caradoc, the town of Caradoc. Caradoc was Caractacus. Tacitus has described the fortified place where the British chieftain met the legions of Ostorius Scapula, after that general had subdued the revolted Iceni, who inhabited Norfolk and Suffolk. The position of Caractacus was on a mountain-ridge, with a wall of stone for a rampart. At the foot of the mountain flowed a river dangerous to be forded, and hosts of men guarded the intrenchments. From the time of that great battle, according to Camden, the place was called Caer-Caradoc. The confederated Britons were unable to resist the Roman assault. The Britons fought with arrows, which did terrible execution as the assailants scaled the mountain-sides; but in the hand-to-hand fight which followed, the close order of the disciplined veterans prevailed against the tumultuous onslaughts of the hardy mountaineers. "Signal was this victory," says Tacitus; "the wife and daughters of Caractacus were taken prisoners, and his brothers surrendered to mercy." Caractacus put himself under the protection of Cartismandua, Queen of the Brigantes (the people of Yorkshire and Lancashire), by whom he was betrayed, and delivered up to the Romans. Tacitus says that he had held out against the Romans nine years. The invasion of Claudius took place A.D. 43; the defeat of Caractacus was in the year 50 or 51. The oration of Caractacus before Claudius and Agrippina is probably one of those many passages in which the Roman historians put on the attributes of the poet. Milton has expressed his contempt of such historical embellishments: "I affect not set speeches in a history, unless known for certain to have been so spoken in effect as they are written, nor then unless worth rehearsal; and to invent such, though eloquently, as some historians have done, is an abuse of posterity, raising in them that read other conceptions of those times and persons than were true."* And yet the speeches which Tacitus puts into the mouths of Caractacus, and Boadicea, and Galgacus were certainly intended to present true conceptions of times and persons. He lived very near to those times. If he were not in Britain himself, he must have attained the most accurate notions of the condition of the country from his father-in-law Agricola. When, therefore, he makes Caractacus say that he was a prince born of illustrious ancestors, and governing many nations—master of men, and arms, and horses, and riches—he means to exhibit, not the character of a proud savage, but of a high-minded chief of a warlike people—of the inhabitants of a land abounding in possessions, of which the Romans came to plunder them. The historian mingled the dramatic form with the narrative. The great captive enters Rome with his servants and followers bearing his war-trappings, and golden collars, and spoils that he had won in his native wars. His wife, and daughter, and brothers followed. But in the triumphal pomp the man himself was the great object of curiosity to the assembled people and the prætorian bands—he who had so long defied the imperial power. His renown had gone before him. The noble bearing of Caractacus, according to the historian, saved his life. To Ostorius was decreed a triumph; and the Senate proclaimed the capture of Caractacus as an event no less illustrious than those of past times, when conquered kings were presented to the Roman people as Syphax was by Publius Scipio, and Perseus by Lucius Paulus. But if Caractacus were spared other British captives had been offered as sacrifices to the love of ferocious excitement in the Roman people. In the triumph of Plautius, "many foreign freedmen and British captives fought in the gladiatorial combat, numbers of whom he (Claudius) destroyed in this kind of spectacle, and gloried in it."†

The tribes whom Caractacus had led, though scattered, were unsubdued. The Silures, a people of South Wales, continued to make the most obstinate resistance, insomuch that Claudius declared that their very name must be blotted out. Amid this harassing warfare Ostorius died, worn out with anxiety.

A few years roll on, and Nero wears the imperial purple. Since Ostorius there had been two commanders in Britain, Aulus Didius and Veranius. In the year 58, Suetonius Paulinus succeeds to the command. He ruled in tranquillity for two years, when he resolved to attack Mona (the Isle of Anglesey), the great seat of Druidism. Over the Menai Strait, where the railway-train now shoots with the rapidity of the hurricane, he transported his infantry in shallow vessels, while his cavalry swam across the passage. Tacitus has described the scene which ensued with his characteristic power. On the shore were armed men in dense array; women with loose hair running among them like furies, clothed in dark robes and bearing lighted torches. The Ate of the poets, with her burning torch and her bloody sword, would seem to be the personification of these terrific women. Surrounding these multitudes were bands of Druids lifting up their hands to heaven with the most frantic gestures. The Roman soldiers were awestruck, and with difficulty could be led on to attack such unwonted enemies. The priests, and the women, and the armed hosts at length fled from the real terrors of an unsparing soldiery; and multitudes perished by sword and fire. "A garrison," says Tacitus, "was afterward placed among the vanquished, and the groves consecrated to their cruel superstition, were cut down; for they held it right to smear their altars with the blood of their captives, and to consult the will of the gods by the quivering of human flesh."

In the attack upon Mona, Suetonius was probably impelled by the

* "Colchester Castle, built by a Colony of Romans as a Temple to their deified Emperor, Claudius Cæsar." By the Rev. H. Jenkins.

* "History of England," book ii. † Dion Cassius

sire to root out the religious system of the Britons, which was one f the chief causes of their enduring hostility to Rome. The Druidi- al worship was a deep-rooted belief, long established, and univer- ally adopted. The mythology of the Pantheon was contemptible nd odious to those who cultivated a superstition of a more solemn nd influential character. It gave them the daring courage and deep evenge of fanaticism. In the revolt of Boadicea, which took place hile Suetonius was making his attack upon Mona, the extraordinary mpulse which collected a hundred and twenty thousand of the atives in arms was as much given by the insults to their national orship and their sacred places as by the rapacious extortions and he gross licentiousness of the Roman officials. Boadicea, "bleeding rom the Roman rods," stirred the Iceni to vengeance not more than the temple built and dedicated to the deified Claudius." When he statue of Victory in that temple fell down without any visible iolence, and the affrighted Romans of Camalodunum saw terrible mens in the appearances of the tidal lakes, women chanted prophetic enunciations in the streets, and strangers howled and murmured in he public places.* Contempt and defiance preceded the work of de- truction. If the orations which Dion Cassius has put into the nouth of Boadicea at all represent the real conceptions of times and ersons, there was a deep hatred of the Roman character, as exhib- ted in the soldiers and settlers, which instigated the Britons to the nost rash and obstinate resistance. To her "incensed deities" the outraged queen appealed, "against men who are revilers, unjust, in- atiable, impious." She despised those who could endure neither unger nor thirst, nor cold nor heat; who bathed in tepid water, nd lived on dressed meats, and drank undiluted wine, and anointed hemselves with spikenard. This may be only a denunciation of the Roman luxury, compared with the British simplicity, as it appeared o a writer who was born a century after the revolt of Boadicea. In he same way there may be great exaggeration when he paints her ' of the largest size, most terrible of aspect, most savage of counte- nance, harsh of voice; having a profusion of yellow hair which fell down to her hips, and wearing a large golden collar; a parti-colored floating vest drawn close about her bosom, over this a thick mantle connected by a clasp, and in her hand a spear." Tacitus, a contem- porary, says nothing of her ferocious aspect. He relates her inju- ries, and the terrible retribution inflicted upon the Romans and their allies by the multitudes whom she led. Their chief objects of attack were the towns of Camalodunum, Londinium, and Verulam. In the narrative of Tacitus we see pretty distinctly the nature of the Roman occupation of Britain. These events happened in the year 61, only eighteen years after the invasion of Claudius. In the newly-founded colony of Camalodunum, the veterans and common soldiers had thrust the natives out of their dwellings, and exterminated them from their lands. Londinium, first noticed by Tacitus, is described as a place of importance, "not indeed dignified by the name of a colony, but yet of the highest distinction for abundance of regular merchants, and of traffic with other places." Verulam was a muni- cipal city. In the indiscriminate slaughter which took place in all these three towns, we may assume that few of the natives were in- cluded, and that the chief inhabitants were Roman settlers. Upon the return of Suetonius from Mona, who rapidly marched through the country to Londinium, he at first resolved there to make a stand, but he subsequently abandoned the city. He dreaded the fate which had awaited the ninth legion at Camalodunum. The wretched in- habitants of the great emporium of the Thames implored him to de- fend them. He drafted some of them into his ranks, but all who remained behind—the women, the old men, those who clung to their pleasant abodes—fell, without exception, in one terrible destruction. In those three places, seventy thousand souls perished, "all Romans, or confederates of Rome." Tacitus says, that after the great battle in which Suetonius routed the revolters, famine, above all other calamities, destroyed the insurgent people, who had utterly neglected to cultivate the land, being wholly bent upon war, and hoping to ap- propriate the Roman stores to their use. The Romans, in eighteen years, had created their Londinium, and Verulam, and Camalodu- num upon spots where the natives had planted their stockades and their hill-forts, or carried on a small commerce by the vessels that sailed up the great estuaries of the Thames and the Colne. Whether Camalodunum be the present Colchester, or the neighboring hill of Lexden, the valley beneath was undoubtedly in great part a marsh, and the Colne overspread its banks at every flow of the tide. The whole of the low ground between the Essex hills and Camberwell was considered by Sir Christopher Wren to have been anciently a great arm of the sea; and thus what the early Romans described as the mouth of the Thames would only have been a few miles below London, where the river was confined in artificial embankments. The great wall of the Thames, which the steamboat traveller now gazes upon at low water, on the Essex shore, is an ancient work, either British or Roman. Upon these cities, surrounded by waters and woods, the infuriate forces of Boadicea made their devastating attacks. They came—they, the Iceni and Trinobantes—from the scattered villages of Norfolk, and Suffolk, and Essex, and Hertford, where they lived and worshipped after the fashion of their fore- fathers, to do battle with their oppressors, who had thrust their coun- trymen forth from their ancient seats, and had built more luxurious dwellings amid their old cabins, and raised temples to strange gods whom their own sacred priesthood despised. They came for ven- geance; but their triumph was of short duration.

The locality where Suetonius with his ten thousand legionaries, in serried ranks, encountered the multitudinous army of Boadicea, has not been determined with any certainty. It is not likely, as was once believed, to have been so near the city as the spot now known as Battle Bridge. Suetonius, as we have seen, had abandoned Lon- dinium to the fury of his enemy. After the devastation of Camalo- dunum, the British had spread westward, and left the eastern citadel open for the reoccupation of the Romans. To that neighborhood, it is held that Suetonius marched, with the native hordes pressing on his rear.* The description of Tacitus clearly shows the immense superiority of the Roman strategy. He prepared for encountering the enemy in open battle. He was posted in a place which stretched out into a hollow and narrow valley, with steep sides, and girt be- hind with a wood. He knew that the Britons were to be expected upon the plain in front. They came; everywhere exulting and bounding, in great separate bands, some of horse, some of foot. The legionary soldiers were drawn up in thick and condensed ranks. The Britons came, encumbered with multitudes of women and weak followers, in crowded wains, with which they surrounded their camp. Boadicea was borne about on a chariot, wherein sat her two daughters. The Britons advanced upon the Roman army, who remained secure in their vantage-ground; but when they came within arrow-shot the Romans rushed out with the force and keen- ness of a wedge. The rout was terrible. Eighty thousand, says the historian, were slain in that bloody field. Some escaped; but could never rally. Boadicea ended her life by poison. The remnant of the dispersed armies was pursued with unrelenting hostility; and every tribe that appeared inimical to Rome was devastated by fire and sword. The power of the confederated natives of southern Britain was utterly broken. Yet there were still remaining the smouldering embers of revolt; and Tacitus has recorded the curious fact that, however terrible was the power of the Roman arm, the subdued people would still indulge in the bitter luxury of contempt. When one of Nero's freedmen was sent to inspect the condition of Britain, and came with great pomp and power, he was an object of derision to the natives, who marvelled that their conquerors should be subjected to the interference of imperial slaves.

It would appear that Suetonius had followed up his triumph by too violent an exercise of the power of the sword. The Roman gov- ernment had no desire to hold a devastated country which would yield nothing to the conquerors. Nero, therefore, sought to recon- cile the revolted tribes. We may well conclude that the destruction of all material wealth during this last terrible contest had been enor- mous. Everything in Camalodunum, dignified as a colony, was razed or burnt. Verulam was seized by the spoiler. Londinium, there is reason for believing, was laid in ashes. Tacitus, speaking of the horror of Boadicea's assault, enumerates the implements of de- struction as the sword, the gibbet, the cross, and the fire. Antiqua- ries have found the evidences of a burnt city many feet below the present surface. In excavating for a sewer in Lombard Street, in 1784, the following appearances are recorded: "The soil is almost

* Xiphilini Epitomes Dionis Cassii, lib. lxii.

* See an able article in *Quarterly Review*, No. cxciii.

uniformly divided into four strata; the uppermost, thirteen feet six inches thick, of factitious earth; the second, two feet thick, of brick, apparently the ruins of buildings; the third, three inches thick, of wood ashes, apparently the remains of a town built of wood, and destroyed by fire; the fourth, of Roman pavement, common and tesselated." * Many similar vestiges of fire, at the lowest level at which any traces of building have been discovered, have been found in this neighborhood of the present city. These are not the remains of a Londinium, at a period rich with the monuments of Rome when her power was firmly established. They belong to an earlier age of Roman occupation. They tell of some great catastrophe when Londinium was indeed prosperous through resident merchants and foreign traffic; but was still a mean town, partly of wooden cabins that had been planted there amid the ancient forests and fens; and partly of the better abodes of Roman officials and of those who had come across the sea in trading ships, to settle upon the first convenient place that could be found as they ascended the great tidal river.

The events which succeeded the defeat of Boadicea, during sixteen years, present little that is remarkable. There was occasional revolt, especially among the mountain-tribes of the West; and one legate succeeded another without any material advance in the tranquil and secure possession of the country. At length the administration of the province was confided by Vespasian to Agricola—one of those illustrious men who, by their personal qualities, determine the destinies of nations, and whose influence extends far beyond the times in which they live.

Agricola had learned the rudiments of war in Britain, under Suetonius Paulinus, at that terrible period when, as Tacitus relates, the Roman veterans were slaughtered, their colonies burned down, their armies surprised and made prisoners—when the struggle was for life rather than for victory. Eight years after the revolt of Boadicea, he commanded the twentieth legion in Britain (A.D. 69). He was subsequently invested with the government of the province of Aquitaine. Public opinion indicated his fitness for the more difficult task of the command in Britain. He entered upon his office in the year 78, having been previously raised to the dignity of consul.

The summer was nearly over when Agricola landed. The Ordovices, the indomitable tribe who defied the Roman power from the fastnesses of Denbighshire and Caernarvonshire, had recently slaughtered a band of horse stationed on their confines. Agricola immediately took the field. He gathered the scattered troops, who were retiring to their winter-quarters, and, suddenly marching upon the tribes, routed them in their mountain-holds. He continued his victorious course to the Strait of Anglesey; and, disregarding the want of transports, landed with his swimming legions, and completely subdued the island of the Druids.

We shall more particularly notice, as we proceed, the labors of Agricola in correcting the abuses of the provincial governors, and in subduing the natives as much by the amenities of peace as by the severities of war. Meanwhile, we shall rapidly run over the events of his campaigns.

On the approach of the second summer he collected his army. The hostile people were dispersed about the country. He made himself acquainted with every locality. He knew the boundaries of the salt-marshes and the dense woods. He saw where the arms of the sea were to be crossed. He made sudden incursions wherever a tribe was collected in arms. He held out the hand of friendship to those who came to him with submission. He planted garrisons and fortresses throughout the land. He conciliated the chiefs by gathering them in the towns, and teaching them to build and adorn in accordance with the Roman tastes. He was in great degree the founder of the municipal institutions that rapidly sprang up in South Britain. We may collect from the narrative of Tacitus that the country was peacefully settled from the Thames to the Severn, and from the Humber to the Dee, after a few years of his administration.

In the third and fourth summers of his command, Agricola was engaged with no mean enemies in the northern parts of the country. He discovered new people, says the historian, and continued his conquests quite to the mouth of the Tay. He built forts on the very borders of the Grampian Hills, and there wintered at the end of the third summer. The historian implies that the vain desire to maintain the glory of the Roman name impelled the armies beyond the natural boundary that ought to have been assigned to the conquest of Britain. Between the estuaries of the Forth and the Clyde there was only a narrow neck of land, and this was secured by a line of garrisons. The enemy, says Tacitus, was driven, as it were, into another island. The Romans would probably have been content with the possession of the fertile lowlands, could they have been secure against the incursions of the hardy tribes of the highlands. The conqueror passed the boundary in his fifth campaign, and planted forces on the western coast. He had the subjugation of Ireland in prospect, and courted the friendship of one of its chieftains. But Caledonia was yet unsubdued.

In the sixth summer Agricola explored the coast to the north of the Forth. Wherever he proceeded in his conquests he had a fleet; and the same camp, says his historian, often contained horse and foot, and sailors. Here they each related the perils of this great enterprise, and their escapes among barren mountains and gloomy forests and tempestuous seas. The hardy Caledonians did not wait for the attacks of their invaders. They assaulted the camp of the ninth legion, and were with difficulty repulsed by Agricola, who came upon their rear. The doubtful victory was to be followed by a fiercer conflict.

In his seventh summer the Roman army, to which their commander had added some of the southern Britons, marched onward to the Grampians. There were thirty thousand mountaineers in arms, under the command of Galgacus, who surpassed all in valor and descent. The oration which Tacitus assigns to the Caledonian leader is by Milton called, somewhat uncritically, "his rough oratory." It is a most elaborate composition, valueless as an historical fact, but exceedingly interesting in its illustrations of the nature of the war, and of the mode in which the historian systematically elevates the barbaric character, contrasting it with the oppressions of the government of the Cæsars and the corruptions of luxurious Rome. Speaking through Galgacus, he calls the Romans "plunderers of the earth;" "to spoil, to harass, and to butcher they style government—

They make a solitude, and call it peace."

He shows the condition of the conquered people, exhausted by tribute; stripped of the grain which they had sown; compelled to make pathways through the woods, to drain the marshes, to dig mines for their oppressors. The people of his own remote districts, says Galgacus, have no fields to cultivate, or mines to dig, or ports to construct. The Romans were jealous of their liberty and security. The Romans led against them an army compounded of many nations—Germans, Gauls, and Britons, who had been much longer the enemies than the slaves of the invaders. The speech of Agricola to his soldiers is a feeble declamation by comparison. The great battle of the Grampians had the usual termination of the contests between a disciplined army and an armed multitude. Their osier targets and their pointless swords, their chariots and their darts, were weak instruments to meet the impetuous charges of the cohorts and the cavalry of Rome. Ten thousand Caledonians were slaughtered in the plain and on the mountain-sides. Night put an end to the carnage. The next day showed the conquerors an unusual scene. There was profound silence all around; the smoke of burning dwellings rose in the hills, but not a living soul remained amid the desolation. The victors attempted no pursuit, but marched slowly back to their winter garrisons, awing the natives as they passed along with their terrible array, such as Milton has so nobly described:

"Light-armed troops,
In coats of mail and military pride;
Nor wanted clouds of foot, nor on each horn
Cuirassiers, all in steel, for standing fight."

In the address of Agricola to his army, Tacitus makes him say "We possess the very extremity of Britain; Britain is entirely discovered." The sagacity of Agricola had put an end to a controversy which had long agitated the speculative philosophers of Rome. Some held that Britain was part of an unexplored continent; some that it was an island. Chance in some degree determined the question. A cohort of Germans who had been brought into the country, having slain the Roman soldiers who were training them, put to sea in three pinnaces; a few who survived the hardships to which they were exposed, were carried round Britain, and falling into the han

* Archæologia, quoted in "London."

some continental natives, made the knowledge of its coast more familiar to the Romans. Dion Cassius relates that they sailed round the western coasts, as the wind and tide bore them, and landed inadvertently on the opposite side, where a Roman camp was situated, and that then Agricola sent others to explore the same course. After the close of the Caledonian war, Tacitus says that Agricola sent the admiral of the fleet to encompass the island—"circumvehi Britannam."

After the recall of Agricola by the jealous Domitian (A.D. 84) we know little of the condition of Britain for many years. Juvenal alludes to a chief, Arviragus, who was hurled headlong from his chariot; and the satirist indicates that the boast of such feats was common in Rome. In the year 120 the Emperor Hadrian is in Britain. His life, says Gibbon, "was almost a perpetual journey; and as he possessed the various talents of the soldier, the statesman, and the scholar, he gratified his curiosity in the discharge of his duty. Careless of the difference of seasons and of climates, he marched on foot and bareheaded over the snows of Caledonia and the sultry plains of the Upper Egypt." Spartian, a Roman historian, who flourished at the end of the third century, says, "He visited Britain, where he corrected many things; and first built a wall eighty miles in length, which divided the Romans from the barbarians." In another passage the same historian states that Severus "built a wall across the island." The line of forts which Agricola raised from the Clyde to the Forth was strengthened, sixty years after, by a turf rampart known as the wall of Antoninus, which extended for thirty-six miles. But the wall of Hadrian, or of Severus, was a much more important work. This is the wall which, eleven hundred years ago, Bede described as "still famous to be seen . . . eight feet in breadth and twelve in height, in a straight line from east to west." There are two parallel lines of stone wall and earthen intrenchments running from a point on the river Tyne, between Newcastle and Shields, to Boulness on the Solway Frith, a distance of nearly eighty miles. The boundary of Agricola and Antoninus was raised against the warlike tribes of the Caledonian highlands. The wall of Hadrian, or of Severus, was the great artificial boundary of Roman England from sea to sea. It has been customary to ascribe the earthen rampart to Hadrian, and the stone wall to Severus; but it has been recently contended by an accomplished antiquary, Mr. Bruce, that they are essential parts of one fortification. The name of Hadrian frequently occurs on inscriptions found in this locality. Severus may have repaired the work of Hadrian; and to this the few words of Spartian may have reference.* However this may be, it is pretty clear that, for a century, a constant strengthening of the defences of South Britain against the irruptions of the north was the policy of the Roman colonizers. Agricola left one rampart against the bands who he foresaw would come from the Grampians,

"To insult the plenty of the vales below."

The wall of Hadrian was an inner line of defence, raised, probably, against the people of the wild districts that in later times were called the border land. But neither of them was a defence to be neglected. Antoninus strengthened the rampart of Agricola. Severus perfected the wall of Hadrian. The mighty rampart from the Solway to the Tyne was a frontier erected not only as a defence against devastating hostilities, but as a barrier to dangerous amities. The Brigantes, who dwelt in Lancashire and Yorkshire and Cumberland and Durham, amid marshy valleys and barren mountains, had not borne the Roman yoke with the ease with which it had been imposed upon those parts of England, which, from their characteristics of soil and climate, were more fitted to receive the impress of a luxurious civilization. The Mæatæ, a nation of the south of Scotland, were ready to join with them in revolt. They were driven back by the lieutenant of Antoninus. Again and again were the Roman stations assaulted. The history of the second century of the conquest of Britain is very meagre; but it sufficiently shows us that in the north there was perpetual violence and suspicion. At length the stern spirit of Severus was roused by the persevering resistance to the imperial domination. The narrative of Dion Cassius of this period of our national history is graphic and interesting.

The Mæatæ, he says, dwell close to the wall which divides the island into two parts; the Caledonians beyond them. By this wall, he means the rampart of Antoninus. They each lived, amid mountains and marshes, by pasture and the chase, cultivating no land and inhabiting no towns, but dwelling in tents. Against these people Severus advanced. He underwent indescribable labors in cutting down woods, levelling hills, making marshes passable, and constructing bridges. He saw no army, and fought no battle; but he was perpetually harassed by ambuscades, and of his men fifty thousand perished. Suffering by infirmity and sickness, the iron will of the emperor would not yield; and he was borne through the hostile district, in a covered litter, to the extremity of the island, where he concluded a treaty with the chieftains. There was an enemy near him more formidable than the Caledonians—his treacherous sons. There are few historical incidents more striking and characteristic than that which exhibits Severus, upon turning round as he headed his army, beholding the sword of one of these sons ready to strike him in the back; but, uttering not a word, ascending a tribunal, going through his ordinary duties, and then returning to his tent. The vengeance which next year Severus destined for the tribes who still continued to resist was cut short by his death, which took place at York in the year 211. Caracalla, his son, had other purposes of ambition than the chastisement of a barbarous tribe. He returned to Rome, leaving North Britain to its own fortunes by retiring from the hostile country.

For seventy years after the death of Severus, history is nearly silent on the affairs of Britain. In the "Chronology of Events," by Richard of Cirencester, there is only one entry from this period to the accession of Carausius in 286: "During these times the Roman armies confined themselves within the wall, and all the island enjoyed a profound peace." This is a period in which, it being unmixed with other elements, we may take a general view of the condition of the country in the middle of the third century.

CHAPTER III.

Usurpation of Carausius—Britain returns to the subordination of a Roman province—Condition of the country at the end of the third century—Its abundant produce—Division into five provincial districts—Amount of its population—Roads—The army—Fortified places—Cities and their Roman remains—Mixed population of Britain—Early settlement of foreigners—Character of Roman administration—Prevalence of Latin language and literature—Traces of Roman customs and superstitions.

The usurpation by Carausius of the sovereign power in Britain, in the year 286, offers one of the best historical proofs of the strength and prosperity of the country. He was by birth a Menapian, or native of Belgic Gaul; and, according to Mr. Kemble, "in the third century the inhabitants of the Menapian territory were certainly Teutonic." Appointed to the command of a powerful armament, to repress the ravages of Saxon pirates on the shores of Gaul and Britain, he abused his authority in a way which roused the indignation of the emperors Maximian and Diocletian. Fleeing from their vengeance into Britain, he assumed the imperial purple, with the title of Augustus, and, trusting to the power of his island empire, defied the whole majesty of Rome. After six years of dominion, in which he raised the naval supremacy of Britain to a height which it only subsequently attained in the days of Alfred, he was betrayed and murdered by his minister Allectus; and in three more years, independent Britain was again subjected to the rule of the Cæsars by the defeat of this second usurper, and quietly remained under the imperial government of Constantius Chlorus, and of his successor Constantine.

A few years after these events occurred, our country was panegyrized by Eumenius, as "Britannia, fortunate and happier than all other lands; enriched with the choicest blessings of heaven and earth." To the Romans of the days of Constantine it was proclaimed, by another orator, to be matchless as "a land so stored with corn, so flourishing in pasture, so rich in variety of mines, so profitable in its tributes on all its coasts, so furnished with convenient harbors, and so immense in its circuit and extent." Gibbon says, "It is difficult to conceive that, in the beginning of the fourth century, England deserved all these commendations. A century and a half before, it hardly paid its own establishment." Let us not forget that

* See note in Dr. Smith's admirable edition of Gibbon, vol. i. p. 145.

two centuries before carry us back to the time of Agricola, when the country from the Thames to the Humber was in revolt; and that a century and a half before, Antoninus was striving to shut out the incursions of the Caledonians by his turf rampart. A century and a half of comparative tranquillity for southern England, under the fertilizing power of the Roman civilization, would afford ample time to convert an expensive conquest into a valuable possession. Whether the individual happiness of the people had accompanied the productiveness of the soil, may be questioned. "Fortunate Britannia" was an eulogy for an emperor's ear.

This island, "so immense in its circuit and extent," was divided into five provinces. "Britannia Prima" was the name of all the district from the North Foreland to the Land's End, including the Isle of Wight, and comprehending all the inland parts south of the Thames and the Bristol Channel. North and South Wales constituted "Britannia Secunda." The third province, "Flavia Cæsariensis," —so called from the cruel and jealous lord, Titus Flavius Domitianus, of the wise Agricola, who subdued and settled this important district—extended from the Humber to the Mersey. "Maxima Cæsariensis," the fourth province, included all the northern district to the wall of Hadrian and Severus. Beyond that wall, the fifth province, "Valentia," extended to the rampart of Antonine between the friths. To the extreme north was the unconquered Caledonia.

Of the amount of the population of Roman Britain it is difficult to arrive at any satisfactory estimate. Hume says, "The barbarous condition of Britain in former times is well known; and the thinness of its inhabitants may easily be conjectured, both from their barbarity and from a circumstance mentioned by Herodian, that all Britain was marshy, even in Severus's time, after the Romans had been fully settled in it above a century."* Hume accepted, as many others have done, the common opinion of the "barbarity" of the inhabitants of Britain; but he has gone beyond this prejudice. He has misrepresented what Herodian does say. That historian, who flourished in the third century, describing the march of Severus against the northern tribes, which we have narrated in the last chapter, says: "He more especially endeavored to render the marshy places stable by means of causeways, that his soldiers, treading with safety, might easily pass them, and, having firm footing, fight to advantage. For *many parts of the British country, being constantly flooded by the tides of the ocean*, become marshy." This is very different from Herodian saying, "*all* Britain is marshy." It would be as absurd to say, upon the authority of Eumenius, that in the time of Constantius, *all* Britain was rich with abundant harvests and innumerable flocks and herds. That this description of its wealth was applicable to the southern and midland provinces of Britannia Prima and Flavia Cæsariensis, as well as to the rich valleys of the northern Maxima Cæsariensis, we can have little doubt, when we look at the roads with which they were intersected, and the numerous towns, forts, and harbors connected by these roads. This network of highways was not constructed for the sole purpose of marching the Roman legions from Dover to London, or from Bristol to Lincoln—up and down through the five provinces wherever there was a revolt to be put down or a tribute to be enforced.† The roads were the great connecting communications of a large population, who had not been without roads and towns in what was called their uncivilized state. They were not rude cartways between one village and another, but substantial works, with bold cuttings, and solid terraces carried by piles over marshy ground, and raised upon piers where elevation was required. Setting aside those numerous branch railways of modern England which the manufacturing element has created, they carried on the communications of the island, from the shores of the English Channel to those of the Irish Sea and the German Ocean, and connected all the inland country from the Thames to the Tyne, as completely, and more directly, than the railway system of our own day. According to the wants of the Roman colonizers and the Romanized English, they made this island, sixteen hundred years ago, one whole. These great works could not have been constructed or sustained except upon a self-supporting principle, derived from the intercourse of a considerable population. Tacitus, in speaking of those grievances of the native people which were remedied by Agricola, says that they were compelled to take long journeys for the purpose of carrying grain to places extremely distant, instead of supplying the troops in the winter-quarters which were nearest the homes of the cultivators. They were obliged to travel to remote places for the benefit of those who monopolized the corn. Here is distinct evidence, before the close of the first century, that the Roman legions and auxiliaries were supported by the produce of a country in which there were roads; and that they were not only supported by the tribute of grain, but that official rapacity wrung still more out of the capital of the cultivators. Had Agricola found a country without intercourse, he would necessarily have found no corn for tribute. The people, in their isolated fields, would have produced no more than they could have consumed. We are not told by the historian that the oppressive monopolists left the people to starve while the Roman soldiers were fed; but that the greedy officials seized upon the corn, and made the people buy it for their own consumption. Agricola augmented the tribute; but he made it less onerous by a just and equal distribution of the public burdens. If the produce was considerable, and the communications numerous in the time of Agricola, we may well conceive that they had kept pace with the wants of an increasing civilized population in the time of Constantius. We cannot have a better evidence of the fertility of Britain, and the ease with which its produce was transmitted to its ports, than is furnished by one remarkable fact in the middle of the fourth century. The Emperor Julian, it is recorded, had built warehouses in his continental dominions for the reception of corn from Britain. But the amount of supply in one season is manifested by the fact that six hundred large barks, built from the woods of the Ardennes, made several voyages under his direction to the coasts of Britain, and supplied the starving Rhine provinces, desolated by war, from the stores of the fertile island. The Romans had, without doubt, improved the agriculture of the country, and had bestowed upon the cultivators "the crooked plough," with "an eight-feet beam," of the Georgics of Virgil.* The abundance of agricultural produce for export assumes the existence of a large rural population. Nor is the fact less clear that there had been, from very early times, a mining population. The tin mines of Cornwall and the lead mines of Derbyshire were systematically worked, and their produce reserved with jealous care for Roman use. The pigs of lead in the British Museum, which bear the stamp of Domitian and Hadrian, show that Tacitus was not talking vaguely when he spoke of the abundance of metals in Britain which was the prize of the conquerors. There is visible proof at this day that the mining and smelting of iron was carried on by the Romans in Britain to a very large extent. Hutton, in his "History of Birmingham," speaks of an enormous cinder-heap which had existed there from the Roman time. Yarranton, who published a book at the end of the seventeenth century, entitled "Improvement by Sea and Land," describes "great heaps of cinders formerly made of ironstone, they being the offal (or waste) thrown out of the foot-blasts by the Romans; they then having no works to go by water, to drive bellows, but all by the foot-blast." At Worcester, he found the hearth of a Roman furnace; and he carried away many thousand tons of these cinders, which, having been imperfectly smelted, would still yield iron. Roman coins, in large numbers, have been constantly found buried among these scoriæ, upon which great oaks were growing. Mr. Thomas Wright, in 1852, went over the Roman iron district of the Forest of Dean and its neighborhood, where he found deep pits, out of which ironstone had been dug, where Roman coins are frequently discovered; and he traced the cinders covering the earth in many parts of this district, which furnished the ore, and the wood for smelting. On the banks of the Wye, below Monmouth, the cinders "lay under our feet like pebbles on the sea-shore."†

That the first real civilizer of Britain was the military arm is evident from every incidental relation of the Roman conquest. It was, for a long time, a very doubtful fight between disciplined legions and fearless multitudes. But the power established with so much difficulty could not be sustained without continual watchfulness. It was not only Agricola that erected fortified stations and planted gar

* Essay xi.

† The lines of Roman roads, of which undoubted traces exist at the present time, are clearly shown by red lines in the map of "Britannia Romana," published in "Monumenta Historica Britannica."

* Georg. I., 174.

† *Gentleman's Magazine*, January, 1852.

isons, but we may be quite sure that during several centuries they were multiplied all over the land, either as defences of the coast, or in the centre of Roman colonies, or in connection with municipal communities. The country is covered with the most enduring remains of these bulwarks of the imperial dominion. The earthworks of the people that the Cæsars came to conquer still remain in many places. They interposed formidable barriers to the quiet progress of the Roman troops; and they were defended by large bodies of the whole population capable of bearing arms. But the legions and auxiliaries of the Roman garrisons were composed of an army, properly so called—men trained solely to the business of warfare, and wielding their strength under the most complete subjection to the will of an experienced commander, and with all the resources of civilization that made war a science. The stations were, therefore, selected with all the skill that economizes military power. They were on the coast, on the great navigable rivers, on the chief roads. Their distribution, when the rule of Rome was tranquilly established in Britain, was such as to require no very large force to garrison them. Although Aulus Plautius is held to have been at the head of four legions and their auxiliaries, computed at fifty thousand men—although Severus lost fifty thousand followers in his terrible marches through the wild mountainous regions of the North—we learn from that curious record of the later Roman levies, the "Notitia Imperii," that the permanent forces in Britain amounted to only about twenty-one thousand men. They were all Romans, or soldiers of tributary continental nations. The Britons, according to the invariable policy of Rome, were not intrusted with any share in the charge of the defences. They formed part of the ranks that were employed to hold other nations in subjection.

Of these fortified places, some of the most important remains are found on the coast of South Britain, which was under the command, at an early period, of a military chief, designated as Comes Tractûs Maritimi, and, at a later period, Comes Littoris Saxonici per Britanniam. The Count of the Saxon Shore in Britain had nine fortresses to guard, from Portsmouth to Brancaster, at the mouth of the Wash. The interesting remains of Richborough, in Kent, and Burgh, in Suffolk, show the importance of those maritime stations.

It is not within the object of this history to describe antiquities, but only to allude to them as undoubted memorials of a past time. The holiday-visitor of the Isle of Thanet, if he be not familiar with his country's annals, may have difficulty in comprehending why that fertile territory, now partially bounded by the sea, is called an island. The railroad, which branches from Minster to Deal, goes beneath the walls of Richborough. The great sea passage from Boulogne to London, now a tiny stream, called the Wantsum, but in the fourteenth century termed an estuary by Richard of Cirencester, passed by these walls, and bore the Roman vessels to Reculver. The nearest station from Gaul was Dover; but the safest and nearest sea passage to London was by Richborough to the estuary of the Thames. Richborough was a colony, where Romans were settled as possessors of the land, and where the institutions of Rome were adopted without any change in the forms or principles of local government. There were nine of these colonies in Britain—London, Colchester, Richborough, Bath, Caerleon (in Monmouthshire), Chester, Gloucester, Lincoln, and Chesterford (near Cambridge). There were also two municipal cities, York and Verulam. The Roman walls of some of these places are more or less remarkable; but they are for the most part hidden by modern buildings, or buried amid the accumulating rubbish of generations. From time to time, in London, when a sewer has to be formed, or a new foundation to be dug deep, we come upon fragments of wall that are undoubtedly Roman. At Lincoln there are fragments of Roman walls and a Roman gate. At York, the Eboracum of the Romans, where Severus and Constantius died, the Roman work has been readily distinguished from the more modern city wall. The walls of Bath have been swept away, whatever was their age; but that they contained many Roman remains is distinctly attested. The walls of Chichester are very perfect. The walls of Colchester "may be advantageously compared with any other remains of the kind in this island, or even on the continent."* Exeter and Chester have walls erected upon Roman foundations. A fragment of Roman wall still stands to point out the site of the famous Verulam. These were all populous places—colonies or municipia. But the remaining walls of Richborough, a great military colony, stand in their solitary magnificence, as they have stood for sixteen or seventeen centuries, eleven or twelve feet thick at the base, from twenty to thirty feet in height, and their outer masonry as perfect in many places as when their alternate courses of stone and tile were first laid. The sea has receded from them; the broad channel they protected is a ditch; huge fragments have fallen in the course of generations; the area within them of five acres is a corn-field; but they still tell something of the story of a great era in the life of our nation, whose influence will be permanent when even these mighty ruins shall be swept away.

Burgh Castle (Garriannonum) is situated at the junction of the Waveney and the Yare. The east wall has four circular towers; the west side was once defended by the sea. Both Richborough and Burgh are examples of the great changes of the coast-line, and show how these defences, which seem built for eternal dominion, would have become useless under physical revolutions, if the great revolutions of society had not riven them into fragments.

Richard of Cirencester, a monk of the fourteenth century, who collected valuable materials for the statistics of Roman Britain, says, "Among the Britons were formerly ninety-two cities, of which thirty-three were more celebrated and conspicuous." He then recites their Latin names. Among these cities it is doubtful whether he mentions one of the chief, now known as Silchester. He may notice it under some other name than that now assigned to it—Calleva Atrebatum. Of all the existing Roman remains, there are none which present more distinct evidence of the existence, some sixteen centuries ago, of a large civil community. It is situated in a district, at the present time of small population, and somewhat removed from all great communications; but it was once a central point, with roads converging to it from London, Spene, Winchester, Old Sarum, Bath, and Cirencester. It is now neglected, unknown, almost a solitary place amid thick woods and bare heaths. The most striking characteristic of Silchester is the ruined wall, with old trees that have grown up in generations long past, and are now perishing with it. This remarkable spot is still pretty much as Camden described it: "The walls remain in good measure entire, only with some few gaps in those places where the gates have been; and out of these walls there grow oaks of such a vast bigness, incorporated, as it were, with the stones, and their roots and boughs are spread so far around that they raise admiration in all who behold them." But there is another remarkable characteristic of Silchester which Camden also observed, as it may be observed now: "The inhabitants of the place told me it had been a constant observation among them that, though the soil here is fat and fertile, yet in a sort of balks which cross one another, the corn never grows so thick as in other parts of the field. Along them they believe the streets of the old city to have run." These streets occupy an area of a hundred acres; and their lines have been mapped out. The people around still call the lonely place within these ruined walls, "the City." Let us consider what are the probable circumstances which have reduced this once flourishing city, with its remains of baths, of a forum, of a temple, of an amphitheatre, to its present desolate condition. Such considerations belong to history.

Nearly all the great Roman towns have been fixed in localities which possess some eminent natural advantages. Many of these sites were perhaps chosen by the natives before the Romans, who improved the advantages by their higher civilization. It was not the policy of Rome to extirpate the natives as an inferior race; but to use them as brave and intelligent instruments for advancing its own wealth and power. Agricola exhorted the British people to build houses, temples, and market-places. When they had completed their works of utility they proceeded to erect other buildings for ornament, such as galleries, baths, and banqueting houses. The testimony of Tacitus is clear, that the conquerors excited and assisted the conquered to the emulation of the Roman conveniences and luxuries. Agricola had the sons of their chiefs taught the liberal sciences and the Roman language. There can be no doubt that the imperial power was in many cases delegated to the native rulers. Cogidubnus was one of these, who was permitted to retain possession of his kingdom; and an inscription has been discovered at Chichester which imports

* *Quarterly Review*, No. cxciii.

that he was king and legate of the emperor.* In the same way it may be presumed that Silchester, the city of the Atrebatii, was under the rule of a native prince of the tribe. The form of its walls is not Roman; and it was much too large for a military station. It was a great agricultural capital, approached by roads in all directions. But it had no important natural advantages—no river for commerce, and no hills for defence. It was in a rich plain; and was, most probably, a store for agricultural produce. Governed, no doubt it was, by its own municipality, under more or less stringent centralization. When the imperial supervision, which was the key-stone of the arch of British local government, was withdrawn, Silchester was more exposed to the assaults of hostile forces than the towns which the Romans had planted round hill forts and defences of coasts and estuaries. The history of its actual ruin is buried in the obscurity of the centuries that we designate as those of the Saxon invasion. It was probably sacked and burned; but it would not have remained a ruin for hundreds of years had not the conditions of its prosperity been of a transitory nature.

In striking contrast to the desolation of Silchester stand the exuberant riches and mighty population of London. They had each the same institutions which at first sight might appear to bind their citizens to a common interest and a common defence against external assaults. But Silchester had no Thames as London had, through which, whether her government were Roman, or Saxon, or Norman, she could draw to herself some portion of the wealth of continental civilization. We have no evidence that London ever exhibited such remains of Roman magnificence as Giraldus Cambrensis describes of Carleon in the twelfth century—stately palaces, towers, temples, theatres, aqueducts. Its buildings were probably of brick, which no Augustus could convert into marble. But wherever we step, within certain limits of the present city, evidences of the Roman presence are continually discovered. Leadenhall Street yields its tesselated pavements, at nine feet and a half below the surface. Here Bacchus rests on his tiger bearing his thyrsus and his drinking-cup. Small silver and bronze images are found even in the bed of the Thames, supposed to have been the penates of some Roman or Romanized family. Londinium, as far as we can judge from its remains, appears to have extended from Blackfriars to the Tower, on the bank of the river; and, in an irregular form, to a line formed northward by Bishopsgate. Much controversy has arisen about the limits of Roman London, which concern us not in this narrative. Within these limits, and beyond them, constant evidences of the old arts and the old religion present themselves. Where the great preachers of a reformed Christianity thundered forth their denunciations against a Papal Rome, there, at Paul's Cross, were many evidences of a heathen Rome disinterred. Cemeteries have been discovered beyond the walls, where the cinerary urns of the dead were evidences of other burial rites. These tell of a large and busy population here once abiding; whose ashes have "quietly rested under the drums and tramplings of three conquests."† But London has its relics which tell something more of the inner life of that population. In excavating the site of the Royal Exchange in 1840, the workmen came to a mass of Roman brickwork about six feet square, which it was necessary to remove. The earth beneath was unsound; and they dug lower. A deep pit was discovered. It contained, not urns and vases, but every species of rubbish that could have been accumulated by the diligent dustmen of a Roman city. Here was a great heap of oyster-shells, goat's horns, and sheep's horns, cinders, broken pottery and glass, worn-out soles of shoes and sandals. There was the light sole for the woman's sandal, less than eight inches long by two broad; and the heavy sole, of several pegged leathers, a foot long by three inches and a half broad. There were the waxen tablets, with their bone and wood styles, upon which dealers recorded their bargains, and enamored youths their appointments. There were every variety of tool—broken for the most part—gouges, augers, saws. Knives were there with the makers' names upon them, as some of the pottery also bore the makers' names. Bobbins were there for weaving, similar in form to the slivers used by our own hand-loom weavers, if there be any such remaining. There were also found a few coins, chiefly those of Vespasian and Domitian. We cannot have better evidence of the existence in London of a busy population, of various occupations, and, no doubt, of various ranks—the senator and the slave, the soldier and the shopkeeper.

But there is nothing in the relics of the Roman dominion, as they are thus manifested when the soil is disturbed of once populous cities, that can tell us of what different nations the population was composed. Everything has a Romanized aspect. We cannot learn what was the proportion of the British population to the Roman, and what was the Gaulish or Teutonic element as compared to the British. The popular opinion of this difficult question seems to have resolved itself into this: that our island had first a native people, whom we call Britons; then its Roman conquerors; and, these having seceded after four or five centuries, then the Saxons. We have been accustomed to look upon our early history as a great drama with its division into acts, so separate from what had gone before that the continuity of the events could nowhere be recognized. As "the child is father of the man," so is one period of our history the father of the next period; and the later period infallibly derives much of its character, not only from its immediate predecessor, but from all that has gone before. The right understanding of the History of England much depends upon not forgetting this continuity.

The population of England at the end of the third century, we are inclined to believe, in accordance with opinions that appear founded upon careful research, was a very mixed one. Tacitus, in the oration of Galgacus, speaks of Gauls and Germans in the army of Agricola. Cæsar distinctly notices the presence of continental tribes in Britain, both in the interior and on the coast. When Marcus Antoninus had put down the great German confederacy against the Roman power, he commanded two of the nations "to deliver up the flower of their youth, who were immediately sent into Britain, a remote island, where they might be secure as hostages, and useful as soldiers." Gibbon derives this fact from the authority of Dion Cassius. Probus, according to Zosimus, sent Burgundians and Vandals into Britain, "who, when settled in that island, were serviceable to the emperor, as often as any one thenceforward revolted." There are later traces of Germans serving with the Roman legions. Mr. Kemble considers it "not at all improbable that Carausius, when, in the year 287, he raised the standard of revolt in Britain, calculated upon the assistance of the Germans in this country, as well as that of their allies and brethren on the continent."* Finally, three of the soundest authorities upon the subject of our early history, Dr. Lappenberg, Sir Francis Palgrave, and Mr. Kemble, agree in the belief that the Saxon shore of Britain, of which, as we have mentioned, there was an especial officer in command, derived its name from a settlemen of Saxons. "The prevailing opinion, that the 'Litus Saxonicum' borrowed its name from the enemy to whose attacks it was exposed, appears as contrary to the principles of sound philology as it is unhistorical."† These facts, derived from so many independent sources, go far to refute the common opinion set forth in all our histories, but resting only upon loose traditions, that the settlements of the Germanic races in England were subsequent to the termination of the Roman rule. The "Notitia Imperii," in which the Saxon shore is mentioned, was drawn up, according to Dr. William Smith, about the year 400.‡ So far from the Roman government in Britain discouraging settlements of foreigners, we see, from the policy of the emperor Probus, that they were encouraged to abide amid the native races, as a method, among others, of neutralizing their hostility. We shall have to return to this interesting subject. We slightly mention it here to show that the character of the population of Britain must have been greatly modified by the admixture of races. The original British or Celtic element had in all likelihood greatly diminished by the end of the third century, and remained without admixture only in districts which had infrequent intercourse with the more cultivated and populous parts of the island, and which the Romans purposely separated by military barriers, such as the Severn exhibits, from their lowland towns. But if the population of Britain which the Romans governed was, as we may well conclude, very various in its character, according to the varieties of its origina stock, and therefore more or less adapted for a full development o

* "Philosophical Transactions," vol. xxxii. See *Quarterly Review*, No. cxciii. † Sir T. Brown on "Urn Burial."

* "Saxons in England," vol. i. p. 12.
† Lappenberg, "History of England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings," vol. i. p. 46.
‡ "Gibbon," edited by Dr. Smith, vol. iv. p. 288.

the Roman civilization, the imperial power which controlled these discordant elements was unvarying in its principles and universal in its application. Let us briefly examine the leading features of the Roman administration of a great province.

When Agricola exhorted the British people, wild and dispersed over the country, to congregate in towns, he was laboring to carry out the universal principle of Roman government. He was not unsuccessful in his endeavors to form them into large communities; for, forty years after, Ptolemy the geographer gives the names of fifty-six towns in Britain. That many of these existed before the Roman occupation, we may well believe. Agricola assisted the people in carrying forward the principle of large associations, and invited them to a more convenient and luxurious form of town life than they had previously known. That principle was inapplicable to a scattered population, such as we see in the rural districts of England at the present day, where a few cottages are clustered round the neighborhood of the parish church, and the solitary homestead of the farmer here and there lies sheltered on the side of the hills. The owners of the land dwelt in the towns; their serfs went forth from the towns to cultivate the fields, or tended the herds in some mud cabin not far removed from their masters. "The history of the conquest of the world by Rome," says M. Guizot, "is the history of the conquest and foundation of a great number of cities." The government of Rome was, therefore, essentially municipal. It would thus appear to have been far removed from unmitigated despotism, and to have conferred great powers and privileges upon the municipality. We must not judge of this by any modern analogies. The inhabitants of a city were permitted various conditions of self-government, according to the nature of its relations with the centralizing power; and these distinctions were preserved in Britain, where, of the ninety-two cities mentioned by Richard of Cirencester, some were ranked as municipal, some as Colonial, some as under the Latian law, and some as Stipendiary. Into these distinctions it is not necessary for us to enter. However named, they were all governed by municipal regulations and municipal officers, either freely chosen or forced upon the community. There were privileged residents in each of these cities, who, in historical documents, are termed senators. How they were constituted, and what were their duties, does not appear very clear. They formed, no doubt, a political aristocracy. The active and really important members of the municipal body were the "curiales" (sometimes called "decuriones"), men of landed property residing within the walls of the city, and discharging every municipal function, from that of the tax-collector to the chief magistrate. But let us not imagine that these official persons had a position in the least corresponding in freedom to that of the common councilmen, or elected vestrymen, of our modern English society. They were not representatives of the great body of the citizens; there was no election to the office; to belong to the "curia" was not claimed by them as a right, but forced upon them as a task. It was, indeed, a task involving many restrictions and some risks, even in the best times. They were not allowed to absent themselves without permission from their town; a portion of their property, at their decease, went to the common stock of the "curia;" they were not the assessors of the taxes, but were bound to collect what was imposed, and were responsible for any deficiency. They were exempted from torture and ignominious punishments, to which those below them, the "plebs," were subject; but they had the constant torture of being harassed by the Roman officials, civil and military, whose chief labor was to extract as much as possible out of the municipality, with slight regard to the ease of the people. Agricola, as we have seen, struggled against the rapacity of the imperial functionaries. The great "procurator," or revenue officer, of the province, had his subordinates in every city to look after the "curiales," and to take especial care that no lenity interfered with the rigid collection of the poll-tax, the funeral-tax, the legacy-tax, the auction-tax, the tax on the sale of slaves, the tithe of mining produce, and the tribute of corn, hay, and cattle. Sometimes the levy was just; often it was frightfully oppressive. We may be pretty well assured, if the procurator and his officers pressed the curiales, that the curiales, who had to make up a deficient impost, equally pressed the plebeians. These, the holders of small patches of land, the artisans and the traders, had no responsibility in the management of affairs, and no power of control over those who were responsible. They pursued their occupations—the rich, with the aid of their domestic slaves; the poorer, with their own unassisted labor. At the end of the third century, it may be reasonably assumed that the class of free artisans was established in the British cities. Whether at this period they were formed into those guilds, which in subsequent times had such an important influence in raising the burgher class, is matter of conjecture; but such corporations of handicraftsmen seem a natural offshoot of the general municipal government of Rome. Perhaps the most numerous class of the Romanized cities of Britain were the slaves—varying in their condition of comfort according to the circumstances of their masters—some attached to the land, and depending for sustenance upon the owner; some discharging the domestic offices, pilfering and pampered; and some approaching almost to the condition of free laborers. But, one and all, they had no political powers. The curiales and the plebeians had, at one period, and in some places, voices in the election of magistrates. All this municipal organization included the mixed population whom we have mentioned—Romans, Britons, Gauls, Germans. But over all rode the great centralizing power of Rome itself; suspicious, exclusive, rapacious, and utterly selfish. Revolts were constantly taking place under the system of extortion which Agricola tried to suppress; and then the Roman slave-dealer had his full share of the plunder of the revolters. Fiscal exactions and private luxury ate deeply into the resources of the landowners who had the barren dignity of belonging to the curia; and then the Roman mortgagees drove that class to desperation, as the philosopher Seneca, who could write of the duty of conferring benefits but was practically a griping usurer, had very early tormented them. There was nothing confiding or generous in the Roman rule. Modern nations have tried the same system of colonial oppression, and have gathered the same fruits of injustice. Britain was never a secure possession. Her resources were never fully developed, because her nationality was outraged, and her people were disarmed and fettered. Such was the municipal economy of Roman Britain for four centuries. The visible head of this mighty domination was the consul—sometimes called legatus, sometimes præfectus or proprætor. In him was the supreme military and civil power vested, up to the time of Constantine. But over him was the jealous control of the Cæsar of the hour, and round him was the imperial spy. He might be recalled to a triumph or a grave. He might remain to seduce the legions, and become himself a Cæsar.

M. Guizot, endeavoring to express a general truth in a few words, says that among the elements of modern civilization, the spirit of legality, of regular association, was derived from the Roman world, from the municipalities and the Roman laws. From the Germans came the spirit of personal liberty.* When we consider how essentially these two great elements have been blended in the political institutions of modern Britain, and in the individual character of the British people, we may feel some reverence, however qualified, for the municipal principle of Rome thus impressed upon us, so as to have become united with the other principle of personal freedom which we derived from the Saxons, and with which the social state of Rome had no identity. It is this admixture of various elements of society that so constantly arrests our attention in the early history of our country. We are encountered, at every step of historical inquiry, by considerations that belong to the varieties of race, of language, of institutions, of manners—all sufficiently distinct, but rather to be regarded in their union than their separation.

Much that has been said of the low amount of the permanent civilization of England through the Roman rule may perhaps be accounted for without believing in what is called the "barbarity" of the native people. It was in the earlier years of the Roman occupation that Tacitus tells us of the aptitude of the more educated classes to acquire the Roman eloquence, and when Martial intimates that the Roman poets were read in Britain. Macaulay holds that "It is not probable the islanders were at any time generally familiar with the tongue of their Italian rulers." It is easy to account for the difficulty of altering the language of that portion of the people which was somewhat remote from the great masses of society, when we know that Welsh is a common language at this day, and that Cornwall had a spoken language of its own in the last century. But that the more

* "Histoire de la Civilisation en France, Septième Leçon."

educated inhabitants of the cities were unacquainted with the language in which all their municipal regulations were conducted, is to presume an incapacity which is not justified by historical evidence. A great number of Latin words are found in the Welsh language, although in Wales there are fewer Roman remains than in any part of Britain. The Latin tongue was no doubt driven out by the Anglo-Saxon; but if we assume a much earlier settlement of a Saxon population in England than is commonly imagined, we may account for "the incorporation of much Latin with Anglo-Saxon," without holding that the mixed languages came from the region of the Saxon race, "where the Roman power and preponderance had been quite sufficiently felt to produce this effect."* In no country under the dominion of Rome was the admixture of races so extensive as in Britain; and that admixture, be it remembered, chiefly prevailed in the most populous places. The result, in the large communities, was a blended progeny and a blended language. A writer who knows how to be popular without being superficial tells us how the Roman features may be still traced in the Isle of Wight, where the Roman soldier had his first encampments.† In the same way the great seats of Saxon settlement may be also identified by a distinctive character of countenance. As we find an old British law in the present day, which Roman, and Saxon, and Norman codes have not obliterated—the law of Gavelkind—so in particular districts dialects and manners continued unchanged. That the Britons were not as fully Romanized as were the people of Spain and Gaul was a natural consequence of their insular position, and of that indomitable character under oppression which Tacitus so honestly records.

Of the state of the arts in Britain we have no very distinct means of judging; nor can we separate, in the erection and ornament of any building, the skill of the Roman workman from that of the British. It is recorded by Eumenius, that when the Emperor Constantius rebuilt the city of Autun, in Gaul, he brought the artificers chiefly from Britain. Nothing, however, has been discovered of architectural remains which show a very high style of art; and we must bear in mind that the climate was unfavorable for the preservation of richly-ornamented friezes and capitals, if any such existed. Of decorative painting we are not without specimens. Forbearing to enter into antiquarian details, we may mention the remarkable Roman villa of Bignor, in Sussex; which, probably, was the country-house of some important officer of the neighboring city of Chichester, the Regnum of the Romans. On the slope of a gentle hill, and not far removed from the old Roman road known as Stone Street, may be seen the very perfect remains of a house and its offices, of considerable extent. Here are mosaic pavements and painted walls of bold and elegant designs, whose colors are still fresh, and whose chemical composition, according to Sir Humphry Davy, is similar to that employed in the baths of Titus at Rome, and the buildings at Pompeii. An inscription found at Chichester‡ records that the guild or college of workmen built a temple to Neptune and Minerva. Were they the builders of the villa at Bignor? Were there, in this now solitary place, other buildings in which lived the slaves and dependents of the personage who occupied it? Had he every household resource within his own gates; or did his tailor and his grocer drive their carts along the highway from the city, which was then a port, and bring him the newest fashion of the toga, or the last imported luxury, from the seat of empire? We only know that in this remote place a rich man dwelt, with numerous chambers and spacious courts—his atrium and his basilica, his baths, his colonnades, and his gardens.

The customs of a nation, and whatever relates to its common life, furnish as enduring traces of what has gone before, as its laws and its language. There cannot be a more striking example of the blending of Roman and Teutonic modes of thought than is furnished by the names of our months and of our weeks. January presents itself under the influence of the "Two-faced Janus;" March is the month of Mars; July keeps to the memory of the mighty Julius; and August claims an annual reverence for the crafty Augustus. It was in vain that the Saxons would have superseded these popular titles by their "wolf-monat" for January; and their "lenet-monat" (lengthening month) for March. In vain they would have made Cæsar and Octavius yield to their "hay-month" and their "barn-month." And yet they have put their perpetual stamp upon our week days. The Saxon Woden set his mark upon Wednesday, and banished the "dies Mercurii;" Thor, the Saxon thunderer, was too mighty for the Roman Jupiter, who yielded up his "dies Jovis;" and that endearing wife of Woden, the Saxon Frea, dispossessed the Roman goddess of love of her "dies Veneris." But the Saxons have not obliterated more trifling things. Many traditionary customs and superstitions which have come down to us from the Roman period still bear testimony to the Roman influence. Our parochial perambulations are the ancient Terminalia; our May-day is the festival of Flora. Our marriage ceremonies are all Roman—the ring, the veil, the wedding gifts, the groomsmen and bridesmaids, the bride-cake. Our funeral images and customs are Roman—the cypress and the yew, the flowers strewn upon graves, the black for mourning. The lucky days of a century ago were the "dies albi" of the Romans, and the unlucky, the "dies atri." If we ask why we say "God bless you" to the sneezer, we only ask a question which Pliny asked, and perform a ceremony which even the stern Tiberius thought it necessary to perform. If we laugh at the credulous fancy of the simple maiden, who, when her ears tingle, says that a distant one is talking of her, we should recollect that the Romans believed in some influence of a mesmeric nature which produced the same effect. We have faith in odd numbers, as Virgil records the faith "Numero Deus impare gaudet." "A screech owl at midnight," says Addison, "has alarmed a family more than a band of robbers."* The terror was traditionary. "The bird of night" was ever an evil bird; and no Roman superstition entered more completely into the popular belief, and was more referred to by the historians and the poets. Indications such as these of the influences of the obscure past may be as trustworthy records as half-obliterated inscriptions. They enable us to piece out a passage or two in the history of a people.

* Forby, "Vocabulary of East Anglia," vol. i. p. 28.

† "Landmarks of the History of England," by the Rev. J. White, p. 3.

‡ See p. 13.

CHAPTER IV.

Introduction of Christianity—Persecution of Diocletian—St. Alban—Constantine—Church in Britain—Extortions and cruelties of the notary Paulus—Irruption of the Scots and Picts—Maximus—British colony of Armorica—Assertion of independence by Britons and Armoricans.

An ancient chronicler of Dover castle says, "In the year of Grace 180, reigned in Britain, Lucius. He became a Christian under Pope Eleutherius, and served God, and advanced Holy Church as much as he could. Among other benefits, he made a church in the said Castle, where the people of the town might receive the sacraments."* The remains of some ancient church, constructed of Roman materials, if not of Roman work, are still to be seen within the area of Dover Castle. The ruins, and the traditions which belong to them, are no sufficient evidence that here is the church of Lucius; nor is the record of the Dover chronicler and other annalists of much more value as to the period of the introduction of Christianity into Britain, or of the instruments of the Divine will by whom it was introduced. Tertullian, at the beginning of the third century, says that Britain had received the faith of Christ. The extent of its reception at that early date is very doubtful.

But if the statements of the ancient British writers as to the adoption of Christianity by Lucius, or Lever Maur (the great light), are deficient in that precision which constitutes historical authenticity, there is ample evidence that a Christian church of some importance was established in Britain at the beginning of the fourth century. At the first Council of Arles, in 314, three British bishops are recorded to have been present, and to have asserted opinions in some degree differing from those of the Romish Church. Constantine was then emperor. He, the son of Constantius by an English mother, Helena—born in Britain—raised to the imperial power by the affection of the army in Britain, in 306—would necessarily afford every encouragement to the propagation of the faith which he had himself adopted. But, a few years before, the spread of Christianity had been fearfully interrupted by the persecutions under Diocletian and Max-

* Quoted in Dugdale—"Account of the Nunnery of Saint Martin."

imian. To this period of fiery trial belongs the history of the British proto-martyr, Alban. Milton treats this passage of our annals with characteristic brevity: "Diocletian, having hitherto successfully used his valor against the enemies of his empire, uses now his rage in a bloody persecution against his obedient and harmless Christian subjects; from the feeling whereof, neither was this island, though most remote, far enough removed. Among them here who suffered gloriously, Aron, and Julius of Caerleon-upon-Usk, but chiefly Alban of Verulam, were most renowned; the story of whose martyrdom, soiled and worse martyred with the fabling zeal of some idle fancies, more fond of miracles than apprehensive of truth, deserves not longer digression." The legend of Saint Alban, as told by Bede, has much of what in these days we may call "fabling zeal;" but, nevertheless, in his beautiful and simple narrative, we may recognize much that is "apprehensive of truth." The celebrity of Alban was recognized by an Italian poet of the sixth century, before Bede wrote in the eighth. Deduct from Bede's narrative the miraculous drying-up of the waters of the river to allow the martyr's passage, and the sudden gushing out of a spring to afford him drink, and we have a consistent relation, which presents what we may well believe to be an accurate historical picture of the individual persecution of a British Christian before a Roman tribunal, bent upon enforcing the heathen worship. Alban was a Pagan, says Bede, at the time when the persecution began; and receiving into his house a certain priest, who was flying from the oppressors, was converted by his piety, and became a Christian in all sincerity of heart. When the hiding-place of the fugitive was discovered, Alban disguised himself in the clerical gown which his guest had worn, and was led bound before the Roman magistrate. The sacrifice to friendship was perfected by the stripes and death of the "self-offered victim," who boldly declared himself, "My name is Alban, and I worship the only true and living God, who created all things." He was delivered to the lictor; but the man was so moved by the fortitude of the Christian, and by the miraculous circumstances attending his progress, that he refused to perform his bloody office. Another executioner was found, and the two perished together. Bede has described the locality of this scene with an exactness which was evidently derived from personal observation of the hill of St. Alban's, whose gentle slopes, clothed with flowers, delighted the imagination of the venerable monk of Jarrow.

The civil government of Britain was remodelled by Constantine. The province was placed under the jurisdiction of the prefect of the Gauls; and his deputy, who bore the title of Vicar of Britain, resided at York. Under him were presidents of each of the four great divisions of the island. The military administration of the country was separated from the civil, and was confided to three officers, whose titles of count and duke have descended to modern ages. Constantine died in the year 337; but the internal tranquillity of the island was little disturbed for half a century after the persecution of the Christians had ceased. We have no record during this period of the comparative prevalence of the old British superstitions, of the rites of Pagan Rome, or of the Christian worship. But, even at this early period, the Church in Britain partook of the doctrinal contentions that in all periods have interfered with the general reception of the great fundamental principles of the religion of Christ. While the Romanized Britons were giving a cold and qualified adherence to the divinations and sacrifices of temples raised to Diana and Apollo, and some converts to a nobler creed indignantly cast away their household deities; and while the ancient votaries of Druidism were gradually adapting themselves to a faith, to which, in the doctrine of a future life and of a supreme judge, their own had some faint relation, the differences of the Romish and Eastern Churches about the celebration of Easter, and the violent opposition of the Arian and the more orthodox creed, penetrated into these regions so far removed from the disputes of the great councils. At a later period, the contests about points of doctrine became more strenuous; and we may in part attribute to these dissensions the remarkable circumstance that, during two centuries, the Christian creed was entirely swept away by Saxon heathendom; and that not only the names of Arius and Athanasius, which were familiar in the fourth century, were forgotten, but that the great fact recorded by Chrysostom at the end of that century—that the Britannic isles had felt the power of the Word, and that "churches and altars had been erected"—had passed away, like "an insubstantial pageant faded." But amid these polemical conflicts, which were probably more agitating the ecclesiastics than disturbing the people, the healing and humanizing doctrines of Christianity were operating to produce the tranquillity and prosperity which seemed to have belonged to Britain in the days of Constantine and his immediate successors. The Church had, to some extent, become a power; and in producing a comparative equality among the populations of the island—Roman, British, and Teutonic—it had mitigated many of the oppressions of a military despotism, and partially cemented the heterogeneous elements of society into the materials for forming a nation. There is a dramatic incident, however, belonging to the time of Constantius, the son of Constantine, which shows how the government of a province may be administered so as to become an instrument of official cruelty and rapacity. The story is told very circumstantially by Ammianus Marcellinus, who flourished within a quarter of a century of the period. In the year 350, Magnentius, whose father was a Briton, aimed at the supreme power of the Western empire; and his conspiracy was favored by some portion of the army in Britain. Paulus, a Spaniard, was sent by Constantius to search out the offenders against his power. The revolt had been put down, and Magnentius slain; but Paulus came with his delegated authority to revel in all the abominations which avarice can inflict when it clothes itself in the robes of justice. What the judge Jefferies was to England in the seventeenth century, the notary Paulus was in the fourth century. Wherever there was wealth to be plundered, there was the accuser. At the tribunal of Paulus innocence was no protection, if the victim was worth the trouble of being hunted out of life. The pro-prefect, or Vicar of Britain, Martinus, opposed the unjust judge. But he was destined to be involved in the general proscription of the rich and powerful. Driven to despair, he drew his sword upon the notary; but, missing his blow, he plunged the weapon into his own heart. There was no barrier then to the ravages of the tyrant; and Constantius applauded the executions and the tortures, the confiscations and the banishments, which were inflicted by his atrocious instrument. Julian, the succeeding emperor, commanded Paulus to be burned alive.

There were troubles now coming upon the fertile provinces which were more fatal than the occasional misgovernment of the imperial authorities. Those who ultimately had a considerable share in destroying the Roman civilization, when its military strength was wholly withdrawn from Britain, now ventured to assail it when its defences were only weakened. In the year 360 the tribes whom we call Picts and Scots entered the provinces within the wall of Hadrian in considerable numbers. "It is remarkable," says an acute and learned historian, "that, from this period, the Caledonians and Mæatæ, tribes which for two centuries had been the terror of the civilized Britons, disappear, without any ostensible cause, from the page of history." Dr. Lingard, from whom we quote, considers that the Picts were, under a new denomination, the very same people. Dr. Lappenberg speaks of the near relation of both these tribes to the Caledonians and Mæatæ; and he adds, "it is certain that the Scots, and probably the Picts likewise, passed over from Ireland, and reduced the earlier inhabitants to subjection." The Scoti, who were undoubtedly Irish, ultimately gave their name to North Britain. These tribes, then, grown powerful in the fourth century, had gradually made inroads upon the Southern provinces; and in the year 368 had carried their devastations as far as London. The Roman bands had given way before them, and their leaders had been slain. At length the great general, Theodosius, came over from Gaul with a considerable force, and drove back the marauders beyond the wall of Antoninus. The garrisons were re-established; the civil administration was reformed; and Britain once more appeared likely to return to the safety and peace of the preceding half century.

In the army of Theodosius was a leader named Maximus, of a distinguished British family. He had acquired high honor by his skill and bravery in the expulsion of the Scots and Picts; and was ultimately proclaimed by the army, emperor of Britain. He was probably supported by the British races, who prevailed, without much admixture, in Wales and Cornwall. In an evil hour he quitted the security of his island empire, and aspired to found a new continental branch of the Roman dominion. He was ultimately defeated and put to death in 388. During his five years of struggling power large numbers of the British had followed his fortunes in Gaul; and after

his fall they refused to return to their native country. The old chroniclers, Gildas, Bede, Nennius, and Henry of Huntingdon, distinctly connect the settlement of a Roman-British colony in Gaul with the period of the usurpation of Maximus. Gildas says, "New races of tyrants sprang up in terrific numbers; and the island, still bearing its Roman name, but casting off her institutes and laws, sent forth among the Gauls that bitter scion of her own planting, Maximus, with a great number of followers." He then recites the actions of this British leader, and adds: "After this, Britain is left deprived of all her soldiery and armed bands, of her cruel governors, and of the flower of her youth, who went with Maximus, and never again returned." William of Malmesbury puts the settlement of a British colony in Gaul at an earlier date—the time of Constantine. Some historians, on the other hand, consider that the immigration of the insular Britons into the country which received their name, Brittany, took place after the Saxon invasion. The story of Conan, the British chief, who led his followers to the walls of Paris, and there fought with Maximus against Gratian, is circumstantially told in the histories of Brittany by D'Argentré and by Daru. Maximus and Conan separated. The British chief carried his legions to Armorica, where he founded that colony which for so many centuries had an intimate connection with Cornwall and Wales; where the same language as that of its Britannic founders was long spoken; which was a safe retreat for all who were harassed by Pict or Sea-King; and in which the great deeds of the British Arthur entered into the traditions of the people long after the Saxon rule in England had obliterated them. The hilly regions and craggy shores of Brittany had many points of resemblance to the mountains of Wales and the coasts of Cornwall; and they were each fitted for the abode of an enthusiastic race, equally brave; united by the same traditions which they derived from that ancient bardic order which was a part of Druidism; and each retaining many of the superstitions of their early faith, even amid the rites of Christianity.

There is nothing in the story of the establishment of the British colony of Armorica, in the time of Maximus, that is in the least inconsistent with the subsequent history of Britain, as related by authorities who have secured more general confidence than the old British writers. The emigration to the western shores of Gaul may not have been so numerous as some believe, who put the number of armed warriors at a hundred thousand; but that there was a decided weakening of the military strength of the country, toward the end of the fourth century, is very manifest. The hordes of Alaric were overrunning Italy. When the remote British province was harassed by its fierce enemies from the Grampian Mountains, and from the more dangerous neighborhood of Galloway and Dumfries-shire, sometimes the Roman soldiers could be spared for their succor, and the invaders were driven back. When the Roman legions were recalled, the untiring enemies again came. The island was harassed within as well as from without. Pretenders to a sovereign power in the Roman province were set up, and as quickly deposed. Marcus and Gratian were rulers for a few months. Constantine, a soldier raised from the ranks, had a somewhat longer tenure of power; but leaving Britain, to carry on a more extended resistance to the emperor Honorius, the Britons threw off their allegiance to the Roman authority, and by one vigorous effort repelled their fierce assailants by their own strength. Zosimus, the historian, records those events, as well as the concurrent establishment of an independent government by the Armoricans. "The neglect of Constantine," he says, "compelled both the inhabitants of the Britannic island, as well as some of the Celtic nations, to revolt from the empire of the Romans, and to live independent of them, no longer obeying their laws. The people, therefore, of Britain, taking up arms, and defying every danger, freed their cities from the invading barbarians. And the whole Armoric and other provinces of Gaul, imitating the Britons, liberated themselves in like manner, expelling the Roman prefects, and setting up a civil policy according to their own inclination."

Here, then, in the year 409, was our England an independent state. In the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle—the curious but meagre record of early events, which is supposed to have existed in the time of Alfred, and even to have been partly compiled by that great king—there is the following entry, which singularly agrees with the chronology of Greek and Latin historians: "A. 409. This year the Goths took the city of Rome by storm, and after this the Romans never ruled in Britain, and this was about eleven hundred and ten years after it was built. Altogether they ruled in Britain four hundred and seventy years since Caius Julius first sought the land." The chronicler adds, under the year 418, "This year the Romans collected all the treasures that were in Britain, and some they hid in the earth, so that no one has since been able to find them, and some they carried with them into Gaul." Bede has the same account of the duration of the Roman rule. Procopius, who flourished in the sixth century, relating the defeat of Constantine and his son by Honorius, says, "The Romans no longer had it in their power to recover Britain; so that from this time it remained subject to usurpers." Gibbon recognizes the value of these authorities, and observes, "Yet our modern historians and antiquaries extend the term of their dominion; and there are some who allow only the interval of a few months between their departure and the arrival of the Saxons." This theory of the date of the Roman dominion and the commencement of the Saxon has arisen from the too common practice of dividing our history into great epochs, separated by imaginary lines from what has gone before and what is to come after. On the contrary, all great revolutions depend upon that social condition in which there is never any sudden change, but in which the most important changes do take place by almost imperceptible degrees. In the next chapter we shall briefly trace the social condition of England in the obscure interval between the Roman and the Saxon supremacy, in the first half of the fifth century.

CHAPTER V.

Mixed Character of the Population—The British Church—Truth and Fable—Hengist and Horsa—Hostile bands of settlers—Native seats of the Immigrants—Gregory the Great—Saxon heathendom—Arrival of Augustin—Ethelbert—Conference at Augustin's oak—Laws of Ethelbert—Edwin and Paulinus—Incessant wars—Cultivation of letters.

"THEY" (the Romans), says Bede, "resided within the rampart that Severus made across the island, on the south side of it; as the cities, temples, bridges, and paved ways do testify to this day." On the north of the wall were the nations that no severity had reduced to subjection, and no resistance could restrain from plunder. At the extreme west of England were the people of Cornwall, or little Wales, as it was called; having the most intimate relations with the people of Britannia Secunda, or Wales; and both connected with the colony of Armorica. The inhabitants of Cornwall and Wales, we may assume, were almost exclusively of the old British stock. The abandonment of the country by the Romans had affected them far less than that change affected the more cultivated country, that had been the earliest subdued, and for nearly four centuries had received the Roman institutions and adopted the Roman customs. But in the chief portion of the island, from the southern and eastern coasts to the Tyne and the Solway, there was a mixed population, among whom it would be difficult to trace that common bond which would constitute nationality. The British families of the interior had become mingled with the settlers of Rome and its tributaries to whom grants of land had been assigned as the rewards of military service; and the coasts from the Humber to the Exe had been here and there peopled with northern settlers, who had gradually planted themselves among the Romanized British, and were, we may well believe, among the most active of those who carried forward the commercial intercourse of Britain with Gaul and Italy. When, therefore, we approach the period of what is termed the Saxon invasion, and hear of the decay, the feebleness, the cowardice, and the misery of the Britons—all which attributes have been somewhat too readily bestowed upon the population which the Romans had left behind—it would be well to consider what these so-called Britons really were, to enable us properly to understand the transition state through which the country passed.

Our first native historian is Gildas, who lived in the middle of the sixth century. "From the early part of the fifth century, when the Greek and Roman writers cease to notice the affairs of Britain, his narrative, on whatever authority it may have been founded, has been adopted without question by Bede and succeeding authors, and accepted, notwithstanding its barrenness of facts and pompous obscurity, by all but general consent, as the basis of early English

history." * Gibbon has justly pointed out his inconsistencies, his florid descriptions of the flourishing condition of agriculture and commerce after the departure of the Romans, and his denunciations of the luxury of the people; when he, at the same time, describes a race who were ignorant of the arts, incapable of building walls of defence, or of arming themselves with proper weapons. When "this monk," as Gibbon calls him, "who, in the profound ignorance of human life, presumes to exercise the office of historian," tells us that the Romans, who were occasionally called in to aid against the Picts and Scots, "give energetic council to the timorous natives, and leave them patterns by which to manufacture arms," we seem to be reading an account of some remote tribe, to whom the Roman sword and buckler were as unfamiliar as the musket was to the Otaheitans when Cook first went among them. When Gildas describes the soldiers on the wall as "equally slow to fight and ill-adapted to run away;" and tells the remarkable incident, which forms part of every schoolboy's belief, that the defenders of the wall were pulled down by great hooked weapons and dashed against the ground, we feel a pity akin to contempt for a people so stupid and passive, and are not altogether sorry that the Picts and Scots, "differing one from another in manners, but inspired with the same avidity for blood," had come with their bushy beards and their half-clothed bodies, to supplant so effeminate a race. When he makes this feeble people send an embassy to a Roman in Gaul to say, "The barbarians drive us to the sea; the sea throws us back on the barbarians: thus two modes of death await us; we are either slain or drowned," we must wonder at the very straitened limits in which this unhappy people were shut up. Surely much of this is little more than the timid rhetoric of the cloister; for all the assumptions that have been raised of the physical degeneracy of the people are quite unsupported by any real historical evidence. M. Guizot considers it unjust and cruel to view their humble supplications, so declared by Gildas, to Rome for aid as evidences of the effeminacy of that nation, whose resistance to the Saxons has given a chapter to history at a time when history has few traces of Italians, Spaniards, and Gauls. That the representations of Gildas could only be partially true, as applied to some particular districts, is sufficiently proved by the undoubted fact that within little more than twenty years from the date of these cowardly demonstrations, Anthemius, the emperor, solicited the aid of the Britons against the Visigoths; and twelve thousand men from this island, under one of the native chieftains, Rhiothimus, sailed up the Loire, and fought under the Roman command. They are described by a contemporary Roman writer as quick, well-armed, turbulent and contumacious, from their bravery, their numbers, and their common agreement. These were not the people who were likely to have stood upon a wall to be pulled down by hooked weapons. They might have been the people who had clung, more than the other inhabitants of the Roman provinces, to their original language and customs; but it is not improbable that they would have been of the mixed races with whom Rome had been in more intimate relations, and to whom she continued to render offices of friendship after the separation of the island province from her empire.

Amid all this conflict of testimony, there is the undoubted fact that out of the Roman municipal institutions had risen the establishment of separate sovereignties, as Procopius relates. Britain, according to St. Jerome, was "a province fertile in tyrants." The Roman municipal government was kept compact and uniform under a great centralizing power. It fell to pieces here, as in Gaul, when that power was withdrawn. It resolved itself into a number of local governments without any principle of cohesion. The vicar of the municipium became an independent ruler and head of a little republic; and that his authority was contested by some who had partaken of his delegated dignity may be reasonably inferred. The difference of races would also promote the contests for command. If East Anglia contained a preponderance of one race of settlers, and Kent and Sussex of another, they might well quarrel for supremacy. But when all the settlers on the Saxon shore had lost the control and protection of the count who once governed them, it may also be imagined that the more exclusively British districts would not readily co-operate for defence with those who were more strange to their kindred even than the Roman. All the European continent was in a state of political dislocation; and we may safely conclude that when the great power was shattered that had so long held the government of the world, the more distant and subordinate branch of its empire would resolve itself into some of the separate elements of authority and of imperfect obedience, by which a clan is distinguished from a nation.

Nor was the power of the Christian Church in Britain of a more united character than that of the civil rulers. No doubt a Church had been formed and organized, as we have already noticed. There were bishops, so called, in the several cities; but their authority was little concentrated, and their tenets were discordant. Pilgrimages were even made to the sacred places of Palestine; and at a very early period monasteries were founded. That of Bangor, or the great circle, seems to have had some relation to the ancient Druidical worship, upon which it was probably engrafted in that region where Druidism had long flourished. There were British versions of the Bible. But that the Church had no sustaining power at the period when civil society was so wholly disorganized, may be inferred from circumstances which preceded the complete overthrow of Christian rites by Saxon heathendom. Bede devotes several chapters of his "Ecclesiastical History" to the actions of St. Germanus, who came expressly to Britain to put down the Pelagian heresy; and, amid the multitude of miraculous circumstances, records how "the authors of the perverse notions lay hid, and, like the evil spirits, grieved for the loss of the people that was rescued from them. At length, after mature deliberation, they had the boldness to enter the lists, and appeared, being conspicuous for riches, glittering in apparel, and supported by the flatteries of many." The people, according to Bede, were the judges of this great controversy, and gave their voices for the orthodox belief. Whether the Pelagians were expelled from Britain by reason or by force, it is evident that, in the middle of the fifth century, there was a strong element of religious disunion very generally prevailing; and that at a period when the congregations were in a great degree independent of each other, and therefore difficult of subjection to a common authority, the rich and the powerful had adopted a creed which was opposed to the centralizing rule of the Romish Church, and were arguing about points of faith as strongly as they were contesting for worldly supremacy. Dr. Lappenberg justly points out this celebrated controversy in our country, as "indicating the weakness of that religious connection which was so soon to be totally annihilated." We may, in some degree, account for the reception of the doctrine of Pelagius by knowing that he was a Briton, whose plain unlatinized name was Morgan.

Macaulay has startled many a reader of the most familiar histories of England, in saying, "Hengist and Horsa, Vortigern and Rowena, Arthur and Mordred, are mythical persons, whose very existence may be questioned, and whose adventures must be classed with those of Hercules and Romulus." It is difficult to write of a period of which the same writer has said, "an age of fable completely separates two ages of truth." Yet no one knew better than this accomplished historian himself that an age of fable and an age of truth can not be distinguished with absolute precision. It is not that what is presented to us through the haze of tradition must necessarily be unreal, any more than that what comes to us in an age of literature must be absolutely true. An historical fact, a real personage, may be handed down from a remote age in the songs of bards; but it is not therefore to be inferred that these national lyrics are founded upon pure invention. It is curious to observe that, wandering amid these traces of events and persons that have been shaped into history, how ready we are to walk in the footsteps of some half-fabulous records, and wholly to turn away from others which seem as strongly impressed upon the shifting sands of national existence. We derive Hengist and Horsa from the old Anglo-Saxon authorities; and modern history generally adopts them. Arthur and Mordred have a Celtic origin, and they are as generally rejected as "mythical persons." It appears to us that it is as precipitate wholly to renounce the one as the other, because they are both surrounded with an atmosphere of the fabulous. Hengist and Horsa come to us encompassed with Gothic traditions that belong to other nations. Arthur presents himself with his attributes of the magician Merlin and the knights of the Round Table. But are we therefore to deny altogether their historical existence? In following the *ignis fatuus* of tradition, the credulous annalists of the monastic age were lost in

* Preface to "Monumenta Historica Britannica," p. 60.

the treacherous ground over which it led them. The more patient research of a critical age sees in that doubtful light a friendly warning of what to avoid, and hence a guide to more stable pathways.

Hengist and Horsa, who, according to the Anglo-Saxon historians, landed in the year 449 on the shore which is called Ypwinesfleet, were personages of more than common mark. "They were the sons of Wihtgils; Wihtgils son of Witta, Witta of Wecta, Wecta of Woden." So says the Anglo-Saxon chronicle, and adds, "From this Woden sprung all our royal families." These descendants, in the third generation, from the great Saxon divinity, came over in three boats. They came by invitation of Wyrtgeone—Vortigern—king of the Britons. The king gave them land in the south-east of the country, on condition that they should fight against the Picts; and they did fight, and had the victory wheresoever they came. And then they sent for the Angles, and told them of the worthlessness of the people and the excellences of the land. This is the Saxon narrative. The seductive graces of Rowena, the daughter of Horsa, who corrupted the king of the Britons by love and wine, is an embellishment of the British traditions. Then came the great battles for possession of the land. At Aylesford and Crayford the Kentish Britons were overthrown. Before the Angles, the Welsh fled like fire. These events occupy a quarter of a century. While they are going on, the Roman emperor, as we have mentioned upon indubitable authority, receives an auxiliary force of twelve thousand men from Britain. We cannot rely upon narratives that tell us of *the* king of the Britons, when we learn from no suspicious sources that the land was governed by many separate chiefs; and which represent a petty band of fugitives as gaining mighty triumphs for a great ruler, and then subduing him themselves in a wonderfully short time. The pretensions of Hengist and Horsa to be the immediate descendants of Woden would seem to imply their mythical origin. But many Saxon chiefs of undoubted reality rested their pretensions upon a similar genealogy. The myth was as flattering to the Anglo-Saxon pride of descent as the corresponding myth that the ancient inhabitants of the island were descended from the Trojan Brute was acceptable to the British race. But amid much of fable there is the undoubted fact that Germanic tribes were gradually possessing themselves of the fairest parts of Britain—a progressive usurpation, far different from a sudden conquest. Amid the wreck of the social institutions left by Rome, when all that remained of a governing power was centred in the towns, it may be readily conceived that the rich districts of the eastern and southern coasts would be eagerly peopled by new settlers, whose bond of society was founded upon the occupation of the land; and who, extending the area of their occupation, would eventually come into hostile conflict with the previous possessors.

For a century and a half a thick darkness seems to overspread the history of our country. In the Anglo-Saxon writers we can trace little, with any distinctness, beyond the brief and monotonous records of victories and slaughters. Hengist and Æsc slew four troops of Britons with the edge of the sword. Hengist then vanishes, and Ælla comes with his three sons. In 491 they besieged Andrescester, "and slew all that dwelt therein, so that not a single Briton was there left." Then come Cerdic and Cynric his son; then Port and his two sons, and land at Portsmouth; and so we reach the sixth century. Cerdic and Cynric now stand foremost among the slaughterers, and they establish the kingdom of the West Saxons, and conquer the Isle of Wight. In the middle of the century Ida begins to reign, from whom arose the royal race of North-humbria. In 565 Ethelbert succeeded to the kingdom of the Kentish-men, and held it fifty-three years. The war goes on in the South-midland counties where Cuthwulf is fighting; and it reaches the districts of the Severn where Cuthwine and Ceawlin slay great kings, and take Gloucester, and Cirencester, and Bath. One of these fierce brethren is killed at last, and Ceawlin, "having taken many spoils and towns innumerable, wrathful returned to his own." Where "his own" was, we are not informed. We reach, at length, the year 596, when "Pope Gregory sent Augustin to Britain, with a great many monks, who preached the word of God to the nation of the Angles." Bede very judiciously omits all such details. He tells us that "they carried on the conflagration from the eastern to the western sea, without any opposition, and almost covered all the superficies of the perishing island. Public as well as private structures were overturned; the priests were everywhere slain before the altars; the prelates and the people, without any respect of persons, were destroyed with fire and sword." There is little to add to these impressive words, which no doubt contain the general truth. But if we open the British history of Geoffrey of Monmouth, we find ourselves relieved from the thick darkness of the Anglo-Saxon records by the blue lights and red lights of the most wondrous romance. Rowena comes with her golden wine-cup. Merlin instructs Vortigern how to discover the two sleeping dragons who hindered the foundation of his tower. Aurelius, the Christian king, burns Vortigern in his Cambrian city of refuge. Eldol fights a duel with Hengist, cuts off his head, and destroys the Saxons without mercy. Merlin the magician, and Uther Pendragon, with fifteen thousand men, bring over "the Giants' Dance" from Ireland, and set it up in Salisbury plain. Uther Pendragon is made the Christian king over all Britain. At length we arrive at Arthur, the son of Uther. To him the entire monarchy of Britain belonged by hereditary right. Hoel sends him fifteen thousand men from Armorica, and he makes the Saxons his tributaries; and with his own hand kills four hundred and seventy in one battle. He not only conquers the Saxons, but subdues Gaul, among other countries, and holds his court in Paris. His coronation at the City of the Legions (Caer-Leon) is gorgeous beyond all recorded magnificence; and the general state of the country, in these days of Arthur, before the middle of the sixth century, is thus described: "At that time Britain had arrived at such a pitch of grandeur that in abundance of riches, luxury of ornaments, and politeness of inhabitants, it far surpassed all other kingdoms." Mordred, the wicked traitor, at length disturbs all this tranquillity and grandeur, and brings over barbarous people from different countries. Arthur falls in battle. The Saxons prevail; and the Britons retire into Cornwall and Wales.

Amid the bewildering mass of the obscure and the fabulous which our history presents of the first century and a half of the Saxon colonization, there are some well-established facts which are borne out by subsequent investigations. Such is Bede's account of the country of the invaders, and the parts in which they settled. This account, compared with other authorities, gives us the following results. They consisted of "the three most powerful nations of Germany—Saxons, Angles, and Jutes." The Saxons came from the parts which, in Bede's time, were called the country of the Old Saxons. That country is now known as the Duchy of Holstein. These, under Ælla, founded the kingdom of the South Saxons—our present Sussex. Later in the fifth century, the same people, under Cerdic, established themselves in the district extending from Sussex to Devonshire and Cornwall, which was the kingdom of the West Saxons. Other Saxons settled in Essex and Middlesex. The Angles, says Bede, came from "the country called Angelland, and it is said from that time to remain desert to this day." There is a part of the Duchy of Sleswig, to the north of Holstein, which still bears the name of Angel or Angeln. These people gave their name to the whole country, Engla-land, or Angla-land, from the greater extent of territory which they permanently occupied. As the Saxons possessed themselves of the southern coasts, the Angles established themselves on the north-eastern. Their kingdom of East Anglia comprised Norfolk and Suffolk, as well as part of Cambridgeshire; and they extended themselves to the north of the Humber, forming the powerful state of Northumbria, and carrying their dominion even to the Forth and the Clyde. The Jutes came from the country north of the Angles, which is in the upper part of the present Sleswig; and they occupied Kent and the Isle of Wight, with that part of Hampshire which is opposite the island. Sir Francis Palgrave is of opinion that "the tribes by whom Britain was invaded appear principally to have proceeded from the country now called Friesland; for of all the continental dialects the ancient Frisick is the one which approaches most nearly to the Anglo-Saxon of our ancestors." Mr. Craik has pointed out that "the modern kingdom of Denmark comprehends all the districts from which issued, according to the old accounts, the several tribes who invaded Britain upon the fall of the Roman empire. And the *Danes* proper (who may be considered to represent the Jutes); the *Angles*, who live between the Bight of Flensborg and the river Schley on the Baltic; the *Frisons*, who inhabit the islands along the west coast of Jutland, with a part of the bailiwick of Husum in Sleswig; and the *Germans* of Holstein (Bede's Old Sax-

ons), are still all recognized by geographers and ethnographers as distinct races."*

Connected with the early name of the country is the well-known story of Gregory the Great. The scene of this story is papal Rome —the Rome which had lost her provinces, and was no longer the seat of empire; which dreaded the hostile approach of the Lombards; whose Campagna was a wilderness and whose Tiber deluged the city which it once refreshed; whose citizens depended for their food upon the precarious supplies of Sicily and Egypt; and whose noble monuments were tottering to decay. In this miserable city dwelt the monk Gregory, who was destined to raise the condition of its inhabitants, and to relieve it from some of its sorrows and fears, when he should become its spiritual and temporal ruler. In the market-place of Rome were exposed to sale some youthful slaves—fair-skinned and comely, with the long hair which was regarded as a mark of good descent. They are Angles—Angli—said the dealers in slaves, who had probably bought them from the southern tribes who had captured them in battle. "They have an angelic mien," said the monk, "and it becomes such to be co-heirs with the angels in heaven." They come from the province of Deira, said the merchants (Northumbria was divided into Deira and Bernicia). "It is well," said the priest; "*de ira eruti*, snatched from wrath, and called to the mercy of Christ." Lastly, he was told that the king of the province was Ælla. "*Alle*luiah," said the good father; "the praise of God the Creator must be sung in those parts." Bede tells this singular history with evident admiration of the happy conceits of the great churchman. It is possible that they were the inventions of the cloister. But the fact that British slaves were an article of traffic is undoubted; and it is equally true that Gregory, however touched by the ambitious spirit of his church, was a man of truly Christian benevolence. "In the use of wealth," says one not ordinarily favorable to ecclesiastical power, "he acted like a faithful steward of the church and the poor, and liberally supplied to their wants the inexhaustible resources of abstinence and order. . . . Such was the extreme sensibility of his conscience, that, for the death of a beggar who had perished in the streets, he interdicted himself during several days from the exercise of sacerdotal functions."† Such a man would perceive that there was a noble field for his pious exertions in the conversion of that Briton which had relapsed into heathendom. He was forbidden to undertake the mission himself; but he never neglected the duty which the fair-skinned slaves of the Roman market-place had presented to his imagination, and which he ultimately carried out in a spirit in which zeal was happily blended with prudence.

The heathendom which Gregory ardently desired to overthrow had taken a very deep root in the country before the arrival of the Christian missionaries. Woden was the Mercury of the Saxons. William of Malmesbury, speaking of the pretensions of Hengist and Horsa to be descended from him, says, "They were great-grandsons of the most ancient Woden, from whom almost all the royal families of these barbarous nations deduce their origin; and to whom the nations of the Angles, fondly deifying him, have consecrated the fourth day of the week, and the sixth day unto his wife Frea, by a sacrilege which lasts even unto this day." To him were human victims sacrificed. That his worship was universally spread in England is shown, according to Mr. Kemble, by the extreme frequency of names of places compounded with his name. Thus the ancient fortification Wansdike is Woden's dike. Thor, the thunderer, the god of storms and rains, wielding his terrible hammer, was the Saxon Jupiter, as Tiw was their Mars. Frea, according to Mr. Kemble, was a god; and Woden's wife was Fricge. There were lesser gods —Baldr, and Geat, and Sætere, or Saturn. Goddesses were numerous. Eastre survives in the great festival of the Church. Their mythology included fiends, and monsters, and fates. "The weird sisters" of Macbeth comes from the Wyrd, who weave the web of destiny. There was hero-worship too, in which the rude but imaginative man recognized some great attribute of courage or goodness, which he exalted into a power below his divinities, but calling for his habitual reverence. Perhaps we have been too much accustomed to look only at the revolting aspect of these superstitions; and not to see in them that, however debasing in some essentials, they were manifestations of a spirit which did not walk in the material world without believing in some presiding influences which governed human actions. In this rude mythology we see glimpses of a belief in a future life, and of a state of rewards and punishments. That the mythology of the nations who overran England in the fifth and sixth centuries, and swept away whatever remained of Roman rites, with all that had been created of Christian worship, was a great dominant principle in the life of the people, admits of little question. But, at the same time, it possessed some capacity of assimilation with that faith before which the classical paganism of the ancient world had retreated. Mr. Kemble points out the pregnant fact in the history of our Anglo-Saxon progenitors, at the commencement of the sixth century, "that Christianity met but little resistance among them, and enjoyed an easy triumph, or, at the worst, a careless acquiescence, even among those whose pagan sympathies could not be totally overcome."*

"This year," A.D. 597, says the Anglo-Saxon chronicle, "Augustin and his companions came to the land of the Angles." The earnest wish of Gregory had at length been carried out. At the first command of his spiritual superior, Augustin and his companions set forward. But the difficulties of the journey, the dread of a hostile reception from a fierce people, and the ignorance of the language of those whom they would seek to teach and to convert, not unnaturally restrained their ardor. The zealous pope would accept no excuse for desisting from a good work; but he smoothed the way of the missionaries through France, by recommending them to regal and priestly affection and comfort. They landed in the Isle of Thanet, in number about forty. "At that time," says Bede, "Ethelbert was the powerful King of Kent, who had extended his dominions as far as the great river Humber, by which the southern Saxons are divided from the northern." In the first Ethelbert we recognize the existence of some powerful authority which appears to belong to the title of king. Numerous chieftains, whose continual wars with the British inhabitants and among themselves have no historical interest, had passed away, and a gradual consolidation of territory and rule had taken place throughout the island. In the Kentish kingdom were now included those of Essex and Sussex, as a confederation acknowledging the supremacy of Ethelbert. The kingdom of the West Saxons was another powerful confederation, which ultimately became the acknowledged seat of the sovereignty of England. East Anglia had its defined boundaries in the extreme east of the island. Mercia claimed much of the remainder of England east of the Severn and south of the Humber; but at the time of Ethelbert, successful policy and warfare had subjected its petty sovereigns to the authority of the Kentish king. Northumbria, uniting the two kingdoms of Deira and Bernicia, extended beyond the Humber to the Border-land. There, in the north, were the Picts and Scots. In the farther west of England, and throughout Wales, were large portions of the unsubdued British race. We thus see how far the people of this country, at the beginning of the seventh century, were essentially different from the condition of one nation, united by common laws, possessing equal progress in industry and accumulated wealth, and having any great bond for defence or social improvement. In the kingdoms we have enumerated there were many sovereignties, of which the heads claimed royal descent and consequent superiority. The royal pedigree always went up to Woden, and often into a remoter antiquity. No doubt the rival claims to descent from kings and deities were the cause of perpetual wars, and stimulated the hostilities of tribe against tribe. The belief that in these kingdoms of the Germanic races there was any community of civil or warlike operation, is one of those hasty theories which modern research has effectually dispelled. The historian Rapin says of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, "They formed their Witena gemot, or assembly of wise men, to settle the common affairs of the seven kingdoms, and conferred the command of their armies upon one chosen out of the seven kings, to whom, for that reason no doubt, some have given the title of monarch." In later histories, upon which greater research has been bestowed as regards our early period, this "monarch" is called a "Bretwalda." Without entering upon the controversial matters that arise out of the belief or non-belief in this

* "Outlines of the History of the English Language." by George L. Craik, 2d ed. 1855.

† Gibbon, chap. xlv.

* "The Saxons in England," vol. i. p. 443.

real or unsubstantial dignity, we are disposed to give credit to the argument of Mr. Kemble, however strongly put, that, up to the period of which we are speaking, and indeed much later, "there is not the slightest evidence of a king exercising a central authority; and very little, at any time, of a combined action among the Saxons; and that it is quite as improbable that any Saxon king should ever have had a federal army to command as it is certainly false that there ever was a general Witena gemot for him to preside over."*

To Ethelbert, then, the king of one of the most fertile portions of England, came the missionaries of Pope Gregory. They had taken with them "interpreters of the nation of the Franks." The king had married Berhta, the daughter of Charibert, king of the Franks, who, by the terms of her marriage contract, enjoyed the exercise of Christian worship in the Church of Saint Martin at Canterbury, which had subsisted from the Roman times of Christianity in Britain. There was, no doubt, commercial intercourse between France and England about that period; for the Anglo-Saxons who traded to Rouen are recognized as frequenting the great fair of St. Denis.† With these interpreters, then, Augustin had an interview with the Kentish king. He received the missionaries in the open air; "for he had taken precaution that they should not come to him in any house, according to the ancient superstition, lest, if they had any magical arts, they might at their coming impose upon him and get the better of him."‡ He probably received them in one of the sacred boundaries over which Woden presided. They came, bearing a silver cross and a painted image, singing the Litany, and offering up prayers. The king was not enthusiastic, but he was tolerant. He declined to forsake what he had so long followed with his people; but he allowed the missionaries publicly to teach their religion, and gave them a dwelling-place in his metropolis of Canterbury. In due time Ethelbert became himself a convert.

In the history of Bede there is given a remarkable correspondence between Gregory and Augustin in answer to many questions of the missionary. The politic pope appears, in one of his letters, to have held no bigoted view of the customs in which one church differed from another, as the Roman and Gallican differed, but desired Augustin to impress upon the new converts those great principles upon which Christianity rested. "Choose from the several churches whatever is pious, and religious, and right, and these, gathered as it were into one whole, instil as observances into the minds of the Angles."§ And yet Augustin, in a conference with some of the ecclesiastics of the original British church, demanded so authoritatively, in his episcopal character, that they should conform to the Roman time of celebrating Easter, and to the Roman manner of baptism, that they refused to acknowledge him as their archbishop. Bede tells this story with characteristic ingenuousness. He records that Augustin performed a miracle which greatly moved the British priests to listen to him; but that one offence against the spirit of the Gospel made them reject his authority. After a first conference, at which the British ecclesiastics desired to consult their people before they departed from their ancient customs, they repaired to seek the advice of a certain holy and discreet hermit. He told them, "If the man is of God, follow him." "How," said they, "are we to know that?" He answered, "Our Lord saith, Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me, for I am meek and lowly of heart. If, therefore, Augustin is meek and lowly of heart, it is to be believed that he has taken upon himself the yoke of Christ, and offers it to you to take upon yourselves. But if he is haughty and proud, it is manifest that he is not of God, and that we need not regard his words." Again, they said, "How shall we discern this?" The anchorite replied, "Arrange it so that he first arrive with his company at the place of conference; and if, at your approach, he shall rise up to meet you, do you, being then assured that he is the servant of Christ, hear him obediently. But if he shall despise you, and not rise up to you, who are the greater in number, let him also be contemned of you." They came to the place of conference, where Augustin was seated, and Augustin did not rise. They applied the test. There was no union between the Anglo-Saxon and the British Church; and Augustin threatened that if they would not accept peace with their brothers, they should have war with their enemies. Dr. Lingard sneeringly calls the advice of the anchorite a "sapient admonition, which left to accident the decision of the controversy."* It was a controversy about points of discipline only, according to the same authority. The ministers of the ancient British church, who had maintained the Christian doctrine amid the changes and terrors of three centuries, refused to admit the authority in formulas of one who did not exhibit in his outward bearing the principle upon which every ordinance should rest. The vengeance with which they were threatened finally came upon them in the massacre of Bangor. On that terrible day, when Ethelfrith, the Bernician, advanced against the Britons, the monks of Bangor, who had fled to the army headed by the chief of Powis, knelt upon the battle-field and prayed for the safety of their countrymen. The pagan Saxon ordered the unarmed band to be massacred, "for if they are crying to God for my enemies, then they fight against me, though without arms." Taliesin, the British bard, was present at the great conflict:

"I saw the oppression of the tumult; the wrath and tribulation;
The blades gleaming on the bright helmets."†

The memory of Augustin has been stained by the reproach that he excited this massacre in a spirit of revenge against those who, in the language of Bede, "had disdained his counsels for their eternal salvation." The fierce prophecy of Augustin, even without his direct intervention, might have had much to do with its cruel accomplishment. Bede says that the great Roman missionary was dead at the time of this event. Some affirm that this passage in Bede is an interpolation. Be that as it may, the spirit of the prophecy was anti-Christian; and Wordsworth justly says, in a note to his sonnet, "The Monastery of Old Bangor," that Bede's account "suggests a most striking warning against national and religious prejudices."

Before the death of Ethelbert, in 616, he promulgated a code of laws, according to the counsel of wise men. "For this improvement," we are told, "he was indebted to the suggestions of the missionaries."‡ Bede, who is the authority in this particular, tells us nothing of the sort. He indeed says that Ethelbert, "in the first place, set down what satisfaction he should make who stole anything belonging to the church, or the bishops, or the other clergy, resolving to give protection to those whose doctrine he had embraced."§ The laws of Ethelbert were a collection of the ordinances in practical application among the Saxon people for the administration of justice; and they continued in force, with variations that very slightly affected their principle, for several centuries. They were the common law of the Germanic tribes, reduced in Ethelbert's kingdom to a statutory form at the beginning of the seventh century. They were founded upon the principle of pecuniary compensation for every offence against person and property. Out of these brief "dooms," as they are called, we may collect a faithful picture, as far as it goes, of the state of society.‖ In the first article for the protection of the church, we find recited the several degrees of bishop, priest, deacon, clerk. It was not held that damages, to use a familiar word of explanation, were to be paid without respect of persons, but that a bishop was to be compensated elevenfold and a clerk threefold of the value of any stolen property. The amends, atonement, or indemnification was called "bōt." The king's bōt was always the largest, except in the case of the bishop, who had twofold higher compensation for theft even than the king. If a man slew another in the king's "tun" (dwelling, with lands appertaining), he was to pay fifty shillings; if in that of an "eorl" (jarl, noble) twelve shillings. The slayer of the "hlaf-æta" (loaf-eater, domestic) of a "ceorl" (churl, freeman not noble) was to atone by six shillings. The mutilation of an "esne" (slave) was to be compensated to the owner at the full worth of the slave. The penalties for personal injuries to freemen are among the most curious of these dooms. It was not "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth," but the eye had a pecuniary value, and so had the tooth. The evil consequence of the infliction, and not the motive of the offender, regulated the

* "The Saxons in England," book ii. chap. i.
† Lappenberg, vol i. p. 131. ‡ Bede, book i. chap. xxvi.
§ Bede, book i. chap. xxvii.

* Lingard, chap. ii.
† Turner, "Anglo-Saxons," vol. i. book iii. chap. v.
‡ Lingard, chap. ii. § Bede, book ii. chap. v.
‖ The most ancient MS. of these Dooms is of the 12th century, and they are published in "The Ancient Laws and Institutes of England," issued by the Record Commission.

amount of the amends. Thus, if an ear was struck off, the bōt was twelve shillings; but "if the other ear hear not, let bōt be made with twenty-five shillings." In all cases of default of payment the remedy was prompt and effective. The offender became a penal slave. This principle of compensation, even for the highest class of offences, is no doubt indicative of a rude state of society. But it could not have subsisted so long without an adaptation, however incomplete, to the condition of the great body of the community. The law of the state fixed a value upon every man's life, according to his degree; which price, in the event of his being slain, was to be paid to his relatives. In the same way, it fixed a tariff upon all personal injuries that did not destroy life, and upon the outrages upon a man's domestic honor. It was the principle which interposed to avert, in some practical form, the terrible evils of private feud. Tacitus, writing of the German nations, distinctly shows us whence these Anglo-Saxon laws were derived, and upon what reason they were founded. "The enmities, as well as the friendships, of father and kindred they were bound to take up. Nor do their enmities remain implacable; for compensation is made even for homicide by a fixed number of sheep and cattle, and so the whole house is satisfied. Useful is this for the state, for feuds are the most dangerous where there is freedom."* It was the personal liberty of the Saxon man, and the holding together for mutual defence or revenge of the Saxon family, that rendered necessary this rude law of compensation. The Christian missionaries would have vainly labored to introduce the Roman law among a people with whom the assertion of individual right was stronger than any bond of subjection to the state. But when we speak of personal liberty and family alliance, we speak only of what regards a small portion of the community. The greater number were unfree. They were serfs. Whatever compensation the law gave to the owner of a slave for his murder or mutilation by another, the owner was himself privileged to murder or mutilate him without accountability to any earthly tribunal. The only restraint was that he thus destroyed his own property. When the serf was past service, the master would be at liberty to destroy him, as even civilized Rome slew the useless slave. Pecuniary compensation for any offence the serf might commit was out of the question. He had no property, and he paid by yielding his body to the lash. There was no limitation to the amount of labor exacted from him. He might come into the servile condition as a captive in war, as an offender who had no power of compensation, or as a slave by birth. Manumission was rare; for if the slave were admitted to the privileges of civil society, it was necessary for his owner to provide him with land upon which to settle. His skill as a laborer gave him no title to freedom, nor afforded him the possibility of maintaining himself in a state of independence, unless he held land. The agricultural services, whether of male or female, were almost wholly discharged by serfs. The ploughman was the highest laborer on the soil; the smith the most esteemed handicraftsman. They might have small advantages over other serfs; but each was nevertheless a chattel of his lord. There were poor freemen, no doubt, who held land upon the consideration of a labor-rent; but far the greater number of all laborers were serfs. Their mere physical wants were probably not ill-supplied; and one of the blessings that Christianity brought to the land was that the Church constantly strove to mitigate the hard lot of the unfree, and out of that portion of its possessions which was set apart for the poor did often maintain the old and worn-out slave when his master cast him off by an act of emancipation. The authority of the Church procured, moreover, the great body of toil-worn slaves a day of rest in every week—it gave them the Christian Sunday. But these healing influences were naturally slow and uncertain in producing a general amelioration of the laborer's lot; and thus, whatever might be the value of Saxon institutions to the free, we must pass on through centuries of serfdom before we can truly find a people.

The history of the establishment of Christianity in the seventh century is, to a great extent, the only portion of our history before Alfred which has an abiding human interest. What is generally called the history of the Heptarchy or the Octarchy is a dull chronicle of fierce hostilities and treacherous alliances, which affect us little more than the wars and truces of Choctaws and Cherokees. But when we come to the story of the conversion of King Edwin by Paulinus, we are once again in the society of men and not of fighting savages. Edwin is king of Northumbria. His youth has been one of exile and suffering. He has regained his kingdom, and has married the Christian daughter of Ethelbert of Kent. Paulinus, an ordained bishop, had come with the young Princess Ethelburga to Edwin's country, and had sought in vain to convert the king. An assassin, sent by the king of the West Saxons, attempted the life of Edwin; but the king was saved by the fidelity of one of his nobles, who interposed his own body to avert the death-stroke from his lord. At the same hour Ethelburga bore a daughter. The young king vowed that if he could obtain a victory over him who had sent the assassin he would renounce his idols. The victory was gained. The king, proceeding with caution, summoned his council, after he had long pondered the instructions of Paulinus, and he received from the bishop a sign that a promise made to him in the days of his adversity, in a miraculous vision, had been accomplished in his restoration to power, and was now to be acknowledged by his spiritual obedience. Bede tells us the entire story with his usual charming simplicity when he deals with a romantic subject. At the council of the king the chief priest of heathendom, by name Coifi, gave a very satisfactory reason for believing that the old religion had no virtue in it: "For not one of your people has applied himself more diligently to the worship of our gods than I have; and yet there are many who have received from you greater benefits and greater honors, and are more prosperous in all their undertakings; whereas, if the gods were good for anything, they would rather forward me who have been so zealous to serve them." Is this Saxon notion of measuring the divine approbation by the amount of worldly advantage quite extinct among us? This is the prose of the narrative. Now we come to the poetry. An old eorl stood up and said, "The life of man, O king, seems to me, in comparison with that which is hidden from us, to be like the sparrow, who, in the winter-time, as you sit in your hall with your thanes and attendants, warmed with the fire that is lighted in the midst, rapidly flies through to seek shelter from the chilling storms of rain and snow without. As he flies through, entering by one door and passing out by another, he has a brief escape from the storm, and enjoys a momentary calm. Again he goes forth to another winter and vanishes from your sight. So also seems the short life of man. Of what went before it, or of what is to follow, we know not. If, therefore, this new doctrine brings us something more certain, in my mind it is worthy of adoption." Then Paulinus discoursed of God and the true worship with Edwin and Coifi, and the king and the priest were converted. The idols were to be smitten, and the sacred places profaned; but who, said the king, will accomplish that work? Coifi answered, "I; for who is fitter to destroy, through the wisdom given unto me from God, those things that I have worshipped in my ignorance?" Then Coifi mounted a horse, and took a lance, in defiance of the ordinance that forbade a sacrificing priest to ride, except upon a mare, or to bear arms; and he hurled his lance against the idol, and the temple was set on fire.*

The century which saw the establishment of Christianity among the Anglo-Saxons, and the succeeding century, was a period of incessant wars. The pagan princes were sometimes in the ascendant; sometimes the converted. Sometimes princes who had listened to the Christian teachers and had been baptized relapsed into paganism; sometimes they enthusiastically threw away their power and became monks. Oswald, the Northumbrian, kneels before the cross in the neighborhood of Hexham, and defeats the British Cædwalla. Penda, the fierce king of Mercia, slays Oswald on the field of Maserfelth. Then Oswin overthrows Penda, the last and most powerful upholder of Saxon heathendom, who assailed every neighboring state with remorseless cruelty. Then Wulfere, the son of Penda, regains the dominion of Mercia, and is conqueror of Wessex. Ethelbald succeeds to his power, but yields to the West Saxons, upon whom he had partly imposed his yoke. Offa, who has written his name upon the great dyke reaching from the neighborhood of Chester to the Wye, subjugates the ancient Britons, and ravages their territory; while the whole of the Anglo-Saxon states submit to his empire. Amid these changes of fortune—dire reverses and horrible triumphs—which were only partially brought to an end when Egbert of

* Germ. xxii.

* Bede, book ii. chap. xiv.

Wessex attained something like a supremacy at the beginning of the ninth century, and England had taken a place among the Christian communities of Europe—it is consoling to turn from the outrages of barbarous chieftains to the contemplation of the learned and the pious, in their peaceful cells, keeping alive that flame of knowledge which without them might have been extinguished for ages. Out of his cloisters at Iona the light of piety and learning is first shed by Columba over the darkness of the northern Picts. Wilfred, the Bishop of York, builds churches in his diocese, and also teaches industrial arts to the South Saxons. Benedict Biscop, the Abbot of Wearmouth, fills his monastery with books and pictures which he brought from Rome. Cædmon, the cowherd, sings "The Creation" and the "Fall" in strains which have obtained for him the name of the Saxon Milton. Adhelm, whose Anglo-Latin poetry manifests his accomplishments—a minstrel as well as a poet—stands upon the bridge of Malmesbury, and as the peasants pass to and fro gathers a crowd to listen to some of the popular songs to the accompaniment of his harp, and gradually weaves into the verses holy words of exhortation. Bede, a monk of undoubted genius and vast learning, sits in his cell at Jarrow, and amid other worthy monuments of his piety and knowledge, gathers the obscure history of his country out of doubtful annals and imperfect traditions, weaving them into a narrative which we feel to be a conscientious one, however intermixed with stories which we, somewhat presumptuously, term superstitious. These men, and many illustrious fellow-laborers, struggled through the days of heathendom, and scarcely saw the full establishment of Christianity in this land. But the influences of what they taught gradually wrought that change which made the English one nation under one creed. In the mean time knowledge is leading on to general civilization. "The darkness begins to break: and the country which had been lost to view as Britain reappears as England."*

CHAPTER VI.

Egbert at the Court of Charlemagne—Alcuin—Egbert, King of Wessex—Reduces the other provinces to his supremacy—The Northmen, or Danes—Their ravages in England and France—Ethelwulf—Birth of Alfred—His early years—His sojourn at Rome—Ethelbald—Ethelbert—Alfred's residence with Ethelbert—Social ranks—Rural industry.

It is the last year of the eighth century. There is an English exile at the court of Charlemagne, who for thirteen years has been a humble followers of the fortunes of the great king of the Franks. Egbert, the son of Alckmund, king of Kent, aspired to the crown of the West Saxons; but Beortric was preferred. Each claimed to be descended from Cerdic. Egbert fled to Offa, king of Mercia; but when Offa gave his daughter Edburga in marriage to Beortric, there was no longer safety for him with a king to whom treachery and assassination were familiar instruments of his will. Charlemagne was one of those remarkable men whose influence M. Guizot has justly described: "Why a great man comes at a particular epoch, and what force of his own he puts into the development of the world, no one can say. This is the secret of Providence; but nevertheless the fact is certain."† Such a man does sometimes come to put an end to anarchy and social stagnation—a terrible and often a tyrannical power. Such a man was Charlemagne. He drove back the barbarian forces that were pressing forward against the establishment of European civilization by his power as a conqueror. He reduced the scattered elements of authority and justice into a system by his skill as an administrator. He gave the grape of the South to the shores of the Rhine, and otherwise extended the domain of fertility as a physical improver. He raised up the real civilizing power of knowledge to render his triumphs of war and peace of permanent utility, by his zeal as a patriot and his sympathy as a student. In this school was Egbert, the Kentish exile, educated. As he marched with the armies of the great king against the Lombards and the Bavarians, the Huns and the Saxons, he saw war upon as grand a scale as the world had ever beheld. Compared with the artillery of modern times, the catapults of Charles were feeble instruments. But his myriads of armed tributaries, sweeping the countries from the Rhone to the Danube, or descending from the Alps like swarms of locusts, struck terror into the nations that he came to reduce to his obedience. Wherever he marched there was the same mighty array of horse and foot, drawn from all the provinces of his empire; and round the mailed conqueror ever gathered a train of bishops and priests, singing rejoicing hymns, as the terrible sword "Gaudiosa"* gleamed in the eyes of the idolatrous Saxons or the rebellious Italians. Fearful were the massacres of those who refused to accept Christianity at the hands of the remorseless Frank. We gladly turn from such scenes to look at the great Charles pursuing his bloodless victories over ignorance and anarchy—the lawgiver and the schoolmaster. The latter would seem a strange title to give to a man who had headed fifty-three expeditions against Saxons, Lombards, Arabs, Thuringians, Huns, Bretons, Bavarians, Slavonians, Saracens, Danes, Greeks, and Aquitanians.† Charlemagne had a school in which he received many pupils; and selected his professors from the most accomplished scholars of his age. The chief professor was Alcuin, an Englishman. It was not only a school for teaching Latin and Greek, but a school for "common things." Wherever the king travelled this "School of the Palace" went with him; and there his sons, his daughters, his sisters, his privy-councillors, his clergy, in companionship with himself, received their lessons of elementary knowledge. From a specimen which has been preserved of these lessons, it would appear that, in the form of dialogue, the "Seven Sciences," such as they were then known, were taught in a very attractive shape; and these were mixed up with enigmatical questions which acted as a spur upon the mental activity of the learners. In this school no doubt Egbert of Kent was taught. Frequent, we may presume, were his conversations with his countryman Alcuin upon the future destinies of that England from which he was an exile; and which Alcuin looked upon as a land which was doomed to a long night of barbarity. For the Northmen had begun their devastations. The monastery of Lindisfarne was ravaged, and its monks slaughtered. From that time Alcuin had his home with the great Frank.

It is the year 800, and Charlemagne is about to be crowned at Rome as the Emperor of the West. There comes to his court a singular fugitive, Edburga, queen of Beortric, who had thrust Egbert from the throne of Wessex. The daughter of Offa is a murderess. She attempted to poison a friend of her husband; and both drank of the fatal cup and died. The people have expelled her from the country. Charlemagne, according to a story which looks authentic, asks her if she will have him for a new husband or have his son. She chose the younger; when the king replied that she should have neither, but if she had chosen him she might have married the son. This, if true, was the royal banter toward a guilty woman whose evil deeds ultimately sunk her into the lowest depths of wretchedness. But her guilt placed Egbert on the throne of Wessex. He returned to his country, and was at once chosen as the successor of Beortric. Charlemagne, it is said, gave him his own sword as a parting gift. But he had given him something better. He had shown him what a man of large capacity may do as an organizer of society. Egbert went forth from his foreign school; and, during his reign of thirty-six years, he accomplished that consolidation of authority which justified him in taking the title of King of England.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, under the year 800, has this record: "Ecgbryht succeeded to the kingdom of the West Saxons. And the same day Æthelmund ealdorman rode out from the Huiccii at Cynemæresford (Kempsford). Then Weostan the ealdorman with the men of Wiltshire met him. There was a great fight, and both the ealdormen were slain, and the men of Wiltshire got the victory." The Huiccii, or Wiccii, were men of Worcestershire and Warwickshire; and thus the accession of Egbert is signalized by a battle between people having the same origin, speaking the same language, separated only by a river. What was the work, then, which was before the new king to accomplish before the land could have rest and security? To put down these petty conflicts of tribes and chieftains, and reduce them to submission to one dominant power. It was a tedious and a fearful work. After a few years of repose the people of Cornwall and Wales were in commotion, as their brethren

* Macaulay. † "Civilisation en Europe." Troisième Leçon.

* Such is the name of Charlemagne's sword in the romance writers.
† See the table of his expeditions in Guizot.

of Armorica were also revolting against Charlemagne. There was always this sympathy between the Britons on either side of the Channel. They were put down; and Cornwall was nominally united with Wessex, but remained free from Anglo-Saxon occupation for centuries, during which the people preserved their own language. In Mercia there was usurpation and anarchy. Egbert seized the opportunity, and asserted that supremacy which Wessex never lost. The battle of Ellendune (Wilton)—the great struggle between Egbert and Beornwulf—was fought in 823. Henry of Huntingdon, quoting, it is supposed, an old poem, says, "Ellendune's stream was tinged with blood, and was choked with the slain, and became foul with the carnage." In 827 Northumbria had submitted to the king who had conquered the whole country south of the Humber.

How rapidly England under one ruler might have repaired the never-ceasing warfare of three centuries was not yet to be manifested. There was an enemy coming upon the Anglo-Saxon power far more to be dreaded than the Welsh or the Picts. It was that enemy that had even dared to pillage the coasts of France during the life of the great Charles, and that moved that stern conqueror to shed prophetic tears over the impending fate of his empire, when he saw the piratical flag in the Mediterranean. The enemy, whose race was destined to make two successive conquests of England, was the Dane, so called. He came at first for pillage to the estuaries and rivers of Gaul and Britain. In a few years he came to both countries for territory. Before the century was over, East Anglia and Northumbria were the prizes of the Northmen; and in a few years more they were finally established in that noble province of France to which they gave their name.

The Northmen were designated as Danes by the Anglo-Saxons, but they were not exclusively natives of Denmark. Their home was the sea. The ancient Scandinavia could never have been very fully peopled, and a thousand years ago the coasts only were populous. Malthus considers that the superfluity of inhabitants in the countries of the Baltic was a cause of their predatory expeditions and enforced settlements, which assumed so formidable a shape in the ninth century.* The law of primogeniture has been more satisfactorily assigned as a cause; for there was no want of soil on which an increasing population might subsist. "The eldest son of an aristocratic house inherited the family property. The younger ones were not indeed quartered on their own country, but were sent forth in ships, for the purpose of plundering the happier lands of the south. From these expeditions the idea first sprang of making permanent conquests, which ended in the establishment of Scandinavian dynasties in England."† The son of a king or chief, who had a maritime command, was termed a Viking; and thus we term generally those fierce captains, whose ravages afflicted our country, so exposed to their incursions. They came not, at first, in such swarms as could at once take possession of territory, and hold it. They came in numerous small vessels, in which they penetrated narrow rivers, and poured down upon defenceless villages and unprotected houses of religion. One of their heavy boats, by which they had reached Paris toward the end of the ninth century, was dug up in 1806 near the Champ-de-Mars, the keel hollowed out from a single piece of timber.‡ If there was obstruction in a river, the crews would drag their boats on shore, and carry them forward till they had passed the rocks or the shallows. They distracted and terrified the peaceful inhabitants by their combined attacks upon different points. Henry of Huntingdon has described their system with picturesque simplicity: "It was wonderful how, when the English kings were hastening to encounter them in the eastern districts, before they could fall in with the enemy's bands, a hurried messenger would arrive and say, 'Sir King, whither are you marching? The heathens have disembarked from a countless fleet on the southern coast, and are ravaging the towns and villages, carrying fire and sword into every quarter.' The same day another messenger would come running, and say, 'Sir King, whither are you retreating? A formidable enemy has landed in the west of England, and if you do not quickly turn your face toward them, they will think you are fleeing, and follow in your rear with fire and sword.' Again, the same day, or on the morrow, another messenger would arrive, saying, 'What place, O noble chiefs, are you making for? The Danes have made a descent in the north; already they have burnt your mansions; even now they are sweeping away your goods; they are tossing your young children, raised on the points of their spears; your wives, some they have forcibly dishonored, others they have carried off.'"* This is a vivid picture, scarcely overcolored as to the cruel barbarism of these Northmen, and corresponding generally with what we learn from other sources. What these fierce assailants were doing on the Thames and the Parret, they were doing at the same period on the Seine and the Loire.

Egbert died in 837, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Ethelwulf. During the supremacy of Egbert there were still tributary kings; and too often the contests for a vacant throne left large provinces, such as Northumbria, more exposed than ever to the ravages of the Northmen. Ethelwulf deputed the governments of Kent, Essex, Surrey, and Sussex to his son Æthelstan. This divided sovereignty was probably a fatal obstacle to unity of action in the defence of the country. The same causes operated in France after the division of the empire on the death of Charlemagne. Sir Francis Palgrave has truly said of this portion of our history—which more or less applies to all our history—that "Anglo-Saxon history must be read in parallel with the history of France."† In the middle of the ninth century the terrible Vikings ranged over the English Channel—now landing in Devonshire to be defeated; now worsted in a sea-fight at Sandwich; now wintering in the Isle of Thanet, or, according to some chroniclers, in Sheppey. Then they arrive with a mighty fleet at the mouth of the Thames—plunder Canterbury; sail up to London; and, penetrating into Surrey, are defeated and driven back by Ethelwulf and his son Ethelbald. "The warriors fell on both sides, like corn in harvest."‡ It was indifferent to these marauders on which side of the Channel they carried forward their unceasing hostilities. Rouen they occupied, and re-occupied. In 845, after a winter of terrible severity, they entered Paris on a chilling Easter Eve, having everywhere left the traces of their ravages along the banks of the Seine, on whose eyots they raised gibbets, and whose overhanging trees bent beneath the load of stiffened victims. Their chief was Regner Lodbrok, whose later history is fatally connected with England. The inhabitants fled from Paris, resigning the city to the plunderers. Charles the Bald, by an enormous subsidy, bought off their retreat. Again and again they ravaged the countries which were bordered by the Seine and the Loire; and France appears to have had no rest from their attacks till they in some measure concentrated their forces upon a great attempt to possess themselves of all our island.

We are entering upon an epoch with the general outline of which every Englishman is supposed to be familiar—that of Alfred. The great Saxon was born in 849. It might be supposed that in travelling over the recorded events from his birth to his death, in 901, there was no duty for the compiler of a popular history but to take the leading facts narrated by more diffuse compilers, and to weave them into a plain and consistent story. The salient points might be thought sufficient to command attention, without any very minute investigation of authorities. Thus, following Hume, we might record that, at twelve years old, Alfred was "totally ignorant of the lowest elements of literature;" that "encouraged by the queen" (a convenient term for his mother or stepmother), he learned to read; that he soon became a diligent student, but, shaking off his literary indolence, devoted himself to the duties of a king; that he was driven from his throne, and became the servant of a neat-herd; went as a harper to the Danish camp; finally recovered his dominions; divided England into counties, hundreds, and tithings; made property so secure that he hung up golden bracelets in the highways, which no pilferer dared to touch; instituted trial by jury; and framed a code of laws which are the foundation of our common law. Looking into the evidence of all these matters, and finding that many things are doubtful and some untrue, how are we to tell the story of Alfred, when the sunlight of romance is no longer gleaming around it, and we have to sound our way amid meagre annals and dim traditions? when his biography, attributed to Asser, is held to be

* "Principle of Population," book i. chap. vi.
† Thorpe, note in Lappenberg, vol. ii. p. 17.
‡ Palgrave, "Normandy and England," vol. i. p. 615.

* "Chronicle." Translated by Thomas Forester, preface to book v.
† "Normandy and England," vol. i. p. 476.
‡ Henry of Huntingdon.

written by a monk of the succeeding century, instead of by his own bosom friend?* when Alfred himself is proclaimed by some to be a mere creation of modern ignorance and bombast? There is quite enough remaining of the authentic and credible to make Alfred one of the most interesting and important persons in our country's history; and we proceed.

King Ethelwulf had four sons and a daughter. His wife was Osburga, the daughter of Oslac, his cup-bearer. At a time when nobility was derived from personal service upon the king, the cup-bearer was among the most honored of the royal officers. Osburga was of the race of Cerdic, from whom Ethelwulf himself derived his lineage. The eldest son, Ethelbald, was aiding his father in a great battle against the Danes in 850. The youngest, Alfred, was born the year before. The eldest had arrived at manhood when the youngest was an infant in his father's halls at Wantage. The king, like the great body of the freemen, was a landowner. He had larger hereditary possessions than others; he was surrounded by wealthy and noble retainers; his life was put at a higher value than any other member of the community; he was the first in rank and in power; he presided over public deliberations; he was the chief magistrate; he was the head of the national levies, which he could call out for attack or defence. But the estates of others were independent of his control. He claimed no absolute lordship, as in the feudal system. He had tolls upon markets and dues upon mines; he received voluntary gifts, and a portion of the fines levied upon offenders. But he seized upon no possessions of others; holding his own by inheritance or purchase. He disposed of his acquired property by will as any other owner, although certain estates always went with the crown. That property was scattered about the country. Alfred was born at the royal house at Wantage. Ethelswitha, his only sister, was married to the King of Mercia in another royal house at Chippenham. In these mansions there was no great pomp, and very little of what we call comfort. The king had a large body of thanes, his friends and servants—his defenders and ministers. They were the leaders in his wars—they were the comptrollers in his household. Great ecclesiastics, too, lived in fellowship with him, and assisted in his councils. The learning of the Church often gave an important direction to the rougher impulses of the Crown. But little of the regal splendor of feudality had yet arisen. The king wore his golden circlet; his nobles had their golden-hilted swords. There were banquets and there were processions. The king and his earldormen sate upon the high seat, and the wine-cup was served; and the warriors and attendants stood around, and for them were the drinking-horns duly filled. But the slavish homage of the vassal to the suzerain belonged not to the personal independence of the Saxon times. We may imagine, then, the family arrangements amid which the child Alfred was reared, as regards the kingly position of his father. Considerable doubt rests upon the narrative of Asser as to the nurture which he received from his mother. Asser records the public events of the kingdom up to the year 866, when Alfred was in his eighteenth year, and then proceeds thus: "I think right in this place briefly to relate as much as has come to my knowledge about the character of my revered lord, Alfred, King of the Anglo-Saxons, during the years that he was an infant and a boy. He was loved by his father and mother, and even by all the people, above all his brothers, and was educated altogether at the court of the king. . . His noble nature implanted in him from his cradle a love of wisdom above all things; but, with shame be it spoken, by the unworthy neglect of his parents and nurses, he remained illiterate even till he was twelve years old, or more."† He listened, it is added, to the Saxon poems which he often heard recited, and easily retained them in his memory. He was a zealous practiser of hunting in all its varieties. At this age then, of twelve years, "his genius," according to Hume, "was first roused by the recital of Saxon poems, in which the queen took delight;" and "he soon learned to read those compositions, and proceeded thence to acquire the knowledge of the Latin tongue." This theory is built upon the charming story of Asser, that one day, when his mother was showing him and his brothers a volume of Saxon poems, with illuminated letters, she said, "whichever of you shall soonest learn this book, to him will I give it." The youngest of the three brothers—Ethelbert, Ethelred, and Alfred—made himself certain of the conditions. "Will you assuredly give that book to one of us—will you give it to him who may first be able to understand and repeat it to you?" "Most certainly I will," said the mother, laughingly and joyfully. The boy "carried it to his teacher, and read it; and after he had read it, he brought it back to his mother and recited it." The story evidently belongs to a much earlier period of Alfred's life than that of his twelfth year. In his fourth or fifth year he is sent by his father to Rome. Two years after, Ethelwulf himself journeys to Rome; and, after a sojourn of twelve months, returns through France; and, staying awhile at the court of the French king, Charles the Bald, marries Judith, his daughter, and carries her to England as his lawful queen. Was Osburga, the mother of Alfred, dead? Was she divorced? Of her death or of her divorce the chroniclers make no mention. In two years after this French marriage Ethelwulf died. Judith, who was a child of thirteen when the old man married her, became the wife of his son Ethelbald. This marriage of his stepmother was against the canons of the Church; and Judith was sent back to her father. That she should have been the enthusiastic lover of Saxon poetry, who excited the emulation of Alfred and his elder brothers, is an absurdity. That Ethelwulf, who was in all things devoted to the maintenance of the authority of the Church, should have repudiated his wife without any express cause, and without ecclesiastical sanction, is most unlikely. The probability is, that Osburga died in Alfred's very early years; and that the story of the Saxon book of poems was a tradition, which showed the precocious talent of the child of four or five years old, and has nothing to do with the acquirements of the youth of twelve.

Alfred, we have mentioned, was sent to Rome in his fourth or fifth year. In 853, says the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, "King Ethelwulf sent his son Alfred to Rome." In 855, we find in the same record, "King Ethelwulf went to Rome in great state, and dwelt there twelve months, and then returned homeward." His marriage, and his death about two years afterward, are subsequently recorded. We have then, in one of the MSS. of this Chronicle, the following entry: "Alfred, his third [fourth] son, he had sent to Rome; and *when Pope Leo heard say that Ethelwulf was dead*, he consecrated Alfred king, and held him as his spiritual son at confirmation, even as his father Ethelwulf had requested on sending him thither." This remarkable passage appears to us to have been overlooked by our historians. The second journey to Rome of Alfred with his father is distinctly recorded by Asser, although the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle only mentions the first. But in neither authority is it recorded that Alfred returned with his father. Was Alfred, at five years old, sent to Rome for his education? Did he remain at Rome till after the death of his father, and was he then consecrated king? Ethelwulf died in 858, when Alfred was nine years old.*

It is impossible to believe that a residence in Rome should have been without an enduring influence upon the mind of such a boy as Alfred. In the ninth century many of the glorious monuments of the republic and the empire had been preserved from time and the barbarian. The Coliseum had been plundered of its ornaments; but the majestic walls, though stripped of the metal clamps which bound each massy stone to the other, stood as if defying the petty spoilation. Bede has recorded the admiration with which the Saxon pilgrims regarded this mighty monument, when they exclaimed, "As long as the Coliseum stands, Rome shall stand; when the Coliseum falls, Rome will fall; when Rome falls, the world will fall."† The noble Pantheon was little injured. Baths, triumphal arches, columns, some little mutilated, some half-destroyed, would present themselves to the wonder of the young islander. In the splendid Basilicas, adapted to the uses of the Christian worship, would be seen the models of the cathedrals, however inferior their size and decorations, which had been erected in England The pageantry of the

* Wright's "Biographia Britannica Literaria," p. 411.

† The words of Asser are "illiteratus permansit." This certainly does not warrant Hume's interpretation, "totally ignorant of the lowest elements of literature," even if we accept Asser's "twelve years old" as correct.

* In Alexander Cooke's curious "Dialogue between a Protestant and a Papist" (1610), the Papist asserts that Alfred was educated at Rome; and is answered by the Protestant, contending that at twelve years old he could not read. See "Harleian Miscellany."

† See Gibbon, chap. lxxi. Byron has paragraphed this in "Childe Harold," Canto iv.

sovereign pontiff, surrounded by bishops and abbots, and followed by crowds of pious supplicants, would be exhibited in many a long procession. The services of the altar would be conducted upon a scale of magnificence of which Alfred had seen no example in his father's cathedral at Winchester. Were these impressions to produce no effect, beyond that of passing wonder, on the mind of a youth with ardent curiosity and an insatiable desire of knowledge? Was there no one to associate in his rapid comprehension the memories of the past with his aspirations for the future? It is said that the famous bishop Swithin accompanied the boy to Rome. It is known that Ethelwulf rebuilt at Rome the Saxon school which had been destroyed by fire. That school was especially set apart for the liberal education of the priests and nobles of England who sought instruction in the great metropolis of Christendom. Is it unlikely that the son of Ethelwulf should himself have derived advantage from his father's munificence?

Ethelbald, the eldest brother of Alfred, had met Ethelwulf with unfilial hostility when he returned from France with his young wife; and before Ethelwulf's death this son had, by a compulsory partition, attained the dominion of Wessex. The father bequeathed Kent and his other dominions to his second son Ethelbert. After the death of Ethelbald, if he were childless, the succession of Wessex was left to Ethelred, the third son, and to Alfred. In little more than two years after the decease of his father, King Ethelbald dies. Alfred is now twelve years old. The two younger brothers assert no claim to the separate sovereignty, and Ethelbert of Kent is king also of the other dominions. There is no doubt that Alfred lived with his reigning brother, as documents exist bearing both their signatures. He, as well as Ethelred, had given up the patrimonial inheritance to him who was to maintain the dignity of the family and the safety of the kingdom. The Danes were again in fierce activity. They landed at Southampton, and plundered Winchester. They landed in Thanet, and kept Kent in terror by their predatory incursions. The inland counties were the safest; and we may contemplate Alfred dwelling in his birthplace. From the accession of Ethelbert in 860, to his death in 866, Alfred is without responsibility, except that of self-improvement. He is of weak health; but he leads no sedentary life. Asser distinguishes between "manly arts, such as hunting," and "liberal arts." Alfred saw that, however excellent were books, there were other means of education; and thus he became not only the great warrior and statesman, but the most practical improver of the people, elevating their knowledge and exciting their industry. He taught workers of gold and other artificers how best to labor in their crafts. He instructed his falconers, hawkers, and dog-keepers. He built houses, majestic and good beyond all the precedents of his ancestors, by his new mechanical inventions. Thus Asser describes his later life. But he must have learned these things experimentally before he could have been a teacher. Let us endeavor to trace what would have been his industrial and social experience in the royal home of Wantage.

That district of remarkable fertility, now known as the Vale of White Horse, was favorably situated as a regal possession. Its rich arable land would yield wheat and barley, while the verdant slopes of the chalk hills would maintain numerous flocks and herds. The surrounding woods would give food to abundance of swine, and supply the indispensable necessary of fuel. All around would be ample forests and uninclosed commons, well fitted for the chase. The Thames, at no great distance, would furnish a highway for the conveyance of merchandise from the towns upon its banks. But upon the royal estate would be produced nearly all that would be required for the support of the household. The principal dwelling would have few of the attributes of palatial splendor. A series of low buildings, with addition after addition, according to the wants of the family, it would claim no admiration for its grand or beautiful features. No well-tended lawns or picturesque trees would give to its surrounding pastures the character of the garden. A rough utility would preside over every arrangement. The stall-fed cattle would be in close vicinity to the dwelling. The dogs and the hawks would have their kennel and their mews not far removed from the ladies' bower-chambers and the priests' chapel. The grinding-slaves at their hand-mills would be in close attendance upon the bakery; and the fragrant wort of the brewery would mingle its steams with the thin smoke of the wood-fire in the hall. In various adjoining buildings would live the agricultural and handicraft serfs—the ploughmen, the woodmen, the herdsmen, the shepherds. There would be the forge of the smith, and the bench of the carpenter, close at hand. The women would ply the spindle, and the weaver throw his shuttle, to produce the coarse garments of the household. Adjoining lands would be leased out upon a tenure of dues or service. Rents would come in, but in the primitive shape of flitches of bacon, geese, hens, cheese, eggs, honey, and ambers of ale. Hedging and ditching, ploughing and shearing, fishing and road-making, would be done for service.* Every large household, whether of the king or the ealdorman, had thus, in a greater or less degree, an independent existence. The land was the great source of wealth. A few articles of necessity, such as salt, had in many instances to be obtained by exchange. The cups of silver and gold, the furs and the silks of kingly houses, were, in most cases, presents. The life, even of the highest, was simple, and not without cares and labor. But it called forth many exercises of ingenuity which are not thought of in states of society where every want is commercially supplied, where there are abundant stores, and ready communication. It was a life of earnest work, and therefore not unfavorable to mental activity. It was under its healthful influences that Alfred educated himself for the higher duties of the defender and the teacher of his people.

Alfred, the king, before he came to the throne, had made himself well acquainted with the condition of the population over which he was to rule. His translation of Boetius, "from Latin to the English phrase," has many original passages introduced, which are incidental illustrations of the state of society. For example, he says, "These are the materials of a king's work, and his tools to govern with; that he have his land fully peopled; that he should have prayer-men, and army-men, and workmen." The peopling of the land was derived from a systematic occupation, and not a chance establishment of large migratory bands. The hide of land was the estate of one family. There are calculations in Bede's Ecclesiastical History, and in later authorities, as to the number of hides in particular places, such as the Isle of Thanet, and the Isle of Wight; and making due allowance for waste land, common land, and woods, it is supposed that the hide of arable was from thirty to forty acres. As families multiplied, generation after generation, the inclosed land gradually extended on every side; so that we may understand the meaning of a passage which immediately follows Alfred's description of "the materials of a king's work." He says, "These are also his materials, that with these tools he should have provision for these three classes; and their provision then is, land to inhabit, and gifts, and weapons, and meat, and ale, and clothes, and what else that these three classes need." The great point of contest between the British races and the Saxon settlers was "the land to inhabit;" and so, we may assume, was the contest, after the first settlements, between neighboring tribes—between Mercians and West-Saxons, East Anglians and Northumbrians. Out of this "land to inhabit" were to come the supplies for these various classes—gifts for the prayer-men; weapons for the army-men; meat, and ale, and clothes for all. With regard to the prayer-men, there were not only the monastic establishments, and parish churches in great number, but resident priests in the houses of the rich and powerful. The prayer-men undoubtedly formed a very large body; and by their influence in the transition-period through which England had passed from heathendom to Christianity—and was still passing, with heathendom assaulting the country in its most ferocious attributes—their services were as essential to the welfare and preservation of the state as those of the army-men. Yet they had deteriorated as scholars, when compared with their predecessors of the seventh and eighth centuries, when the cloisters of England sent forth the best teachers of the schools of continental Europe. And yet, though their learning was not conspicuous in the time of Alfred, their continued practise of the civilizing arts preserved the land, during its intestine struggles, in a condition far removed from barbarism. The Church kept the island in a connection with the European community under the Roman ecclesiastical authority, and thus prevented it halting while other countries were progressing. In their own localities the clergy were necessarily advancing the great arts of life. They kept alive

* See Kemble's "Saxons in England," book i. chap. xi.

the emulation of the cultivators. They had the trimmest gardens and the most productive orchards. Their ponds were stored with the choicest fish. They practised the healing arts before medicine and surgery were professions. They were the transcribers of books. Their breviaries and chronicles were adorned with pictorial representations, more powerful often than words. They were musicians. They were architects. When Alfred therefore said that when he ascended the throne there were very few on his side the Humber who could understand their daily prayers in English, or translate any writing from the Latin, he meant to describe that sleep of the soul which belongs to all functionaries who cleave to the letter and not to the spirit of their duties. They mumbled their mass-books, as some of their successors continued to mumble them for centuries. The Latin words passed from their lips, but they could not interpret the sense of other Latin. Above all, they could not adapt knowledge to popular instruction in "the English phrase." There were schoolmasters among us, at a time not very distant, when such ignorance and such indifference to the wants of the many were not uncommon. The elevation of the great body of the people is the best corrective of the ignorance of classes; and Alfred, in his later life, labored to accomplish this in his limited field of utility. His acute perception of the wants of the people led him to express himself strongly as to the deficiencies of the churchmen.

The army-men, who were to be provided with weapons, were the *posse-comitatus*—the national levies, headed by the king, his ealdormen, and his inferior nobles. The freemen constituted the armed force of the shire, and the ealdorman of the shire was their chief. In the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle we constantly read of the ealdorman winning or losing a battle, of the ealdorman being slain, of the king and the ealdorman engaged together in warfare. The divisions of the country into shires, hundreds, tithings, made the calling out of these levies a matter of well-ordered arrangement. During a period of alarm, such as that upon which we are entering, every town and village must have its band of army-men organized and disciplined, ready to follow the summons of their legal chief. The burghers were associated in their guilds, under their portreeve or their bishop. The villagers joined hide to hide and tithing to tithing for common defence. How they fought, this sturdy Anglo-Saxon race, needs no eulogy—"Our blood is fet from fathers of war-proof."

Let us glance at the third class of tools that a king must govern with—the workmen. Unhappily the greater number of them are serfs; but the king knows full well that they must have due provision for their physical wants—meat, and ale, and clothes, and what else is needful. In the cold and uncertain climate of our island the workman will not subsist upon a dish of lentils, or bask, half-naked, under a bright sun. If he works diligently he must be well fed, clothed, and housed. The agricultural laborers are the first to be considered. The ordinary operations of husbandry have varied little in principle during a thousand years. There are some dialogues for popular instruction, written in the tenth century, which quaintly describe many of the industrial occupations, and which, although often quoted, must be slightly noticed here.* In these dialogues, composed by Alfric of Canterbury, the ploughman says, "I labor much. I go out at daybreak, urging the oxen to the field, and I yoke them to the plough." He sees the shear and the coulter fastened; he has a boy to impel them with a goad; and the poor lad is hoarse with cold and bawling. The ploughman further says, "I am bound to plough every day a full acre or more." The herdsman says, "When the ploughman separates the oxen, I lead them to the meadows; and all night I stand watching over them on account of thieves; and again, in the morning, I take them to the plough well-fed and watered." In the old series of illuminations to illustrate the Saxon Calendar, which Mr. Strutt first engraved,† the sower closely follows at the heels of the ploughman. In another illumination the gardeners are lopping their fruit-trees and pruning their vines. October was the wyn-monat, or wine-month; and ancient drawings give us the wine-press and the vine-picker. Of the cultivation of the vine in England there can be no doubt, however partial was the growth as to more or less favored localities. Bede says that the island "produces vines in some places." The religious houses undoubtedly had vineyards. Camden imputes the non-cultivation of the grape for wine to the sloth of the people in his more modern times. Commerce, which gives us what other lands can produce better than our own, drove out the native cultivation of what was truly unfitted for our climate, if we regard the essential condition of quality. In other rude drawings we have the laborer in the hay-harvest, with the scythe and the rake. Others exhibit the various operations of the corn-harvest—the reaping, the sheafing, the carrying. The shepherd, in the old colloquy, describes his duties: "In the first part of the morning I drive my sheep to their pasture, and stand over them in heat and cold with my dogs, lest the wolves destroy them. I lead them back to their folds, and milk them twice a day; and I move their folds, and make cheese and butter, and am faithful to my lord." The dense woods which surrounded every seat of the cultivators, forming an original boundary of peculiar sanctity, and latterly a safeguard against marauders, were filled with swine. They fed in common, as in the New Forest within our own times, though they were individual property. There, too, ranged the wild boar, sometimes startling the woodmen as they bore home the winter fuel in the loaded wain; and now pursued by the hunter, with his bold dogs and his trusty spear. The festivities of the holy month of December were gladdened by the presence of the boar's head. It told of bold adventures akin to warfare—of youths trained up to hardihood and defiance of danger. At that season the noise of the flail was heard in the barn; and the wheat and the barley were stored in the granary. Those who had abundance feasted in their halls; but the poor were not wholly disregarded. There was a fund for the poor which was a part of the tithe of the Church; there were altar oblations. The Saxon law for the poor was strictly a law of settlement; and as the serf was compelled to remain in one place and one service, his lord was also obliged to provide for him. But there were miserable wanderers who had no legal provision, who must have depended upon private benevolence. In some years, too, a bad season produced general or local distress; and the natural laws which regulated price were inoperative in a country of limited communication. Then the lord and the lady distributed alms at the hall-door. Etymologists have disputed whether these titles were derived from the Saxon words which mean loaf-giver. One old illumination shows us a royal or noble house, with its attendant warriors, its priests, and its chapel, with the poor receiving food from the heads of the household. It is a rude work, but its authenticity is undoubted.

Such were some of the influences of a rural life amid which Alfred was reared. They brought him into connection with the people, and thus fitted him for the duties of government. Rulers who live apart from the people must, naturally, be self-seekers. He was not one of those who live for themselves alone.

* See Turner's "Anglo-Saxons," vol. ii.

† "Manners, Customs, etc., of the Inhabitants of England," vol. i.

CHAPTER VII.

Regner Lodbrok—Etheldred and Alfred—Danes invade Mercia—Ravages in the Fen Countries—Edmund of East Anglia—Danes in Wessex—Battle of Æscesdun—Alfred the King—Danes in Northumbria—Imputed faults of Alfred—The flight to Athelney—Legends and traditions.

The Dane who sailed up the Seine in 845, and carried desolation into Paris on that fatal Easter-eve, when the churches were forsaken and the citizens fled, was named Regner Lodbrok. Of his historical existence there can be but little doubt; but some of the wild stories that are associated with his name appear to belong to the doubtful legends of the north. According to these, after ravaging Scotland and Ireland, he embarked in two vessels of more than ordinary size, and being unequal to their management was wrecked on the coast of Northumbria. Advancing into the country, he was surrounded and overpowered, and was cast into a dungeon amid venomous snakes. His death-song is one of the most striking pieces of Scandinavian poetry—an ancient relic, full of images of ferocity exulting in some terrible carnage, when "many fell into the jaws of the wolf, and the hawk plucked the flesh from the wild beasts." In this last hour, the sea-king looks gladly to his immortal feasts, "in the seats of Baldor's father," where "we shall drink ale continually from the large

hollowed skulls."* To revenge his death, the sons of Regner Lodbrok came in great power to England. There is a seeming inconsistency in the story, which is attempted to be reconciled by another legend which accounts for their landing in East Anglia, in 866. But as it appears, from our own chronicles, that they only wintered there, and proceeded into Northumbria the next year, we may accept the legend that the sons of the great pirate did carry their avenging arms into the northern parts of England, where for a century there had been perpetual anarchy.

At this time of peril Ethelbert died. During the eight years which had elapsed since the death of Ethelwulf, two of Alfred's brothers had reigned. Upon the two younger sons now rested the destinies of England. Ethelred succeeded to the crown of the united kingdoms of Wessex and Kent. Alfred appears to have had a responsible position. He is called "Secundarius." Some conjecture that he ruled over a small district; others that he had a joint authority with his brother. Asser says that Alfred, if he had so chosen, might have been king while his brother Ethelred was alive. The strict hereditary succession to the crown was not always regarded; and as the witena-gemot had certainly some power of election, the qualities which Alfred displayed, even at that early age, might have commanded the admiration of the various representatives of public opinion. For the witena-gemot was a representative body, having a consultative voice with the king in great public questions, such as peace or war—making new laws or confirming old—levying taxes—raising armaments—and deciding, in many cases, upon ecclesiastical matters. They had, in these and other affairs, a concurrent authority with the king, as a deliberative body. Alfred, then—the young man who was "secundarius" to Ethelred—might have reigned in his stead had he been so minded. He was not so minded. It was not, "because," as Asser writes, "he much excelled all his brothers both in wisdom and all good qualities, and, moreover, because he was warlike to excess" (*nimium bellicosus*), that he was to risk any distraction of the country at a time of great danger from without and great suffering within. The year 868 was a year of famine. A failure of the bounty of heaven in a settled country, where the larger abundance of one district equalizes the scantier production of another district, is a great misfortune. But in England, at the time when Ethelred was king, where predatory armies were ravaging the north, and hostile fleets throwing their swarms of new plunderers on the east, a dearth in the south and west would bring even more than common misery. The next year saw the same infliction, and with the famine came starvation's sister, pestilence. Alfred is now married. It was an early age for marriage and a strange time for marrying. His wife was Elswitha, the daughter of a famous ealdorman of Lincolnshire; and through her mother, who afterward lived in Alfred's home, she was descended from the royal house of Mercia. Alfred's sister had been married fifteen years before to Burrhed, king of Mercia. There was thus intimate union between the two states in their family alliances. Asser relates a remarkable incident that occurred at the period when the nuptials of Alfred and Elswitha were celebrated in Mercia, "among innumerable multitudes of people of both sexes, and after continual feasts, both by night and by day." He says that Alfred "was immediately seized, in presence of all the people, by sudden and overwhelming pain." The biographer adds, "He had this sort of disease from his childhood," and then relates how it formerly passed away, at Alfred's earnest prayers; and, returning to him at these hours of gladness, continued to his forty-fourth year. The narrative of Asser, as to this sudden infliction, is extremely confused, and does not occur in the proper chronological order. Of these bodily sufferings of Alfred, some of the chroniclers make no mention; but Asser, in another place, says, "when he was more advanced in life he was harassed by many diseases unknown to all the physicians of the island." Having regard to the early deaths of all his brothers, we may be warranted in believing that the sons of Ethelwulf were constitutionally of weak health. The extraordinary energy in war, in council, in study, of the youngest and most illustrious of this family, is not inconsistent with his long-continued struggles against an hereditary infirmity. It was the unconquerable will that supported, in the discharge of duty, the Saxon Alfred, as it supported the Dutch William, through many years of pain and anxiety.

The dangers that surrounded the island generally were coming close to Alfred, in those days of early domesticity, when he had brought a wife to share his narrow fortunes and his doubtful prospects. For Alfred was poor. We learn distinctly from his will that his brother, the king, had not given him a due share of the paternal estates. There is an emphatic passage in his translation of Boetius, which is not found in the original Latin, in which he speaks of a loving wife: "She has enough of every good in this present life, but she has despised it all for thee alone. She has shunned it all, because only she has not thee also."* This sounds like a personal retrospect of the support which he had received in the affection of his queen, during his wanderings and turmoils. They were about to begin. In 868 the Danes, who had established themselves at York, crossed the Humber for the invasion of Mercia. They possessed themselves of Nottingham, where they wintered. The Mercian king immediately sent for succor to his brothers-in-law of Wessex; and Ethelred and Alfred marched to his assistance. They besieged "the house of caves," as Nottingham was called, and compelled the enemy to quit its occupation, and return to Northumbria. Henry of Huntingdon says that "Hinguar" (Ivar, or Ingvar, who, with his brother Ubba, are now first mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon annals), "seeing that the whole force of the English was assembled, and that his army was besieged and of inferior strength, had recourse to smooth words, and with dangerous cunning obtained terms of peace from the English." But there was no safety for southern England while the invader was secure in the north. There was rest for a year; and then the devastating power of the Dane rolled onward like a vast engulfing sea that no barrier could shut out.

In 870 the Danes again crossed the Humber. "The army," says the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, "rode across Mercia into East Anglia, and took up their winter-quarters at Thetford." By the term "the army"—"the heathen army"—the Anglo-Saxon records now begin to distinguish the invaders. They were no longer mere predatory "crews"—they were "the army"—wintering in one place; garrisoning another; coming, again and again, in larger numbers from the icy capes of the Baltic; occupying the small islands that cluster round Britain; and planting at length a firm foot upon a territory far more valuable than the Orkneys and the Hebrides. They "rode across Mercia." It was a terrible ride for the scattered cultivators and the solitary monasteries of the fen countries. The history attributed to Ingulphus, the Abbot of Croyland, details, from the traditionary relations of an eye-witness, the course of this devastating march through Lincolnshire to Norfolk. But we are warned by a very competent critic against putting too much credence in this authority. Dr. Henry had thus written: "Ingulphus published an excellent history of the abbey of Croyland, from its foundation, A.D. 664 to A.D. 1091, with which he had introduced much of the general history of the kingdom, with a variety of curious anecdotes that are nowhere else to be found." Sir Francis Palgrave says, "It is exactly these curious anecdotes which must be unsparingly rejected."† May not this historical scepticism be carried too far? There are many anachronisms in the book of Ingulphus; it may have been written at a later period than the beginning of the twelfth century, when Ingulphus died. But there is little of extravagance in the narrative, and it has the great charm of local coloring. The Danes cross the Witham, and enter the district of Kesteven. Out of the district called Holland come forth the marshmen, under the leading of Earl Algar. The moist soil shakes beneath the tramplings of gathering bands, pouring out from Deeping, Langtoft, and Boston. The lord of Brunne comes with his followers. Tolius, the monk of Croyland, throws off the cowl, and, at the head of a body of fugitives who had rallied round him, joins the united forces. They attack the Northmen in their advance, and drive them back to their earth-works. The alarm goes forth; and the ravagers from other parts hasten to the rescue. Many of the Mercians fly from the terror of their increasing enemies. But Algar, the earl of Holland, and

* See Turner, book iv. chap. iii.

* Turner, "Anglo-Saxons," book v. chap. ii. Mr. Turner has given a great interest to Alfred's Boetius (of which we shall have to speak), by pointing out the passages which are the translator's expansion of the original idea.

† *Quarterly Review*, vol. xxxiv. p. 296.

Morcard, the lord of Brunne, and Osgot, the sheriff of Lincolnshire, and Tolius, the soldier-monk, and Harding of Rehale, stand firm, through an autumn day of attack and repulse. In the evening the Northmen make a feint of withdrawing from the field. The English rush forward to the pursuit. The Danes rally; and a noon of sagacious resistance is ended in a night of carnage, in which all the patriotic chieftains perish. A few of their followers escape to Croyland. The abbot and his monks are performing matins, when the terror-stricken fugitives tell of the approaching destruction. Some of the timid prayer-men take boat, and leave their fertile gardens and their sunny orchards where the vines and the apple-trees luxuriated amid a waste of waters, to hide themselves in the marshes. The bold and the aged who remain at their altars fall in one general slaughter. A little boy only is spared to be led away by Sidroc, one of the Danish chiefs, when they marched forward, and left Croyland in flames. Onward they march, by the ancient roads which cross this land of fens, to Peterborough. The abbot of this great monastery, famous for its architectural beauty, and whose library was rich with the collected manuscripts of two centuries, resisted the assailants. His courage was unavailing. All perished; and a pile of smouldering ruins alone remained, where the piety of many generations had heaped up precious relics and costly shrines, and where the transcriber and illuminator had been working at illustrated chronicles which have now perished. The boy of Croyland escaped from his captivity. Wandering amid pathless marshes, hiding amid reeds and bulrushes, he went on his perilous way to Croyland, and told his dismal experience to the few fugitives who had returned to behold the devastation of their pleasant seats: and from this boy, whose name was Thurgar, the narrative of Ingulphus was stated to be derived. Onward went the Northmen. The abbey of Ely was ravaged, as Peterborough and Croyland had been, and all its inmates were murdered. These Danes had left fearful traces of their course, as "they rode across Mercia," before they "took up their winter quarters at Thetford."

They are now in East Anglia. Edmund, the king, obtained the crown of that separate province in 855. He has held his rule in peace till this fatal invasion, which is destined to end the dominion of the Anglo-Saxon race in that part of the island. In a battle with Ingvar, the most cruel of the Danish chiefs, Edmund is taken prisoner. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle says, "The same winter, King Edmund fought against them, and the Danes got the victory, and slew the king, and subdued all the land, and destroyed all the minsters which they came to. The names of their chiefs who slew the king were Ingwair and Ubba." In the next century Dunstan is affirmed to have related the piteous story of Edmund's death, as he heard it, in his youth, from an ancient warrior, who had been the sword-bearer of the king. The Danes sent their messengers to Edmund, who was dwelling at Hagilsdun (now Hoxne, near Diss), upon the river Waveney, to demand that he should abjure his religion, divide his treasures, and reign under their supremacy. The proposal was rejected, and the king disdained to fly. Resistance was now vain. He was bound to a tree; scourged with whips; pierced with arrows, and finally beheaded. The constancy and sufferings of the East Anglian king raised him to a place in the martyrology. Saint Edmundsbury became one of the richest endowed monasteries in the kingdom. The monastic legends connected with Saint Edmund furnish a proof of the veneration in which his memory was held by the Anglo-Saxon people, when East Anglia had become a Danish province. For nearly a century and a half the remains of the murdered prince were carefully preserved at Beodrechesworth (St. Edmund's Bury); were then removed for a short time to London; and were finally brought back to the great abbey to receive a veneration which was maintained for centuries in credulity, though commenced in patriotism. The little wooden church at Greensted, in Essex, in which tradition says that the body of the royal martyr rested in its way from London to Suffolk, is still an object of national interest. The purity of his life and the heroism of his death commanded the sympathy of a long-suffering people, and justify the reverence for the man which we yield not to the saint, when we read the story of the last of the East Anglians.

The great danger of England is drawing closer and closer round the rulers and the people of Wessex. Northumbria is in the power of the invaders. Guthrum, the Dane, rules over East Anglia: Mercia is weak and irresolute. "This year," 871, says the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, "the army came to Reading, in Wessex; and three days after this two of their earls rode forth. Then Ethelwulf, the ealdorman, met them at Englefield, and there fought against them, and got the victory; and there one of them, whose name was Sidroc, was slain. About three days after this, King Ethelred and Alfred his brother led a large force to Reading, and fought against the army, and there was great slaughter made on either hand." The Northmen, with superior strategy, had thrown up an intrenchment between the Thames and the Kennet, and their superiority of position compelled the Saxons to retreat. "Ethelwulf, the ealdorman, was slain, and the Danish men had possession of the place of carnage." But the retreat was not a flight. "And about four days after this, King Ethelred and Alfred his brother fought against the whole army at Æscesdun." It is now, for the first time, that we distinctly see the man Alfred in his character of a great military leader. He is twenty-two years of age. The story of this battle is told with some minuteness by William of Malmesbury, and with more detail by Asser. It was the turning-point of Alfred's life. The locality of Æscesdun—the ash-tree hill—has not been satisfactorily determined. Aston, a village near Wallingford, and Ashampstead, also in Berkshire, at a mid distance between Wallingford, Newbury, and Reading, have each been contended for. The chalk-hills about Wantage have been associated with this memorable battle; and the White Horse of the Saxon race has been held to be a monument of the Saxon victory. Asser says, "The field of battle was not equally advantageous to both parties. The pagans occupied the higher ground, and the Christians came up from below. There was also a single thorn-tree, of stunted growth, which we have seen with our own eyes.* Around this tree the opposing armies came together, with loud shouts from all sides." The Danish army was divided into two bodies; the one commanded by two kings, whose names are recorded as Bagseg and Healfdene, the other by many earls. The pagans came on rapidly to fight. Asser says, "Alfred, as we have been told by those who were present, and would not tell an untruth, marched up promptly with his men to give them battle; for King Ethelred remained a long time in his tent in prayer, hearing the mass, and said he would not leave it till the priest had done, or abandon the divine protection for that of men." The younger brother rushed on alone—he rushed on, like a boar of the woods (*aprino more*). William of Malmesbury says, "The piety of the king was of infinite advantage to his brother, who was too impetuous." Asser, as became his vocation, also attributes the victorious issue of the terrible conflict to the prayers of Ethelred. Alfred was habitually religious. He who in his youth prostrated himself before an altar, and, having earnestly prayed that his bodily sufferings might be assuaged, had the holy conviction that his prayers had been heard—he was not likely to have forgotten the God of battles in this great extremity. But his present business was to fight; to be foremost in the tumult, and the clashing of spears; to strike terror by his boldness. His "book of devotion is in his bosom, to assist his prayers;"† but in this hour of conflict it is no want of godliness to trust to the sword in his hand. To him, as to all those who have swayed the world, whether by arms or by policy, belonged this great attribute of boldness. Rashness is as ready to retreat as to rush on. Boldness is persevering. Malmesbury, describing Alfred at a later period of his life, says, "The king himself was, with his usual activity, present in every action, ever daunting the invaders and inspiriting his subjects with the signal display of his courage. He would oppose himself singly to the enemy, and by his own personal exertions rally his declining forces. The very places are yet pointed out by the inhabitants where he felt the vicissitudes of good and evil fortune. It was necessary to contend with Alfred, even after he was overcome." We believe the whole history of this remarkable man may be associated with these two leading characteristics of his mind, his boldness and his perseverance. The passionate onslaught of the young Saxon in his first great battle a thousand years ago ought not to be forgotten by his descendants, who, during the eventful annals of their country, have never yet escaped danger except by fronting it. The danger of that

* "Quam nos ipsi nostris propriis oculis vidimus." In Dr. Giles' edition this is translated, "but we have ourselves never seen it." An accurate translation of Asser is much wanted.

† Asser.

conflict round the hill of ash-trees was escaped; and the banner of the White Horse floated triumphantly over the Danish raven.

But though signally defeated in the greatest battle that the Northmen had fought on the English soil, they would shrink from no contest as long as the fertile lands of the west and the south were to be won. They came, with great reinforcements, from their native seas. They fought with Ethelred and Alfred at Basing, and were not driven back. In two months after, they fought at Merton; and the Saxon brothers were victorious during a great part of the day, and there was great slaughter on either hand; but, adds the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, "the Danes had possession of the place of carnage." At Easter, after this battle, King Ethelred died, "worn down with numberless labors," as Malmesbury records. Others say that he received a fatal wound in the battle of Merton.

Alfred is king. When he was anointed at Rome, a mere boy, he had four brothers. They have each worn the crown of Wessex in due succession. They are gone, as the homely old chroniclers write, "the way of all flesh." Ethelred has left two infant sons; but this is not a time when the ordinary laws of lineal succession can be regarded even if the Saxon principle of election had ceased to be in force. Asser writes, "In the same year (871) the aforesaid Alfred, who hitherto, during the life of his brother, had held a secondary place, immediately upon Ethelred's death, by the grace of God, assumed the government of the whole realm, with the greatest goodwill of all the inhabitants of the kingdom." There is a theory that in the earlier part of his reign he lost "this good-will of all the inhabitants of the kingdom." Asser says that he accepted the crown almost against his wish; that he doubted whether he should be so supported by the divine assistance as to be able to resist the enemies that were gathering around them. From his brother's grave at Wimborne, in Dorsetshire, he marched to attack the Danes at Wilton. He was defeated. In one year nine battles had been fought, and the Saxons were reduced to a small band. The invaders agreed to quit Wessex, upon the payment of a tribute. The next year Mercia submitted to the same humiliating conditions. No submission could save Mercia and its unhappy king. The Danes again ravaged the country, and the brother-in-law of Alfred fled from the shores of England to die a pilgrim in Rome. Alfred's sister survived, and probably found an asylum with her brother. The throne of Mercia was then filled by Ceolwulf, "an unwise king," as the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle calls him, who was a traitor to his country. He was soon dethroned by those to whom he had become a tributary. In Northumbria the Danes became established settlers, "and that year (876) Healfdene apportioned the lands of Northumbria, and they thenceforward continued ploughing and til'ing them." This record of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is highly important, as showing the process that was going on in the subdued districts, of peaceful cultivation instead of lawless plunder. Proceeding from the same original stock, the Dane and the Saxon, having no great dissimilarity of language or manners, would gradually intermix, especially when the heathen obstinacy had ultimately yielded to the general progress of Christianity on the European continent. But the ambition of the Northmen was still unsated: they aimed at the subjection of all England. As Rollo overran Normandy and wholly subdued it, at this very time, Healfdene and Guthrum sought to conquer Wessex, the only barrier to their overwhelming power. Alfred, for seven years, had been carrying on a desultory contest, with no marked result. He made truce after truce; he exacted oaths; he received hostages. With the exception of his first naval battle, in 875, the king appears to have been constantly aiming at a false security by vain negotiation. This, as it presents itself to our imperfect historical knowledge, is inexplicable, except upon the theory that he had lost the confidence of his people. Mr. Turner adopts this belief, with every desire to do justice to the character of Alfred. In the Life of St. Neot, the young king is accused of arrogance. Some of the later monastic chroniclers take up the tale, and speak of his vices In his Life it is said that his misfortunes were not unmerited, and this is the reason—"Because, in the first part of his reign, when he was a young man, and governed by a youthful mind, when the men of his kingdom and his subjects came to him and besought his aid in their necessities—when they who were oppressed by the powerful implored his assistance and defence—he was unwilling to hear them, nor lent them any help, but held them of no account." This passage has found its way into most biographies of Alfred and histories of his times, and has called forth many explanations of the probable circumstances which led to such a remarkable deviation from his general principles and subsequent course of life. St. Neot, it is alleged upon the authority of an ancient manuscript, exhorted him to depart entirely from his unrighteousness. Another manuscript records that the saint said to him, "You shall be deprived of that very sovereignty of whose vain splendor you are so extravagantly arrogant." In a Latin poem he is reproached with being "dissolute, cruel, proud, and severe." These charges must be received with caution; for, as the monastic writers gloried in Alfred's principles and justice, so might they, not unnaturally, attribute to the influence of his religious advisers the wonderful exhibition of courage, constancy, and moderation which made him the traditionary "darling of England"—"the truth-teller." Some of the subsequent chroniclers adopted these views, and transmitted them to posterity four centuries after the events recorded. But the greatest reliance is placed upon the testimony of Asser, as supposed to be given in the words which we have quoted above. "He loved his royal master," says Mr. Turner, "and we cannot read his artless biography of him without perceiving that it is not likely he would have ever told his faults, or have even mentioned them, if they had not been then too well known to have been omitted by an honest writer." The true Asser, it appears, did not mention them. It was reserved for a spurious Asser to embody the scandals of a previous century. The passage thus relied upon is held, upon very sufficient evidence, to be an interpolation in Asser's genuine manuscript. In the preface to the "Monumenta Historica Britannica," the inconsistencies of the narrative are pointed out. Alfred might have obtained the throne in his brother's lifetime by his good qualities. For seven years his struggles against the enemy are described. Then we suddenly find him accused, in the passage here given, of neglecting the complaints of his subjects; but when he reappears after his seclusion (as we shall presently see), the whole population are filled with delight. The writer of the preface then says, "Now the explanation of this inconsistency, and of other similar difficulties, seems to be, that many passages of the printed text formed no part of Asser's works, but were the insertions of Archbishop Parker." The archbishop first published the "Life" in 1574, and, it seems, incorporated passages from a MS. of the twelfth century, entitled "Chronicon Fani S. Neoti, sive Annales Johannes Asserii," which is a compilation from various sources by an anonymous writer, and contains passages from a work by Abbo, who wrote fourscore years after Asser's death.

But whatever doubt may attach to these relations, there can be no doubt that Alfred was left, in his great hour of need, without support, if not without sympathy. It appears to us that the humiliating treaties which have been imputed to him as an individual fault; the comparative inaction during seven years; the somewhat absurd imposition of Christian oaths upon pagan enemies—may find a reasonable explanation: that Alfred was surrounded by a timid and feeble witan. The king had no power of himself to conclude peace or make war, without the authority of the witan. The great peace which was concluded with Guthrum in 878 runs thus: "This is the peace that Alfred the king, and Guthrum the king, and the witan of all the English nation, and all the people that are in East Anglia, have all ordained," etc. The wild boar of Æscesdun was chafing with pent-up sorrows, while ealdormen and bishops were counselling safety in submission. The terrible spoliations of East Anglia and Mercia were, in their view, to be averted by tribute, and by oaths upon relics of saints, and the heathens' own "holy ring." The catastrophe justifies this interpretation. Authentic history shows that he was meditating a deliverance from foreign foes—perhaps from domestic treason *—by one of those bold actions which decide the fate of nations. "This year (878), during midwinter, after Twelfth-night, the army stole away to Chippenham, and overran the land of the West Saxons, and sat down there; and many of the people they drove beyond the sea, and of the remainder the greater part they subdued and forced to obey them, *except King Alfred.*"† Wh re was King Alfred? He is fled, no one knows whither. Where are his thanes and his prelates? They are not with him. "He, with a small band, with difficulty retreated to the woods and to the fastnesses of the moors."‡

* See Lappenberg, vol. ii. p. 52. † Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.
‡ Ibid.

King Alfred relies upon himself alone. The regal pomp, whatever that might be, is no more. Aged councillors no longer exhort him against the indulgence of youthful rashness. Reverend priests no longer preach of the virtues of relics and the protection of saints. He is naked and powerless; but he was never so truly master of his own fortune as in this point of his uttermost depression.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle notices a triumph over the Danes in Devonshire, and then takes up the story of Alfred again. The king retreated to the woods and moors, after Twelfth night, in 878. "At Easter," says the Chronicle, "King Alfred, with a small band, constructed a fortress at Athelney; and from this fortress, with that part of the men of Somerset which was nearest to it, from time to time they fought against the army." In the genuine text of Asser we find that during this wintry season, from Twelfth-night to Easter, the king, with a few nobles, and certain soldiers and vassals, led an unquiet life, in great tribulation, among the woodlands of Somersetshire. It was the outlaw's life. Under the Anglo-Saxon laws every man was bound to have a settled habitation. Whether freeman or thrall, to be a wanderer was to be in peril. In the laws of King Ina, which were confirmed by Alfred, it is written: "If a far-coming man, or a stranger, journey through a wood out of the highway, and neither shout nor blow his horn, he is to be held for a thief, either to be slain or redeemed."* But this fugitive band were not only hiding from their oppressors, but were compelled to plunder for subsistence. Utterly destitute of the necessaries of life, they sallied forth from their coverts, to compel the pagans, or those who were under the dominion of the pagans, to give them food. The stories which relieve the dry historical narrative of its uniformity, and which the dramatist and the painter alike rejoice in, belong to this period. Alfred sits by the fire in a cowherd's cottage, in which he had found refuge, mending his bow, instead of minding the loaves which are baking on the hearth. Who knows not how the impatient housewife vented her anger upon the stranger, reproaching him that he suffered the bread to burn which he was ready enough to eat? The wrathful speech of the good dame appears in the original in the form of two Latin verses. We have no complaint against the parade of knowledge which thus puts the mark of the cloister upon the traditionary songs of the people. Again, the legendary tales show how the Saxon hero, in his adversity, was visited by Saint Cuthbert, who, in the shape of a poor man, asked for alms of the fugitive. In a miserable hut sits Alfred with his wife. He has one loaf of bread, which he divides with the beggar. The saint vanishes, but in a vision announces that the days of the king's adversity are passed, and that glory and honor are before him. Again: Alfred is a minstrel. He finds admission to the Danish camp. He wanders from tent to tent with his harp. His skill reaches the knowledge of the Danish king. He is feasted and welcomed. But he has noted the numbers and position of his enemies, and returns to Athelney, to lead forth his followers to victory. Who would be fastidious about the authenticity of such narratives? They affect no principle. They lead to no erroneous conclusions. We must take them for what they are and be glad of them:

> "Dreams that the soul of youth engage
> Ere fancy has been quelled;
> Old legends of the monkish page,
> Traditions of the saint and sage,
> Tales that have the rime of age,
> And chronicles of eld." †

CHAPTER VIII.

Battle of Ethandune—Alfred's and Guthrum's peace—Laws of Alfred—Alfred as an administrator—Alfred as an instructor—Improvement of Alfred's kingdom—Renewed attacks of the Danes—The land freed from invaders—Alfred's character—Judicial subdivisions of the kingdom—Frank-pledge—Courts of justice—Tenure of Lands.

The enamelled ornament of gold which was dug up at Athelney—the marshy spot which Alfred fortified at the confluence of the Thone and the Parret—bears the inscription, "Alfred commanded me to be wrought." It is regarded as a genuine relic. It is treasured in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, as a most valuable evidence of the historical truth of the description of the locality from which Alfred burst forth upon the invaders of his country. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle tells of this event in a few simple words: "Then, in the seventh week after Easter, he rode to Ecgbryht's-stone, on the east of Selwood; and there came to meet him all the men of Somerset, and the men of Wiltshire, and that portion of the men of Hampshire which was on this side of the sea; and *they were joyful at his presence.*" With these plain but most impressive words we may associate the "old legends of the monkish page" in our memories, and believe that they long kept up, among the people, the reverence for their national hero which has lived through a thousand years.

The battle of Ethandune,* which quickly followed the joyful greeting of the men of Wessex to their recovered king, was one of those decisive conflicts which entirely change the position of two contending powers. At the beginning of the year 878 the Danes were at Chippenham, a royal town of the West Saxons. The king had fled no one knew whither. The invaders sat down as if their possession were never to be disturbed. In Devonshire, as we have mentioned, the Danes had sustained a signal defeat at this period. But in Wiltshire they overran the country at their pleasure. In that year Easter fell on the 23d of March. Alfred was in Athelney. On this small space of rising ground, defended in the spring-time by the waters of the Thone and the Parret and by the impassable marshes, was the king's camp of refuge. To cross from that little island of alder-wood to the more inland country, the fugitive Saxons would be compelled to traverse many a mile in boats. As the spring advanced the floods would abate, and the swampy ground would afford a firmer footing. Seven weeks after that Easter—that is, in the middle of May—Alfred and his few followers had marched to Egbertstone.† He showed himself to the assembled people, and there soon gathered round him a formidable band. It was the secrecy and the suddenness of this movement which saved the kingdom of the West Saxons. No doubt many a trusty messenger had gone forth from the island of the Somersetshire marshes to stir up the spirit of the people. Even Alfred himself might have undertaken this perilous errand. There must have been some organization to precede such an individual enterprise as that which the Saxon king had undertaken, after five months of danger and humiliation. But in all such cases it is the presence of the man, hoping everything, daring everything, which commands success. Once more the Saxon population was in arms. They had a leader. They gathered round their lost king with a rapture that cast away fear and doubt. He encamped for one night. At the earliest dawn he was again on his march, and again encamped at nightfall. On the third day came the shock of battle at Ethandune. The Danes had come out from their camp to meet the host that had so suddenly sprung up. They appeared in overpowering numbers; but the Saxons met them in dense array. After an obstinate fight the Danes fled to their fortress. To the edge of their camp the king pursued, carrying terror with him in unsparing slaughter. Shutting themselves up in their fastnesses, they ventured no other fight in the open field. But the whole country was roused. On every side the Dane was beleaguered. No supplies could reach his starving soldiers; and after fourteen days of terrible privation, Guthrum, the conqueror of East Anglia, offered to give hostages and quit the kingdom of Wessex. Alfred had conquered peace. But he had higher objects than the humiliation of his enemy. The Danes had too secure possession of East Anglia to be easily driven out. There they had become settlers and cultivators. They had entered into the nationality of England. They desired to enter into the community of Christian states, and to renounce the heathendom which they had brought from the great seats of northern superstition. Guthrum, the king, seven weeks after his submission, was baptized with thirty of his officers, Alfred being his sponsor, and he receiving the name of Athelstan. There can be no doubt of the wisdom of this reconciliation. East Anglia had been long peopled with Danish tribes, who had become Christians, and the new settlers were as strangers among them, in their heathendom. The conversion of Guthrum made them one people. Alfred, in entering

* "Ancient Laws and Institutes," p. 50. † Longfellow.

* Conjectured to be Edington, near Westbury.
† Brixton Deverill, in Wiltshire.

into treaty with these settlers, was making an advance toward a complete nationality which was to be perfected in the fulness of time by common religion and common laws.

The treaty of peace between the Saxons and the Danes—"Alfred's and Guthrum's Peace"—contains much fewer provisions than the treaties of modern times. The land boundaries between the territories are first defined. There is nothing said of the evacuation of territory into which the Danes had obtruded, nor of the adoption of the Christian faith. The setting out of boundaries assumes the one, and the oaths upon which the peace was sworn were made in the name of those who "seek of God's mercy." There was to be equal justice for English and Danish: "If a man be slain, we estimate all equally dear." The same principles of Teutonic law applied to both people. "If a king's thane be accused of man-slaying, if he dare to clear himself, let him do that with twelve king's thanes. If any one accuse that man who is of less degree than the king's thane, let him clear himself with eleven of his equals, and with one king's thane." This number of twelve to clear a man from a capital charge may have given rise to the notion of trial by jury among the Saxons. On the contrary, the twelve persons were to be witnesses of the innocence of the accused. There is a clause in this treaty which clearly indicates that the Saxon and the Danish people were at feud, and that it was dangerous to rely upon peaceful and neighborly intercourse between them. It was ordained that "neither bond nor free might go to the host without leave, no more than any of them to us." If there was to be traffic among them, with cattle and with goods, hostages were to be given in pledge of peace, and as evidence that those who went to the strangers' camp or frontier went for lawful purposes.* Such regulations exhibit a remarkable picture of society, in which man-slaying and plunder were especially to be provided against. They tell us of some of the difficulties which the Saxon king and his ealdormen and sheriffs had to contend with, in reducing the land to civil obedience after a condition approaching to anarchy; and how absolutely necessary was a wise and vigorous ruler to prevent the few remaining sparks of civilization being trodden out.

The repose which Alfred had won by his courage and policy, and which was, for some years, in a great degree uninterrupted, was dedicated by him to two great objects—the establishment of order and the removal of ignorance. The Saxon king now presents himself to our view as invested with a more exclusive power than appertained to the old Teutonic rulers. Although chosen from a peculiar royal race, the sovereign was anciently little elevated above his ealdormen. A higher value was set upon his life; and a higher bōt, or compensation, was to be paid to him by offenders. But in Alfred's laws, in which the principle of compensation was ascribed to the influence of Christianity, instead of to the old institutions of the Saxon people, the bōt was expressly set aside in the case of treason. The king has therefore been accused of "anti-national and despotic tendencies."† This accusation appears to be somewhat unmerited. The peculiar character of Alfred's code, differing in that respect from the "dooms" which had preceded it, is the incorporation of the commandments delivered to Moses, and the precepts of Christ, with the enactments that belonged to the social condition of the Anglo-Saxon people. Many of the minor laws of the Hebrew legislator are also copied with slight variation.‡ But the great Christian law of mercy and justice is also enacted: "That which ye will that other men do not unto you, do ye not that to other men;" and it is added, "From this one doom a man may remember that he judge every one righteously; he need heed no other doom-book." In the religious sanctions and obligations of Alfred's laws we trace the distinct incorporation of the Church with the State. In the increased sanctity attached to the person of the king, we see how a dominant monarchical power had grown out of the mere chieftainship of the earlier rulers. That Alfred was a cautious legislator is manifest from his own declaration in promulgating this code: "I, Alfred, king, gathered these together, and commanded many of them to be written which our forefathers held, those which to me seemed good; and many of those which seemed to me not good, I rejected them, by the counsel of my witan, and in other wise commanded them to be holden. For I durst not venture to set down in writing much of my own, for it was unknown to me what of it would please those who should come after us."* If some of the laws of Alfred appear very strange to us, from our want of knowledge of the minuter particulars of the Saxon social state, we can have no doubt that they were thoroughly practical. The king implies that he had conceived much of his own—a system, probably, less Teutonic than the code he adopted. But in the true spirit of legislation he was unwilling to make any violent innovations. If the Teutonic laws of Alfred are, for the most part, inapplicable to the modern condition of society, the spirit in which they were promulgated has been faithfully preserved among us. Whatever we hold most valuable in our constitution has been secured to us by the same care, which existed ten centuries ago, to preserve what seemed good, to reject what seemed not good, to repair with watchfulness, and to add with caution.

It is as a vigilant administrator, rather than as an original legislator, that the civil merits of Alfred are chiefly to be estimated. There are doubts whether trial by jury formed any part of the Saxon institutions; but it is sufficiently clear that the modern functions of a jury formed no part of the practice of the public assemblies in which causes were tried. There was a presiding officer in such courts—the ealdorman, the sheriff, or some inferior functionary. Alfred is said to have appointed judges distinct from the general authorities of the shires or hundreds. But the duties of those judges, whether especially selected or otherwise, were simply presidential. There was no evidence to balance, circumstantial or direct. When an accused person was put upon his deliverance, he might choose to rest upon testimony of character. He made oath as to his own innocence, and called upon a certain number of neighbors whose "worth," or money value, was duly assessed, to give the like testimony. If a sufficient number made oath to the same effect, the accused was free. But if the compurgation, as it was called, failed, he had then to appeal to the "judgment of God," in going through ordeals. There were various forms of ordeal. The hand was plunged into boiling water; a red-hot iron was carried nine paces. If no injury appeared after three days, the accused was declared innocent. If compurgation and ordeal failed to acquit him, then was bōt to be made for the lesser offences. For the "boteles" crimes there was capital punishment. Every offence and its penalty were exactly defined. When, therefore, we read that in the courts of Alfred's earls and officers there was perpetual complaint of their decisions; that all, except the guilty, desired the personal judgment of the king; that the king inquired into all judgments, whether they were just or unjust; that he summoned unjust judges before him, and rebuked them for their misdoings either through corruption or ignorance, telling the ignorant judges that they had neglected the studies of the wise;† we are at a loss to understand how the sagacity of the king or the blindness of the judges could have advanced or retarded the equal administration of laws so narrow and so absolute. There is something behind. The whole system of ordeal was necessarily open to the grossest frauds; and it was, probably, to their detection that Alfred applied his own acuteness, and demanded the vigilance of others, to call forth righteous judgments out of such fallible means of discovering the truth. But there was a difficulty in the administration even of this rude justice, which demanded some sagacity. Various districts and kingdoms had come under the West-Saxon rule, and among these various customary laws had prevailed. There were Kentish laws, Mercian laws, Danish laws, which prevented uniformity of judgment, and were especially embarrassing to judges so ignorant as Asser has described those of Alfred's time to have been. The king's unremitting efforts seem to have been directed—first, to correct the ignorance of those in authority, to whom he said, "I marvel at your insolence, who, by God's gift and mine, have taken upon yourselves the ministry and rank of wise men, but have neglected the study and labor of wisdom. Now, it is my command that ye either give up at once the administration of those secular powers which ye enjoy, or pay a much more devoted attention to the study of wisdom."‡ If this be despotism, it is a

* "As evidence whereby it may be known that the party has a clean back."

† Kemble's Saxons, vol. ii. p. 208.

‡ The first forty-eight clauses of Alfred's Dooms are from the Book of Exodus, chapters xx. to xxiii.

* "Ancient Laws and Institutes," p. 26.

† See Asser, at the end of the Life.

‡ Asser.

despotism devoutly to be prayed for, even in the nineteenth century. But Alfred knew that, in the general spread of knowledge, the rulers of the people could not remain ignorant. In that interval of rest which followed the submission of the Danes, in 878, the king gathered around him learned men from various districts. They read to him; they interpreted to him. In 884 he induced Asser, a Welsh monk, to reside with him during a part of the year. "I came into Saxony," Asser tells us, "from the extreme limits of western Britain, summoned by the king. After I had set out, I arrived, through many wide-intervening ways, in the country of the South Saxons, which is called, in Saxon, Suthseaxe (Sussex), guided by some of that nation. There I first saw him in the royal vill called Dene.* After being kindly received by him, in the course of conversation he earnestly entreated me to devote myself to his service, to give myself wholly up to him, and for his love to relinquish all my possessions on the other side of the Severn. He promised to compensate me richly, as he actually did." The learned Welshman would not forego his native cloister; but he promised to return, and give half his time to the king's companionship. In one sojourn of eight months, Asser says, "I translated and read to him whatever books he wished, which were within our reach; for it was his peculiar and perpetual custom, day and night, amid all his afflictions of mind and body, either to read books himself or to have them read to him by others." In due time Alfred himself became a teacher. No one ever devoted himself to the business of authorship with greater earnestness and a higher sense of duty than this remarkable Saxon. During the fourteen years which had followed the peace with Guthrum, although he was exposed to occasional incursions of the northern pirates, his great works were the establishment of order, the consolidation of his kingdom, and the improvement of his people. With what heart he labored in building up civilization upon general knowledge is best shown by his own preface to Gregory's Pastorals, one of the works which he translated from Latin into Saxon, a copy of which he sent to each bishop's see, with the injunction that it should remain in the minster, unless the bishop took it with him, "or it be lent somewhere until somebody write another copy." In the age before printing this was the only practicable method of multiplying books. What Alfred thus did was for example, as well as for the direct improvement to be derived from that particular book. The learning of the clergy had degenerated. He laments that "formerly people came hither to this land in search of wisdom and teaching, and we must now obtain them from without, if we must have them." He then describes the inability of the priests to make their breviaries intelligible to the general population.† He next exhorts Bishop Wulsige, to whom he addressed this preface, that he bestow the wisdom which God gave him wherever he can bestow it. The mode by which he proposes to make knowledge more general is that of translation. The Scriptures had been translated from Hebrew into Greek and Latin and other tongues. "Therefore, it appears to me better, if you think so, that we also, for some books which seem most needful for all men to understand, that we translate them into that language that we can all understand, and cause, as we very easily may with God's help, if we have the leisure, that all the youth that is now in the English nation of free men, such as have wealth to maintain themselves, may be put to learning, while they can employ themselves in nothing else, till at first they can read well English writing. Afterward let people teach further in the Latin tongue those whom they will teach further and ordain to higher degree. When I thought how the learning of the Latin language before this was decayed through the English people, though many could read English writing, then I began, among other divers and manifold affairs of this kingdom, to translate into English the book which is named in Latin 'Pastoralis,' and in English 'Herdsman's Book,' sometimes word for word, sometimes meaning for meaning, as I learned it of Plegmund my archbishop, and of Asser my bishop, and of Grimbold my presbyter, and of John my presbyter. After I had then learned it so that I understood it as well as my understanding could allow me, I translated it into English."‡ The modesty, the zeal, the common-sense of this beautiful specimen of Anglo-Saxon prose (the version being as literal as possible) will be manifest to every reader. Perhaps some may think that if the spirit of this teacher, who lived in what we call a barbarous age, had descended upon those who have governed the people since his times, we, in this so-called civilized age, should not have to lament as he lamented, that "we have loved only the name of being Christians, and very few the duties."

The intellectual labor of this king was incessant. In the narrative of Asser we see the inner life of the diligent student; but we see also the ever-present responsibilities of the unconquerable king. The Danes, under their great leader Hasting, are blockading the Loire, in 882. Suddenly they turn to England, having concluded a truce with France. Alfred has learned the true defence of the island, and defeats his enemies at sea. In 884 they land in Kent, and besiege Rochester. Alfred is there with his army, and drives them back to their ships. He has again rest. The internal improvement of the country is his chief care. He founds new religious establishments. He establishes schools in the various towns. He builds fortresses. He repairs roads. He reconstructs cities, especially London, out of the ashes of a desolating warfare. But amid all this earnest work he has time for his books. He translates Boetius,* interspersing the original with constant additions from his own rich thoughts. Bede's English History is rendered by him from Latin into Saxon; and so is the ancient History of Orosius, to the geographical portions of which he made interesting additions. Some of the original copies of these works are still preserved. Other translations are ascribed to him. He evidently labored upon a systematic principle in the diffusion of knowledge. He saw what the great body of his countrymen required, and he also knew what would interest them. The Pastorale of Pope Gregory was a plain treatise on the duties of the parochial clergy. It was not addressed to the learned; but was a practical manual for those who were the natural instructors of the laity. It was, in English, "The Herdsman's Book." For the people themselves he prepared works of history and geography. Orosius gave him a summary of ancient history, from the earliest times to the Roman age of Honorius, A.D. 416. But that history was written by a Christian, and Orosius constantly holds up the Christian virtues, in opposition to the violations of justice and humanity, which are rarely blamed by the heathen historians. Bede's Ecclesiastical History furnished Alfred with the most authentic record of the past annals of his own country. In Orosius there is a short summary of geographical knowledge, to which Alfred made some valuable additions, of especial interest to his countrymen. Two northern navigators came to the king, and from their personal relations he prepared a clear and concise statement of the northernmost countries, from which the Saxon race sprang. He tells, on their authority, of the waste lands which the Fins inhabit, obtaining a precarious subsistence by hunting and fishing; of wealthy men, whose possessions consisted of reindeer; of seas where the walrus and the whale were in abundance; of Eastland and the Esthonians, where there are many towns, and where the rich drank mare's milk, and the poor and the slaves drank mead. He describes the coasts of Scandinavia with singular precision. How true all this is we know at the present day. The royal teacher published no wild stories, such as are found in other Saxon writers who came after him, of people with dogs' heads, boars' tusks, and horses' manes; of headless giants, or those with two faces on one head. Truth was in itself, as it always will be, the best foundation for interesting narrative. Add to these books the pure morality which Alfred disseminated in his Boetius, and we have the model of a just system of popular instruction. Works such as these, large and general in their views, were especially adapted to an insular people, and were wisely added to their national legends and songs. The king himself held communication, as much as it were possible, with the distant world. He corresponded with Rome, by ambassadors and by letters. He maintained a communication with the patriarch of Jerusalem; and, what strikes us as most remarkable, he sent a bishop, with bounteous gifts, to the Syrian Christians in India. The overland journey to the coasts of Malabar was not an easy undertaking in

* Supposed to be East Dean, or West Dean, near Chichester.

† See p. 28.

‡ We take these passages from Mr. Wright's version in "Biographia Britannica Literaria."

* This Latin book, "De Consolatione Philosophiæ," was written early in the sixth century, and was very popular in the middle ages.

those days. When we regard this man's manifold exertions, we naturally ask how these tasks were accomplished. The answer is given by the familiar story of his lantern-clock. He strictly apportioned his time to the performance of his several duties. To note the progress of the day and night, he caused wax-candles to be made of equal weight and size, so that six candles would burn for twenty-four hours. Minuter divisions of time were marked on each candle. But the wind blowing through the churches in which he worshipped, and the halls and tents in which he studied, made the exposed tapers irregular monitors. He remedied the difficulty by inventing the horn-lantern.

Thus passed, in comparative tranquillity, the life of the industrious king, from his thirtieth to his forty-fourth year. Children were growing up around him. Ethelfled, his eldest daughter, who was married to the Earl of Mercia, inherited the heroic spirit of her father. Edward, the elder son, succeeded to his father's throne. There was another son, and two other daughters. Asser describes the great care bestowed on their education. Alfred provided amply for his children, both on "the spear side and the spindle side," as his will expresses. But he made an especial provision for the preponderating wealth and power of the eldest son. That great inheritance of kingly dominion, built upon national independence, was preserved for a century by Alfred's courage, sagacity, and perseverance. His work was not ended when Guthrum, the Dane, who had made several ineffectual attempts to shake off his allegiance, died in 890. There was another Northman, even more dangerous than the piratical king of East Anglia. During the few years of rest which England had won by Alfred's exertions, France was purchasing exemption from plunder by paying tribute. At the same period the countries of the Rhine, the Scheldt, and the Meuse were overrun by the invaders. The opulent towns were pillaged and burnt. Trèves, Cologne, Maestricht, Tolbiac, Liège, Aix-la-Chapelle, and many other strong and rich cities, that had flourished from the Roman times, were sacked and destroyed. The whole country of the Netherlands suffered in the same way. The wide-spreading ruin was again threatening England. But Alfred was at his post. No more quiet studies. No more friendly colloquies with Asser about ancient literature. No jotting-down of striking passages in his daily note-book. In 894, Alfred was, substantially, the king of all England. In that year the Danes, who had previously established a landing in the mouth of the Thames, effected another landing in Kent. Alfred was not unprepared. He did not call out the whole adult population to meet the invaders, but had made a wise provision for the due cultivation of the land, by calling out half the population for military service, leaving the other half in their homes. Each half, in its turn, exercised the duties of war and of industry. During the interval of peace he had also created a navy. There were two Danish armies to encounter. The one was posted on the Swale, near Milton; the other was on the coast. The whole fertile lands of Kent lay exposed to their ravages. On the Essex coast were the doubtful East Anglians, who would follow the fortunes of Hasting if they led to victory. Alfred threw himself between the two armies. The Dane saw his danger, and resorted to negotiation. He agreed to leave the country, and sent to the king two of his sons as hostages. But he meditated treachery. The hostages had been returned by the confiding Saxon. Then the army which had been landed in Kent suddenly marched across the country; but before a junction could be effected, Alfred pursued that army to Farnham, and defeated the Northmen in a general engagement. The enemy fled through Essex, and finally took refuge in the Isle of Mersey, at the mouth of the Colne. The king blockaded the fugitive remnant; but in the mean while some of the colonists of East Anglia fitted out a great armament, and, sailing along the southern coast, attacked Exeter. Another fleet, coasting round the northern parts of the island, reached the Bristol Channel. Hasting, who had remained in the Swale, now sailed up the Thames, and devastated Mercia. But wherever the enemy was there was Alfred. He drove him out of Exeter. He cleared Mercia of its ravagers, and they again fled to the Isle of Mersey. They had established an alliance in East Anglia, and, with powerful reinforcements, the next year marched across the country, and took possession of Chester. Again was Alfred after them, and again he drove them to the east. They towed their ships up the Thames into the Lea, where they fortified themselves. The Londoners attacked them, but were repulsed. It was the approaching harvest time of 896, and Alfred brought up his army to prevent the invaders from gathering the corn. The Danes rested securely in their strong position, while the king appeared to be inactive. He was accomplishing one of those original conceptions of military genius which, in all ages, have characterized the few great masters of strategy, who stand apart from those ordinary commanders who regard war as a mere trial of physical strength, in which superiority of numbers is alone wanting to insure victory. The Danish ships were in the Lea; the army was close at hand in its intrenchments. Alfred turned the course of the river below his enemy's position. The channel by which the Danes could bring out their vessels became dry.* The laborers upon the new cuts were protected by Alfred's fortified encampment. The invading army then marched through the midland counties to the Severn, and the Londoners seized the deserted vessels. Hasting intrenched himself at Bridgenorth during the ensuing winter; but the spirit of the invaders was broken, and Hasting left the country. The coast was still harassed by frequent descents of the piratical enemy. The great general now became, as Southey terms him, "the first English admiral." He was not a routine administrator, adhering to old models. The Saxon ships, as ordinarily built, were inferior to the æscs of the Northmen, as their vessels were termed. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle describes Alfred's preparation for naval warfare: "Then King Alfred commanded long ships to be built to oppose the æscs; they were full nigh twice as long as the others; some had sixty oars, and some had more; they were both swifter and steadier and also lighter than the others. They were shapen neither like the Frisian nor the Danish; but so as it seemed to him that they would be most efficient." With these ships Alfred went forth to his sea-fights. He swept the coast wherever the marauders appeared, and with a terrible severity he executed the men he captured as pirates. They were pirates, upon the largest scale that had been ever seen, and their system had become intolerable throughout Europe. The great enemy was at length completely overcome. The Danish raven was no more seen on the English shores. The flag was triumphant that "has braved a thousand years the battle and the breeze." Alfred secured his kingdom's peace in 897. Within four years, in 901, he was called "where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest."

The history of England during the days of Alfred has necessarily been the biography of one man; for the character of one ruler never more completely influenced the destinies of his country. Alfred saved England from foreign domination. He raised her in the scale of nations, and maintained her in the fellowship of Christian communities. He was the first who clearly saw that there was a people to be instructed and civilized. He ruled over a small state, but his exertions had a world-wide influence. The Saxon people never forgot him. In three generations after his death, in the first year of the eleventh century, they were subdued by the same Danes that he had driven out; and in another century came a greater conquest and a heavier yoke. But Alfred saved his own race from destruction; and whatever were to be the after-fortunes of that race, the indomitable courage, the religious endurance, the heart and hope of this man, under every trial, constituted a precious bequest to the crown and to the nation. The energy of the warrior king was emulated by his immediate descendants, if they could not attempt to combine in so eminent a degree the contemplative with the active principle, as he had combined them. But he presented to his own time, and to all coming time, a model which, to a certain extent, represents our national character, in its union of reflection with action. The world of thought and the world of deed are not with us separated, as with some nations. This notion of the impress of Alfred's character upon the Anglo-Saxon race, or of Alfred presenting a type of that race, may be fanciful, but, at any rate, the leading principle of duty as the end of life still survives among us. It is our battle-cry and our household precept. In many respects we live in a selfish age, in which duty and interest are confounded; with most of us pretentious, and with too many unscrupulous. We may be better by being tried by adversity, as this Alfred was tried. But whatever may be our vices and shortcomings, we are yet able to do honor to the great

* Camden says that the Lea, by this operation, was obstructed for seven hundred years, till its navigation was restored by Lord Burleigh.

Saxon, who, in no boastful spirit, wrote of himself: "This I can now truly say, that so long as I lived I have striven to live worthily, and after my death to leave my memory to my descendants in good works."

The character of Alfred has a strong hold upon our affections; and much of this may proceed from the circumstance that we see more of his private life, through his attached biographer, than of the individuality of any other of the kings of that obscure period. In our eyes he is not an abstraction, as most others of the race of Woden appear to us. Alfred is not always present in armor and purple—the crown on his head and the sword in his hand. We see him afflicted with disease, but never bowed down by despondency and inaction. He is among his children, who reverence him as father and king, but love him as friend and companion. He is gossiping with artificers about their various callings; looking after his falconers and dog-keepers; trying mechanical experiments, and reciting old Saxon poems at his social board. He is at prayer openly in the churches, and secretly he humbly kneels on the steps of the altar to pour out his heart to Him who is "the stem and foundation of all blessings."* He is reading in his plainly-furnished chamber, where the wind sings through the coarse hangings, as he looks exultingly upon the lantern which shields his solitary taper. He is discussing with Asser the exact meaning of a Latin passage, and finally transcribes it in his note-book. He is reckoning his revenues, setting aside one portion for his military and civil service; another for public works; and another for religious purposes, for education, and for the poor. We see him exhorting those in authority to do their duty, mildly and moderately reproving such as had neglected the just discharge of their functions. We see him affable and pleasant to all, and eagerly curious to enlarge his knowledge by familiar questions. We may be quite sure that he was too wise to be always playing the king and the sage; and we perceive distinctly that, like all the really great men that ever lived, he was essentially simple and practical in the higher as well as humbler concerns of life. His character can very well afford to bear the charges of the monastic writers, that in his early years he was proud, severe, even dissolute. It is in the conquest of the passions that the resolute will first asserts itself; and after that conquest the light breaks, and all is calm and beauty. Adversity has no degradation, and prosperity no danger, when that struggle is over.

Hume says of Alfred, "That he might render the execution of justice strict and regular, he divided all England into counties; those counties he subdivided into hundreds, and the hundreds into tithings." This statement is found in some of the chroniclers. The words of Malmesbury are these: "Since, from the example of the barbarians, the natives themselves began to lust after rapine, insomuch that there was no safe intercourse without a military guard, he (Alfred) appointed centuries, which they call 'hundreds' and 'decennares,' that is to say, tithings; so that every Englishman, living according to law, must be a member of both. If any one was accused of a crime, he was obliged immediately to produce persons from the hundred and tithing to become his surety; and whosoever was unable to find such surety must dread the severity of the laws. If any who was implicated made his escape, either before or after he had found surety, all persons of the hundred and tithing paid a fine to the king." Ingulphus asserts that Alfred divided the kingdom into counties, hundreds, and tithings. There were, unquestionably, many large divisions of the various Saxon kingdoms before the time of Alfred; and the attribution to him of the subdivisions of hundreds and tithings is held to be of those conjectures which made the Saxon "darling" the origin of nearly all that was good in the ancient institutions. Mr. Kemble says, "Not one word in corroboration of it is to be found in Asser or any other contemporaneous authority." The very able author of the introduction to the Census of 1851 observes, "Some modern writers attempt to set aside the testimony of these chroniclers" (Malmesbury and Ingulphus), "on the ground that they are unsupported by contemporary annals. They appear to forget that the Saxon Chronicle omits much that is in the elaborate life of Alfred by Asser, whose narrative terminates abruptly (A.D. 887), fourteen years before Alfred's death (901); and therefore no more exhausts the administrative measures than it exhausts the military achievements of the great king. The methodical division of his revenue, of his attendants into companies, and of his time, is described by Asser; and the division of the kingdom into hundreds and tithings is of the same artificial character." But Mr. Kemble maintains that the system existed long before Alfred was born, not only in other German lands but among ourselves. The earlier portion of Mr. Kemble's excellent work,* is to show how the system grew up. The settlers plant themselves upon the land, either by force or in peaceful occupation of the vacant districts. The bond of family is first regarded. Each family has a hide of land—some thirty cultivable acres. It is bookland—private property. Other families cluster around, for the protection and comfort of society. Ten families make a tithing. A wider personal or territorial division is found necessary for administrative purposes. A hundred families form a considerable community; and hence the hundreds. But for the purposes of general government there must be a still more extended circle. Each tithing or hundred has its folkland—land in common—wood, heath, marsh—originally the mark or boundary of the small community. The Ga, or Scir (shire) is the larger division; the forest, the river, the mountain, separating one wide district from another. It is incontestable that these divisions and subdivisions, at first personal and subsequently territorial, grew necessarily out of the very earliest condition of Saxon society; and in this point of view it may be denied that Alfred originated them. Mr. Kemble, however, to a certain extent, admits the general belief: "I am unwilling to incur the responsibility of declaring the tradition absolutely without foundation: on the contrary, it seems probable that Alfred may have found it necessary, after the dreadful confusion and devastation of the Danish wars, to make a new muster or regulation of the tithings, nay, even to cause in some respects a new territorial division to be established upon the old principle; and this is the more credible since there is reason to believe that the same causes had rendered a new definition of boundaries generally necessary, even in the case of private estates."† We may add that Ingulphus says that Alfred had an Inquisition taken, which is the model of the Doomsday Survey; but there is no trace of such a survey in our public records.

The system of surety described by Malmesbury is known to us by the common name of Frank-pledge. Its real meaning is, the pledge of peace. Through an early mistake of one Saxon word for another it has become frank-pledge or free-pledge. It is, on the contrary, the enforced pledge to keep the king's peace. The institution is very clearly described in the laws called Edward the Confessor's:

"Another peace, the greatest of all, there is, whereby all are maintained in firmer state, to wit, in the establishment of a guarantee, which the English call Frithborgas, with the exception of the men of York, who call it Tenmannetale—that is, the number of ten men. And it consists in this, that in all the vills throughout the kingdom all men are bound to be in a guarantee by tens, so that if one of the ten men offend, the other nine may hold him to right. But if he should flee, and they allege that they could not have him to right, then should be given them by the king's justice a space of at least thirty days and one: and if they could find him they might bring him to justice. But for himself, let him out of his own restore the damage he had done, or if the offence be so grave, let justice be done upon his body. But if within the aforesaid term he could not be found, since in every frithborh there was one headman whom they called frithborgheved, then this headman should take two of the best men of his frithborh, and the headman of each of the three frithborhs most nearly neighboring to his own, and likewise two of the best in each, if he can have them; and so with the eleven others he shall, if he can, clear both himself and his frithborh both of the offence and flight of the aforesaid malefactor. Which if he cannot do, he shall restore the damage done out of the property of the doer, so long as this shall last, and out of his own and that of his frithborh: and they shall make amends to the justice according as it shall be by law adjudged them. And, moreover, the oath which they could not complete with the *venue*, the nine themselves shall make, viz., that

* Words added by Alfred to Boetius.

* "Saxons in England."
† "Saxons in England," book i. chap. ix.

they had no part in the offence. And if at any time they can recover him, they shall bring him to the justice, if they can, or tell the justice where he is."*

The system of surety has necessarily become extinct in a condition of society where every man is master of his own actions till he comes under the cognizance of the law. Yet in this system of peace-pledge there is much to admire. It bound the individual members of a small community in a common fellowship, and a common interest in the due administration of justice. The universal submission of the English people to the authority of law is one of the most remarkable of their characteristics. Something of this ready acknowledgment of the supremacy of a moral power stronger than physical force, operating for the universal benefit, may be attributed to this Saxon institution. Words survive customs: My neighbor is my neah borh—my nigh-pledge. In a law-proceeding of our own time, the *venue* where the action is laid is where the witnesses are at hand, to speak of their own knowledge as to what happened in their vicinage. These are the successors of the old sworn compurgators, who were *jurati*, or jurors, but not in our modern sense. When in our courts of justice a witness is called to character, there stands the representative of the Saxon neighbor, who is performing, in a lesser degree of responsibility, the same office of kindness which the compurgator performed in the days of Alfred. In the tithings or gylds, there were small courts of arbitration or police; and the men of the tithing appear, in their monthly meetings, to have observed, especially in London, those festive greetings without which municipal or national business among us is still supposed to be imperfectly performed. The hundred was a collection of ten tithings, and it had its monthly meetings also as a court of justice, but one of limited powers. The hundred was principally part of a system of police for the maintenance of peace. At this day when a riotous destruction of property cannot be redressed by the damages imposed upon a known offender or offenders, the sufferer goes for compensation to the hundred. But the great court was the shire-court. The administrative officers of this system were: 1. the "Ealdorman." He was sometimes called duke; and, next to that of the king, his was the highest authority. When long experience was held to be the best test of wisdom, the name Ealdorman, as the word Seigneur, implied a man of mature years—the elder, or senior. His civil duty was to hold a shire-moot twice a year, in which he presided, in association with the bishop. The ealdorman had the highest judicial and executive authority in his shire, probably without appeal. We read of Alfred reproving unjust and ignorant judges, but we have no statement that he reversed their decisions. The dignity was not hereditary; though the ealdorman necessarily belonged to the class of nobles. We have already spoken of the ealdorman as a military leader. 2. The "Scírgeréfa"—the shire-reeve—the sheriff. This officer was, in a great degree, the deputy of the ealdorman, and he was also subject to the control of the bishop. But he was, practically, the county-court judge. The sheriff was also the fiscal officer of his district. He was appointed by the king, and could be removed by the king.† 3. In towns—fortified places—there was a "burhgeréfa"—borough-reeve. 4. Beyond these officers, there were special reeves, exercising certain functions, as the reeve, or steward, of the king, or ealdorman, or bishop, and having judicial power in various courts inferior to the county-court. The principle of administration which was enforced as the duty of these officers is thus set forth in the laws of King Edward, the son and successor of Alfred: "King Edward commands all the reeves: that ye judge such dooms as ye know to be most righteous, and as it in the doom-book stands. Fear not on any account to pronounce folk-right; and that every suit have a term when it shall be brought forward, that ye then may pronounce." In the last clause the injunction is repeated: "I will that each reeve have a gemot always once in four weeks; and so do, that every man may be worthy of folk-right:‡ and that every suit have an end and term when it shall be brought forward." In these just principles and comprehensive arrangements for securing order and administering justice, we see an approach to the complete establishment of legal authority above the more ancient principle of feud and private revenge for individual wrong. But the right of aggrieved persons and of their kinsmen to interfere with the sober course of public law was acknowledged even by Alfred in his "dooms." The right of private war preceding the remedy of the law is distinctly set forth: "We also command that the man who knows his foe to be home-sitting, fight not before he demand justice of him. If he have such power that he can beset his foe, and besiege him within, let him keep him within for seven days, and attack him not, if he will remain within." The siege and the battle were not likely to be far separated. In the same clause it is said, "After the same wise, may a man fight on behalf of his born kinsman, if any wrongfully attack him, except, indeed, against his lord; that we permit not." It is from the laws, in all times, that we can best understand the condition of society; and here we see the state of warfare still contending against the state of order.

Amid all the wrongs and tumults that must naturally have arisen out of the most partial admission of the right of personal or family feud, it is remarkable how little we can trace any private violence about inheritance, or the boundaries of landed property. Men were fighting and litigating about stolen cattle, but the tenure of land seems to have been secured upon safe and uniform principles. In the will of Alfred he states that he went to his witan, and showed them King Ethelwulf's his father's will, and they admitted its validity, and guaranteed such settlement of lands as he should think fit to make. But it is probable that such a solemn act of testamentary disposition was only necessary in the case of the king. In the case of private estates the boundaries and the right of succession, or the integrity of purchase, were probably recorded in some legal form. Private land was book-land—land recorded in a written book or charter. But the transfer of land was effected by a simplicity of arrangement which the ingenuity of civilization has raised into a complicated and expensive system that makes us look with some regret upon the days before title-deeds. A turf cut from the sward, and handed over to the purchaser by the vendor, was the good old Saxon conveyance of land. The delivering the key of a door gave the possession of a dwelling. More solemn testimonials of the assignment of property were sometimes given. Ulfus, a thane of Northumbria, lays his ivory drinking-horn upon the altar of the minster of York, and there it still remains as the title of the church to the "Terra Ulfi," which the Chapter holds. These formalities took place in the presence of witnesses. Some of the evidence of rightful possession might in course of time be subject to doubt; and bulky and complex documents came at last to stand in the place of the delivery by the turf and the drinking-horn, and the simple registration. The progress of civilization made the change. But we have carried the change into uncivilization when we hold that while a chattel, be it of the value of thousands of pounds, may be transferred without expense, an acre of freehold land cannot be sold without paying half its value for parchment, and with the possibility that in the next generation the title may become a matter of dispute which the High Court of Chancery may be called upon to settle. The evil is of some standing. Burton, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, writes, "Our forefathers, as a worthy chorographer of ours (Camden) observes, had wont, with a few golden crosses, and lines in verse, make all conveyances assurances. And such was the candor and integrity of succeeding ages that a deed, as I have oft seen, to convey a whole manor, was *implicité* contained in some twenty lines, or thereabouts. . . . But now many skins of parchment will scarce serve turn. He that buys and sells a house must have a house full of writings."*

* Kemble's "Saxons in England," vol. i. p. 249.
† Kemble, vol. ii. p. 165. ‡ Have his right by law.

CHAPTER IX.

Edward succeeds Alfred—Ethelfleda—Athelstan—Annexation of Northumbria—Athelstan's continental influence—Battle of Brunanburh—Code of Athelstan—His death—Edmund—His Accession and murder—Dunstan—Accession of Edred—The Church under Edred—His death—Edwy—His coronation feast—Edwy and Elgiva—Edwy's death.

ALFRED, as we have seen, married at a very early age; and as he was fifty-two when he died, his eldest son, Edward, was probably about thirty when he was called to the throne by the choice of the

* "Anatomy of Melancholy," ed. 1652, p. 51.

witan. The chronicle of Ethelward says, "He was elected by the nobles, and crowned with the royal crown on Whitsunday, one hundred years having elapsed since his great grandfather, Egbert, had gained his present territories." At the battle of Farnham, in 893, Edward was at the head of the forces which overtook the Danes, and compelled their retreat from the interior. He was then a father; for Malmesbury records that Alfred was affectionately attached to Athelstan, the son of Edward, and dedicated him, as it were, to war and dominion, by bestowing on the beautiful boy a scarlet cloak, a diamond-studded belt, and a Saxon sword in a golden scabbard. But, chosen as he was by the general voice, and marked out for rule as the companion in arms of his father, Edward found that the title to the throne was contested. In the case of Alfred, the lineal succession was set aside; for his elder brother, Ethelred, had left children. His son, Ethelwold, on the election of Edward, disputed his title, seized upon some royal houses, and finally fled to Northumbria, where the Danes chose him as supreme king. A civil war now ensued, which lasted, with various fortunes, for four years. But Ethelwold at length fell in a great fight in East Anglia, which he had invaded and laid waste. His death put an end to this unnatural contention; and Edward, the next year, concluded a treaty with the Danes.

King Edward possessed the indomitable vigor of his father, however he might be wanting in those qualities which raised Alfred so high above the mere warrior. There was another of Alfred's children who had the same energy of character, and who cherished the same resolve to consolidate the realm of England under one dominant authority. That ally of Edward in this difficult labor was his sister, Ethelfleda. She was the wife of Ethelred, the friend of Alfred, who held under him the rule of Mercia. He died in 912. His widow was not superseded by an ealdorman, or sub-king. She was "the Lady of Mercia;" and wisely and bravely did she govern. There was perfect accord between the king and the sovereign lady. Ethelfleda erected fortresses to protect her territory, at Bridgenorth, Stamford, Tamworth, Warwick; while Edward fortified Hertford and Witham. These fortresses became the seats of trade, and gradually grew into importance as boroughs. They were of superior construction to the old earthworks; for one of the chroniclers says they were built of stone. It has been observed that there was, "a few years later, a perfectly similar systematical establishment of towns or fortresses in Germany, under the emperor, Henry the First."* Such fortresses are not only indications of a state of warfare, but show also that there was an important class in the community growing up, that could no longer safely abide in the small villages, or clustered round the house of the noble or the church of the bishop. The country was gradually becoming less exclusively agricultural. In the laws of Edward it is enacted that "every man have his warrantor; and that no man buy out of port, but have the port-reeve's witness." This clearly applies to the commerce of towns, where all dealings were to be within the gate. But active as well as defensive warfare was still necessary. In 911, Rollo, the great sea king, obtained the cession of that duchy of France to which the Northmen gave their name. This conquest, from which such great results were to ensue in the lapse of centuries, offered, at first, encouragement to new attacks upon Saxon England. Though the Danish settlers were, for the most part, Christian, their pagan countrymen continued to penetrate into the interior from the coasts of East Anglia and Northumbria; and the old contest, in which the settler and the pirate were united against Wessex and Mercia, was still going on. The Welsh, too, appeared again in revolt. Edward and Ethelfleda were unwearied in their resistance to the powers which assailed them in so many directions; and they were ultimately successful. They became assailants, too, of the territories which had been subdued by the Northmen. The Danes of East Anglia swore allegiance to Edward, who had possessed himself of Colchester, and had repaired the Roman walls; and Ethelfleda compelled the Danish garrisons of Derby and Leicester to surrender, and the Danes of York to submit to her authority. Finally all the island acknowledged the son of Alfred as lord and protector. The heroic lady of Mercia died at Tamworth about the year 920, and Edward died in 924. Their lives were a perpetual struggle—first to maintain the integrity of their dominions, and, secondly, to establish a more perfect security by their extension. Upon the death of Ethelfleda, Edward annexed Mercia to Wessex, disregarding the claims of her daughter. This was an act of despotism—the expedient policy of Wessex for a century and a quarter. What we call ambition might have been, as far as the individual rulers were concerned, the great sustaining cause of that policy; but at the same time it would have been impossible for the country to have made any progress in the establishment of law and of religion, any successful prosecution of the industrial arts, if divided into hostile tribes, under the government of many petty rulers. This struggle for the concentration of authority went on, more or less, under the Germanic kings, for nearly a century and a half after the death of Edward, and was not completed even by the Norman conquest. Whatever was the tyranny of the Norman kings, their preponderating power was ultimately a blessing to England. It crushed the rivalries of turbulent chieftains, and extinguished the hostilities of adverse races, of the British, and Saxon, and Danish stocks. But, mighty as was that power, it never rooted out the Saxon laws and language, or bowed the Saxon spirit into a dishonorable slavery. It is for this cause that the periods of wild wars and rude enactments, when England was shaping itself into a kingdom, have still an interest for us, and that we cannot properly enter into the broader pathways of modern history without traversing the thickets which encompass them.

Athelstan, the son of Edward, has been held to be illegitimate. The belief is inconsistent with the relation of the attachment of Alfred to his grandson, and of his apparent dedication of him to the kingly office. The early chroniclers have a strange admixture of fancy with fact, the poetic infusion not only reflecting the superstitions of their age, but expressing the traditional reverence of history for its heroes. Thus the mother of Athelstan, a shepherd's daughter, sees in a dream a glorious moon shining out of her body to light all England. The dream is reported; and the humble maiden becoming the first love of Alfred's son, the moon is Athelstan. Edward named this, his eldest son, as his successor. The next son, Ethelward, died soon after his father. The other sons were under age. Athelstan was crowned at Kingston in 924.* It appears that his succession, though sanctioned by the witan, met with opposition; and a conspiracy was formed to depose him and put out his eyes. The leader of this sedition is called, by Malmesbury, one Elfred; and the same chronicler quotes a remarkable grant to the Abbey of Malmesbury, by Athelstan, of certain possessions which had accrued to him upon the death of Elfred. In this document the king says, "He was the jealous rival both of my happiness and of my life, and consented to the wickedness of my enemies, who, on my father's decease, had not God in his mercy delivered me, wished to put out my eyes in the city of Winchester." The grant goes on to say that Elfred was sent to Rome to defend himself by oath before Pope John; but at the instant he was sworn he fell down, and died three nights after. As connected with this conspiracy of Elfred, though erroneously so in point of time, tradition has associated the fate of Athelstan's younger brother, Edwin. Seduced into the revolt against the king, he was exposed, say the legends, in a rotten boat, with one attendant, his armor-bearer; and, driven out to sea, without oar or rudder, threw himself overboard in wild despair. The faithful follower of Edwin brought his body to land; and the remorse of Athelstan was only alleviated by seven years' penance. Malmesbury says he found the tale, as he found the dream of the shepherd's daughter, in old ballads. The monkish romancers told a similar story of the wife of Offa; and the same interesting fable will always speak to the heart in the Custance of Chaucer and the Prospero of Shakespeare. Henry of Huntingdon does not receive the story of Malmesbury's old ballad. He says, "By a stroke of adverse fortune Athelstan lost his brother Edwin, the etheling, a young prince of great energy and high promise, who was unhappily drowned at sea."†

The reign of Athelstan was spread over the short term of fifteen years, but it was the culminating point of the glory and power of Saxon England. "The terror of his name," according to Malmes-

* Lappenberg, vol. ii. p. 91.

* The ancient chapel at Kingston, in which some of the Saxon kings were held to have been crowned, was standing late in the last century.

† The Saxon Chronicler gives the date of his death as 938, eight years after Athelstan's accession.

bury, left him the undisputed dominion of the island, with the exception of Northumbria. The Danish chieftain of that district, Sihtric, acknowledged Athelstan's supremacy and received his sister in marriage. The alliance was soon dissolved. The history which bears the name of Matthew of Westminster records that the Dane, who had embraced Christianity, renounced his wife and his faith at the same time (A.D. 926). Athelstan was preparing to revenge the injury when Sihtric died, or was murdered. His sons Guthfric and Anlaf fled, when Athelstan led an army into Northumbria. The vigorous Saxon annexed the Northumbrian kingdom to his dominions. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle gives a pithy summary of the events of this year: "And Sihtric perished; and King Athelstan obtained the kingdom of the Northumbrians: And he ruled all the kings who were on this island: first, Huwal, king of the West-Welsh;* and Constantine, king of the Scots; and Uwen, king of the Guentian people;† and Ealdred, son of Ealdulf, of Bamborough; and they confirmed the peace by pledge, and by oaths, at the place called Eamot, on the 4th of the Ides of July; and they renounced all idolatry, and after that submitted to him in peace." Guthfric returned the next year in arms to claim the Northumbrian kingdom; but he was subdued by Athelstan, and, making his submission, was received with kindness. He soon joined the piratical bands of his countrymen.

The power which Athelstan had thus won by his sword he appears to have retained in peace for about ten years. During this period, and in the few subsequent years of his life, his position as the supreme ruler of a great and independent kingdom gave him an European influence, which appears most remarkable at a time which we are little accustomed to consider as one of international amity. Athelstan was the protector and defender of deposed and exiled princes. When the Normans expelled the Duke of Brittany from his dominions, Athelstan welcomed and educated his son Alan, who finally drove out the Normans with the Saxon's aid. Haco, the son of the King of Norway, was also welcomed and educated in England, and was assisted by Athelstan in obtaining his throne. Louis IV. of France, in his earlier years, had sought refuge with his maternal uncle, Athelstan, and hence he was called "D'outremer," "from beyond the sea," during the usurpation of Rudolph. Summoned to the throne from his English exile, he was finally protected in his dominion by the English king. The states of France sent deputies to Athelstan, on the death of Rudolph, who took the oath of allegiance to Louis in the presence of Athelstan and his queen; and when the rule of the young Frank was disturbed by his great vassals, another treaty of alliance between the countries was entered into. Daniel, the French historian, has this comment on the event: "This is the first example which we have in our history, not only of an offensive league between France and England, but it is also the first treaty by which these two kingdoms concerned themselves about each other's welfare. Until this event the two nations considered themselves as two worlds, which had no connection but that of commerce to maintain, and had no interest to cultivate either friendship or enmity in other concerns."‡ Athelstan had a difficult policy to pursue. Hugh, who married Athelstan's sister, Edgiva (then dead) was one of the great vassals who was opposed to Louis IV.; and the German king, Otho, who had married Elgifa, another sister, had invaded the French dominions. But Athelstan held firmly to the interests of his nephew. The position of England and France at this period was certainly a memorable one. Centuries were to elapse before an alliance could be formed between them as independent nations. The Norman princes ruled England as a province. Their successors claimed France as an inheritance. For nine hundred years since the league with Athelstan, the two nations have, for the most part, "considered themselves as two worlds;" have maintained little "commerce;" have cultivated small "friendship" in external concerns. A common danger and a common interest have produced a mighty change in our days. May the friendship be preserved when the danger is past!

The continental alliances of Athelstan, and especially the marriages of his sisters, are indications of a genius for statecraft, such as we scarcely expect in those times. In the personal character of the Saxon we trace "the pride of kings," and the barbaric pomp of self-asserting power. William of Malmesbury saw the tomb of Athelstan opened, a century and a half after his death; and he describes his flaxen hair "beautifully wreathed with golden threads." The kings who sought his alliance approached him with presents, such as would propitiate his love of magnificent display. Norway sent him a ship with golden beak, and purple sail, and gilded shields. Hugh, the great duke of the Franks, demanded his sister in marriage, with "presents such as might gratify the most boundless avarice"—perfumes, jewels, diadems, caparisoned horses, the sword of Constantine the Great, and the spear of Charlemagne. There is no distinct record that Athelstan was corrupted by this homage; but it is certain that the extension of his power produced the inevitable consequence that waits upon successful ambition—the confederacy of the weak against the strong. A league against him was formed by the under-kings of Scotland and Cumberland in 934. Athelstan was prompt in his measures. He marched into Scotland with a great army, and his fleet ravaged the coast as far as Caithness. Anlaf, the son of Guthfric the Dane, had married a daughter of Constantine of Scotland; and the re-establishment of the Northumbrian kingdom was the great object to be attained by the union of all who had felt the power and were humiliated by the magnificence of their Saxon lord. The Danes, the Scots, and the Welsh appeared in arms. Anlaf, who had obtained dominion in Ireland and the western isles, with upward of six hundred ships, entered the Humber. All the North was in insurrection. All the South and East went forth to uphold the integrity of the kingdom. The army of Athelstan was encamped on the Scottish borders of Northumberland, according to Camden. The king commanded, with Edmund his brother; and the chancellor Turketul led the Londoners to the fight. The chroniclers tell the same romantic story, with variations, that they told of Alfred. Anlaf the Dane enters the camp of Athelstan as a harper. He plays before the king, and takes a money-reward. But he scorns to retain the price of a hireling's service, and buries the present which he received. A soldier, who had formerly served under Anlaf, knew the supposed harper, and communicated his knowledge to the king, who was indignant that he had not been seized. The honest soldier declared that he should have scorned to betray his former leader, but he warned Athelstan to shift his position. The king followed the timely advice; and when Anlaf attacked the camp at night, he found other victims. Two days after was fought the great battle of Brunan-burh, by which the confederacy against the Saxon power was completely overthrown. Of this decisive conflict Milton says, "They fought with Athelstan at a place called Wendune; others term it Brunanburg, others Bruneford; which Ingulph places beyond Humber; Camden in Glendale of Northumberland, on the Scottish borders—the bloodiest fight, say authors, that ever this island saw. To describe which, the Saxon annalist, wont to be sober and succinct, whether the same or another writer, now laboring under the weight of his argument, and overcharged, runs on a sudden into such extravagant fancies and metaphors as bear him quite beyond the scope of being understood."* It is remarkable that a great poet did not see that the "extravagant fancies and metaphors" were part of "the earliest of the few metrical materials for English history,"† and were of singular value as illustrations of the spirit in which the Saxon ballads were composed. In later times, the ode on the battle of Brunan-burh has moved the heart "more than with a trumpet," as Sidney was moved by "the old song of Percy and Douglas." We present it entire.‡

"Here Athelstan, king, of earls the lord, of beorns§ the bracelet-giver and eke his brother, Edmund Etheling, won lifelong glory in battle, with edges of swords, near Brunan-burh.

"They clove the board-wall,‖ they hewed the warlindens.¶ Offspring of Edward they, in battle oft, 'gainst every foe the land defended—its hoards, and its homes. Such was their noble natures,

* People of Cornwall. † People of Monmouthshire.
‡ Quoted in Turner, book vi. chap. ii.

* "History of England," book v. † Mackintosh.
‡ Milton's "History of England" was published in 1670. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle was first printed in 1644, with a Latin translation. In that translation the peculiar expressions of the ode are necessarily lost in amplifications and expletives. We can easily understand that the Latin being read to the blind poet, he saw little merit beyond "extravagant fancies and metaphors."
§ Men fierce as bears: beorn is a title of honor, which has been translated "baron."
‖ The wooden wall of shields. ¶ The linden spears.

derived from their fathers. The foe they crushed; the Scottish people and the shipmen fated fell.

"The field reek'd with warriors' blood, since the sun was up at morning-tide. The mighty planet, God's candle bright, the eternal Lord's, glided o'er grounds, till the noble creature sank to her settle.* There lay many a warrior by javelins strewed; northern men, shot over shields; also Scots, weary and war-sad.

"West-Saxons onward, in bands, throughout the day, pursued the footsteps of the loathed nations. They hewed the fugitives behind, amain, with swords mill-sharp. Mercians refused not the hard hand-play to any heroes who, with Anlaf, over the ocean in the ship's bosom, this land sought, fated to the fight.

"Five lay on the battle-stead,† youthful kings by swords in slumber laid; so seven eke of Anlaf's earls; shipmen and Scots of the army countless.

"There was made to flee the Northmen's chieftain; by need constrained to the ship's prow with a little band. The bark drove afloat. The king, out-going on the fallow flood,‡ his life preserved. So, there, also, Constantine, hoary warrior, came by flight to his north country. He had no cause to exult in the communion of swords.

"Here was his kindred band of friends o'erthrown on the folk-stead, in battle slain; and his son he left on the slaughter-place, mangled with wounds, young in the fight. He the grizzly-haired beorn, the old deceiver, had no cause to boast of the bill-clashing; nor had Anlaf any more, with the remnant of their armies.

"They had no cause to exult that they in war's works the better men were in the battle-stead, at the conflict of banners, the meeting of spears, the concourse of men, the traffic of weapons—that they on the slaughter-field with Edward's offspring played.

"The Northmen departed in their nailed barks; bloody relic of darts o'er the deep water, Dublin to seek—again to seek Ireland, shamed in mind.

"So, too, the brothers, both together, king and Etheling, their country sought, the West Saxon's land, in war exulting.

"They left behind them, the corse to devour, the sallow kite, and the swart raven wth horned beak, and the dusky vulture, and the white-tailed heron: the corse to enjoy came the greedy war-hawk, and the gray beast, the wolf of the wood.

"Carnage greater has not been in this island ever yet, never before this, of people slain by edges of swords. So books us tell; books of old writers: since from the east hither Angles and Saxons came to land—since o'er the broad seas mighty war-smiths sought Britain, the Welsh overcame, and earls most bold this earth obtained."§

The terrors of that "slaughter-place" left Athelstan in peace for his few remaining years. He promulgated a code of laws, as his father and grandfather had done. They are conceived in a spirit of justice, according to the opinions and manners of the age. In the payment of tithes, the king claims no exemption for his "own goods; both of live stock and of the year's earthly fruits;" and he calls upon his bishops and ealdormen to do the like. He commands his reeves "that ye entirely feed one poor Englishman, if ye have him, or that ye find another;" and that "ye redeem one 'wite-theow' (penal slave)." We understand this to apply to those reeves who had the charge of the king's manors; on which it was probable that there was abundance, and that none, or very few, of the unfree were in the condition of "a poor Englishman." It has been hastily assumed that the whole land was so flourishing that poverty was not readily to be found. The criminal laws were severe; but they had some discrimination. No thief was to be spared; but his age must exceed twelve years. We do not now put children under twelve to death, but we punish them, and then leave them to perish. The bishops and reeves, and guildmen of the city of London ordered that "no thief be spared over twelve pence, and no person over twelve years;" but, with these limitations, they entered into a compact which rendered the escape of the plunderer almost impossible. They formed themselves into an association, common enough even at this day, for the prosecution of felons. Each member of the guild contributed fourpence a year for the common use; the money was held by a committee of ten men, who had to decide "what they shall disburse when aught is to pay, and what they should receive when money should arise to us at our common suit." Our principle of association for public objects, and which could only exist under a condition of individual freedom, may thus be distinctly traced to the modes in which our ancestors defended their property and asserted their rights nine hundred years ago.

Athelstan died in the year 940, and was buried in the Abbey of Malmesbury. Two sons of his uncle Ethelward had fallen in the battle of Brunan-burh, and the king had ordered them to be interred in the church which he had so richly endowed. What is called the tomb of Athelstan is still shown at Malmesbury. In a visit to this interesting little town we were somewhat surprised to find how the memory of Athelstan still lingers there. Over the antiquarian conviction that the noble ruins of the abbey are Norman, rides the popular belief that the solemn porches and the lofty arches belong to the days of Athelstan. The people have extensive common-rights; and as the peasant-boy drives his herds to the rich pastures watered by the Avon, he thinks of King Athelstan, who granted these rights to his town; in whose school he learned to read, and whose festival he annually celebrates with confiding merriment. It is the same in other towns. Beverley claimed to send members to Parliament under a charter of Athelstan; and many a town in the west of England had a statue of the great Saxon king. Some of the manuscripts of his library were preserved at Bath, up to the period of the Reformation; and the copy of the Gospels, in Latin, which he presented to the Cathedral of Canterbury, may still be seen in the British Museum. He encouraged the translation of the Bible into Saxon, as Alfred had done before him.

According to the chroniclers, Edmund the Etheling, who had fought at Brunan-burh, was only eighteen when he came to the crown. This appears somewhat unlikely. During his short reign of about six years he was twice married. But the removal of the vigorous Athelstan was the signal of fresh troubles. Anlaf was called from Ireland, and set up by the Northumbrians as their king. He concluded a successful treaty with Edmund, but soon after died. His son could not uphold the power, and the district was again reduced under the dominion of the King of Wessex. Edmund had also subdued the Britons of Cumbria, and had granted their lands to Malcolm of Scotland, under the condition of military service. The alleged right of the Scottish kings to "the earldom of Cumberland" was founded upon Edmund's grant. The extent of the homage thus claimed of the kings of the Scots by the kings of the English has been a perpetual dispute among that class of antiquaries who rejoice to learn what Time has forgotten, which Time revenges by forgetting what they have learned.* It is not for us to examine into the evidence afforded by these exhumations. The young warrior-king did not long enjoy his peace or enforce his fealty. The circumstances of his death, in the year 946, exhibit a scene of Saxon manners which proves how strongly the old disposition to employ physical force still prevailed. The king is celebrating the festival of Saint Augustin, in his hall at Pucklechurch in Gloucestershire. An outlaw whom he has banished dares to take his seat among the guests. The wine-cup goes round; but Edmund discovers the intruder, and commands his removal. Upon the man's resistance, the enraged prince rushes at him, seizes him by the hair, and dashes him to the ground. At the same instant the outlaw draws a dagger and plunges it into the breast of the ill-fated Edmund. The king instantly died; and the assassin was cut to pieces by the beholders in the sudden affray.

It is half a century since Alfred established the Saxon kingdom. His son and his grandson have valiantly fought to uphold it. A ruler of another character, more mighty than the sword, is growing into form. It has humble beginnings. At the court of Athelstan was a precocious youth of a noble race, who had been educated at the monastery of Glastonbury. His acquirements were far above those of his

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* Setl-gang is sun-setting. † Place, homestead.

‡ The term, as applied to land, has reference to color. So the brown sea.

§ The translation in the "Monumenta Historica Britannica" is more imbued with the spirit of the original than any with which we are acquainted. The poem, as there presented in the Saxon rhythm, has a corresponding translation line by line; but as no translation can give a metrical notion of the original, we have run it on in paragraphs, making some inversions here and there to aid the reader.

* The point of the well-known epigram upon Thomas Hearne.

time; and he made pretensions to supernatural communications. His musical skill and his other various accomplishments rendered him a favorite; but his boasted visions and his superior talents and knowledge caused him to be regarded as a sorcerer. This youth was Dunstan, for thirty years the real governor of England. Driven from the favor of Athelstan, under the rude belief which denounced arts called magical as the greatest of crimes, he was forced into another mode of life. The seductions of the court were to be exchanged for the severities of the cloister. The contest was a hard one. Dunstan was passionately in love with a maiden suited to him in rank. His uncle Athelm was archbishop of Canterbury; and to him the attachment was confided. The stern prelate saw that the great talents of his relative would open a career of ambition to him, by which the Church would be powerfully upheld. The dictates of our common nature were represented as unholy feelings. Threats and blandishments were opposed to the strong will of the young man, who could only see misery in the monastic system. Illness came; and the enfeebled mind was bowed to submission. Then Dunstan renounced the world, in the monkish sense of renunciation. But he was bent upon subduing the world far more completely by the cowl than by the spear. In the ardor which some call insanity, and others genius, he spurned the tame privations of the ordinary cell; and by the side of the church of Glastonbury he lived in a wretched hut, or cave, in which he could not stand upright. As his groans under the self-inflicted scourge broke the midnight silence, the rumor went forth that he was struggling with the evil one. The saintly monk soon had votaries. A noble lady poured her fortune into his lap. Crowds came to gaze upon him when he emerged from his den to do the service of the altar. His harp sometimes sounded in the intervals of his prayers and penances; and the tap of his hammer at his forge showed that he was engaged in some smith's work of utility or ornament. Out of that miserable hut came the sagacious ruler of two kings and the tyrannous oppressor of a third. Under Edmund, Dunstan was simple Abbot of Glastonbury. It was a proud step over the heads of his brethren, who held their easy way untempted by any fiend, and not at all covetous of saintly honors through bodily mortifications. But the abbot of Glastonbury, with all his chartered power—"as well in causes known as unknown—in small as in great, and even in those which are above and under the earth—on dry land and on the water; on woods and on plains" *—this abbot was a humble man, compared with the greatness to which a boundless ambition might aspire. The narrative of his career is, for some time, the history of England.

Edred, the brother of Edmund, succeeded to the throne after the fatal blow of the outlaw. Edmund left two very young sons, Edwy and Edgar. Edred was of feeble constitution and of a confiding temper. His first adviser was the Chancellor Turketul, who had fought at the battle of Brunan-burh. In a few years the statesman devoted himself to religion, and became Abbot of Croyland. He appears to have been a just as well as a brave man; for before his resignation of his civil office he proclaimed to the citizens of London that he was anxious to leave no debt undischarged, and to make threefold reparation to any person who had sustained injury at his hands. Dunstan now became the chief director of the public affairs of the country. He was, in the words of one of his biographers, "*Rex et Regis Imperator*," king and ruler of the king. He was the keeper of his treasures. He was, most probably, the director of his wars. During this reign, Northumbria, which had revolted, was finally subdued; and Edred, having devastated the land, changed its form of government, and reduced it from a kingdom to an earldom. The sickly king styled himself the sovereign of "the fourfold empire of the Anglo-Saxons, and Northumbrians, Pagans, and Britons." From this title we learn that some of the dominions were held under Danish chieftains, who were still unconverted, and were denominated pagans. Edred died in 956.

The great Abbot of Glastonbury is stated to have refused the see of Winchester, which was offered to him by Edred. His domination was perhaps better secured by his comparatively humble position. He was planning a real revolution—the establishment of the monastic rule in England, and the concurrent supremacy of the papal power. The celibacy of the clergy was the leading principle to be contended for, in making the Church Romish instead of national. Although the strict canons of the Anglo-Church did not recognize a married priesthood, the law of celibacy had never been rigidly enforced, especially among the parochial clergy. Their marriages were discountenanced; they were admonished or threatened. But the law of nature was triumphant over the decrees of councils; and the English priests were not forced into those immoralities which were the result of this ordinance in other countries. Mr. Kemble says, "We have an almost unbroken chain of evidence to show that, in spite of the exhortations of the bishops and the legislation of the witans, those at least of the clergy who were not bound to a cœnobitical order did contract marriage, and openly avow the families which were its issue." * The monastic establishments of England were numerous before the time of Dunstan. But it is tolerably certain that the monks were not subjected to the very strict rule of their founder, Saint Benedict. The conventual churches were, in many cases, served by what we call seculars. These priests lived in detached houses; and we may conceive that they, sometimes, were not patterns of self-denial It was the mission of Dunstan to reform what he considered, and perhaps in many cases justly, as abuses. In some respects his character has been subjected to unnecessary odium, through the coarse appreciation of his monkish admirers, who have held him up as the saintly instrument of the divine judgments against the most wicked of mankind. During his long administration he raised the power of the regulars, or monks, to an unprecedented height; and the extravagant chroniclers, who looked back with ignorant admiration upon what he and his coadjutors had done for their order, have caused historians to regard him, whom Milton calls "a strenuous bishop," as a dangerous impostor and a tyrannous fanatic. In modern times his actions have been examined with much uncandid criticism, whether adulatory or deprecatory. We believe that, however unscrupulous in the exercise of his strong will, he labored with an honest purpose for the elevation of the Church; but that in his exclusive devotion to that object he brought about the ruin and degradation of the kingdom.

Edwy, called the Fair, succeeded to the crown of his uncle by the voice of the witan. The boy-king, who was sixteen, or at most eighteen years of age at his accession, has been stigmatized by the monastic writers as the most weak, profligate, and tyrannous of unwise rulers. Henry of Huntingdon, supported by others who had not the prejudices of the cloister, says, "This king wore the diadem not unworthily; but after a prosperous and becoming commencement of his reign, its happy promise was cut short by a premature death." In the destruction of that happy promise, and in that premature death, we have a tragedy over which many eyes have wept. The participation of Dunstan in that tragedy has made his name hateful with all by whom the piteous tale of "Edwy and Elgiva" has been received with undoubting faith. Disputed as the popular belief has been by polemical writers, the poetical aspect of the story will always supersede the fanatical. The one is natural and consistent; the other is unnatural and disingenuous. Nor is the evidence, taken altogether, insufficient to rebut the calumnies with which the lives of these poor victims of an unscrupulous policy have been overshadowed. We have carefully examined that evidence, and we shall tell the story as we collect it out of many contradictory narratives, most of them defiled by the prurient scandals of those who, in blackening Edwy and his beloved one, endeavor to justify their oppressors. †

The coronation of the young king followed quickly after his accession. His witan had taken the oath of allegiance to him, and before the altar he had himself taken the oath to his subjects. The coronation feast succeeds. The king sits at the banquet surrounded by timid friends and suspicious enemies. He has taken the oath that he will hold God's Church, and all the Christian people of his realm, in true peace. ‡ But at that banquet there are ministers of God's

* These words are in the charter to Dunstan, as given in William of Malmesbury.

* "Saxons in England," vol. ii. p. 443.

† Those who are curious to inform themselves upon the controverted points of these passages of history should, after reading Dr. Lingard's statements in his "History of England," and "Antiquities of the Anglo-Church," refer to Mr. Allen's articles in the *Edinburgh Review*, vols. xxv. and xlii.

‡ See the oath administered to Ethelbert, in Kemble's "Saxons in England," vol. ii. p. 36.

Church who bear toward each other the most deadly hostility. "He despised the advice of his counsellors," says Malmesbury. The counsellors that he found in possession of power were Dunstan and his friends, the leaders of one great party. Edwy, who is accused with having considered Edred an usurper, fell into the hands of the leaders of another party. At this coronation feast the king retired early. As was the invariable custom at these Saxon banquets, there was excessive use of wine, and the passions of men were proportionately excited. The assembly murmured, with some reason, at the absence of the king. Dunstan and another went forth, and, bursting into Edwy's private chamber, found him in the company of Elgiva and her mother Ethelgiva. The abbot seized the youth and forcibly dragged him back to the hall. It has been called an act of sudden passion. To us it appears an act of the most profound policy. The authority of the monk was tottering; and he, for this reason, asserted his power before the assembled people. Dr. Lingard says of Dunstan, "As the treasurer of Edred, and the executor of his last testament, he had disappointed the rapacity of the prince." That rapacity consisted in demanding from the abbot of Glastonbury an account of his stewardship. "The king all along had entertained suspicions of Dunstan, because he had been intrusted with the custody of the royal treasures."* Laboring under suspicion—perhaps reproached at that coronation feast, where even bishops might be inebriated without offence to public opinion—the bold minister of Edred seized upon a slight violation of propriety on the part of Edwy to insult and degrade him. Dunstan was banished; and the king threw himself into the hands of the party who were opposed to the great abbot's authority. He chose his side, perhaps, indiscreetly. A strong party of the aristocracy, a fanatical and, therefore, influential party of the clergy, combined against him. In such contests there is little moderation; and Christian charity is trodden under foot by what is called Christian zeal. Edwy's new counsellors advised strong measures against their opponents; and their opponents revenged themselves by loading the king and his female friends with obloquy, such as Tacitus more justly bestowed upon the frightful profligacy of his time. Edwy met the scandal as alone it could be met. Elgiva became his wife. No monkish abuse can rail away the fact that in a document of undoubted authority—an agreement for the exchange of lands between Bishop Byrhthelm and Abbot Ethelwold—the following entry appears: "And this was by leave of King Eadwig; and these are the witnesses: Ælfgyfu, the king's wife, and Æthelgyfu, the king's wife's mother; Bishop Ælfsige, Bishop Oswulf, Bishop Coenwald; Byrhthnoth, the ealdorman; Ælfheah, the king's dapifer; Eadric, his brother."† Mr. Kemble says, "This, then, was not a thing done in a corner, and the testimony is conclusive that Ælgyfu was Eadwig's queen."

The imputations against Elgiva thus signally failed. But there was something more terrible in reserve than the dirt which Dunstan and his adherents threw at her and her mother. A plot was got up to separate the young queen from her husband, under the plea that the marriage was within the forbidden degrees. They were "to gesybbe"—too nearly related. There was no solemn act of separation. Upon the banishment of Dunstan there was soon a revolt against the authority of Edwy. Odo, the Archbishop of Canterbury, was a Dane. His influence in Northumbria was very great, and he instigated a general rising in that old settlement of the Danes. In a very short time Edwy had to divide his dominion with his brother Edgar, who was set up, not as a sub-ruler, but as a sole king. The rebellious subject came to Edwy and his queen with the terrible powers of the Church. Their marriage had been acquiesced in by prelates and nobles. Their consanguinity was probably of the slightest kind. But Odo was resolved to exercise his tyranny; as it was long exercised by ambitious popes and rapacious prelates, who would tear loving hearts asunder, or give them dispensation, as best suited their cold and calculating natures. Odo knew how to destroy Edwy through his affections, and thus remove the great obstacle to the projects of the monastic leaders. He dragged Elgiva from her husband. There is here some confusion in the narrative of the sad sequel of the violence. A lady was forcibly sent to Ireland, after being disfigured by hot searing irons; she escaped back to England, was seized by the adherents of the party opposed to Edwy, and was put to a cruel death. It is pretended that the victim was the mistress and not the wife of Edwy, and that the mistress was Ethelgiva. Dr. Lingard has constructed his narrative of these events upon a principle which exhibits little of the impartiality of the historian's office, and his cold notice of the crimes of the churchmen is scarcely indicative of the humanity of a Christian. "At Gloucester, she (Ethelgiva) fell into the hands of the pursuers, who with their swords divided the sinews of her legs, a cruel but *not unusual mode of punishment in that age*. After lingering in great torments for a few days, she expired." We may believe, if the apologists of Odo so desire it, that two crimes were committed—that the mother of the queen was hamstrung, and that the queen met some unknown death in forced seclusion. Of Elgiva we hear no more. The lady who died under "the not unusual mode of punishment," met her fate at Gloucester. There, also, died Edwy, after a reign of four years. Whether he was murdered or whether he died of a broken heart, we are not satisfactorily informed. It is sufficient for the monastic chroniclers to date the triumph of the Benedictine order in England from the "miserable end," as they honestly call it, of him whom they designate as "the wanton youth." We believe with Mr. Henry Taylor, that "the success of the monastic faction in decrying him with the people was not so complete as the merely political events of his reign might lead us to suppose," and that "his name ('Eadwig') having been supplanted by its diminutive 'Edwy,' seems to indicate a sentiment of tenderness and pity as popularly connected with him from the first."*

* Lingard: "History." Third edition. This note, from Wallingford, was subsequently omitted, after Mr. Allen had pointed out that Wallingford says, that on account of that suspicion the property of Dunstan was sequestered.

† The document occurs in two manuscripts in the British Museum. See Kemble, vol. ii. p. 410.

CHAPTER X.

Dunstan; attribution to him of miraculous powers—His elevation to the primacy—State of the Anglo-Church—Cathedrals and Churches—Provision for the clergy—The parish-priest—Dunstan's reforms—Edgar—Extravagant praise of his reign—His licentiousness and ostentation—Edgar an instrument in the hands of Dunstan—Edward; his accession and murder.

It is the duty of the historian, however difficult it may be, to endeavor to represent actions "in sequence, as they *were*; not in the lump as they are thrown down before us." We use Mr. Carlyle's words when he points out the error, with regard to such men as Cromwell, of "substituting the goal of their career for the course and starting-point of it."† For this reason, whatever might have been the early schemes of ambition floating in the mind of Dunstan we make no attempt to show that it was a consistent plan of his life to degrade a king, to embitter his existence, to hunt him to the death. But men of Dunstan's vigor of character seize upon accidents to shape their speculations into deeds which shall determine all subsequent action. The indiscretion of the king was the opportunity of the monk. When he dragged Edwy from the ladies' bower to encounter the tumult of the banqueting-hall, the moment had come at which the crafty 'ingener' should put the match to the mine. He risked the chance that he might "hoist on his own petar." He humiliated one who was his enemy; and in that humiliation he destroyed half the danger of the contest into which he foresaw that he must enter.

There is, we conceive, no evidence which more distinctly shows the formidable nature of this contest, and the mode in which it was carried on, than the attribution to Dunstan of miraculous powers. Abbot first, then bishop, then archbishop, he was not to fight against married presbyters and secular canons with the simple weapons of his strong will and his vast ability; but all terrors and seductions of superstition were to be called in, to hallow his cause in the eyes of the people, whether earls or churls. The records of these things were not inventions of the monastic writers after his time, but were delivered to them upon the evidence of Dunstan's disciples and his contemporary biographer Osberne. There was nothing too extravagant or too impious to be narrated, which might raise Dunstan to the position of an idol, before whom the ignorant Saxon and the half

* Preface to the beautiful historical drama of "Edwin the Fair."

† "Heroes and Hero-worship."

converted Dane might fall down and prostrate themselves in slavish adoration. His temptations in the cave at Glastonbury, when he assaulted the evil one with the instrument of his trade (even as Luther did with his great instrument, the inkstand), by tweaking him by the nose with his red-hot tongs, are ludicrous fables, adapted only to the coarsest minds. But they awed the peasant as he listened to the wondrous stories in his smoky hovel; and he trembled to know that the triumphant enemy of the devil and of the married priest was the highest in the land. The noble ladies, as they sat round the fire with their embroidery and their spindles, rejoiced that they were not such as the wicked Elgiva; and that they lived at a time so favored by Heaven as to send down the holy dove to light upon the head of the great archbishop when he was performing his first mass. The fierce ealdorman hung up his armor when Edgar became king, for he was solemnly told that at Edgar's birth Dunstan heard an angelic voice saying, "Peace to England so long as this child shall reign and our Dunstan survives." Armed with these instruments of imposture, in addition to his own commanding ability—despising probably, in his inmost heart, the artifices of his partisans, but tolerating them as necessary means for the accomplishment of an important end—Dunstan was indisputable governor of the country through the reign of Edgar. The king was still a mere boy when Edwy was removed. He was only thirteen when the land was divided between him and his brother. Dunstan had then returned from his exile, and there was no formidable barrier to his highest exaltation. He first became bishop of Worcester. He was then allowed to hold the see of London at the same time with Worcester. Men of great talent and learning were his devoted supporters. Odo, the fierce primate, in consecrating him to Worcester, named him as archbishop of Canterbury, as if electing his own successor, and averred that he so spoke under the immediate influence of the Holy Ghost. Upon the death of Odo, which happened within two years of that of Edwy, whom Odo had truly murdered, Dunstan accomplished the audacious anticipation.

To understand the position of the Anglo-Church at this remarkable period—a period which carried its influence onward through five centuries—we must look back, very briefly, upon its past history. The first ecclesiastical establishments were of the monastic character. Certain brethren, with a head or bishop, were planted in populous places, and lands were assigned to them for their support. From these houses were teachers sent forth to collect the people, for prayer and for exhortation, around holy crosses,* or in convenient buildings. Sometimes these buildings were the temples of rough stones where the Saxons had worshipped Thor and Woden within the sacred boundary of a settled district. As the increase and spread of the population became a consequence of the progressive cultivation of the land, the going forth from the monastery of ministers of religion into surrounding districts became inconvenient; and churches were planted, where a daily service was performed by a resident priest. These, too, had lands assigned for their support. In course of time the piety of kings and nobles and rich franklins raised up numerous endowed churches throughout the land; while the collegiate establishments, with bishops at their head, increased in proportion. Of the Saxon cathedrals there are no remains which can give us an adequate notion of plan or decoration. There is, however, a description of the cathedral of Canterbury by Edmer, the singer, before it was rebuilt in 1070, which shows that "it was a double apse cathedral, like those of Germany, with lateral entrances, one on the north, the other on the south side. Behind the eastern apse was a circular baptistery erected by Cuthbert, the eleventh archbishop." This was for the following purposes, according to Edmer: "that baptisms might be celebrated therein; that certain judicial trials that were formerly carried on in the church might be held there; and lastly, that the bodies of the archbishops might therein be buried, thus departing from the ordinary ancient custom of burial beyond the walls of the city."† There are many fragments of Saxon churches—a tower, a portion of wall, a door, a window; but amid some controversy, the general belief is, that there is no complete church which can be satisfactorily ascribed to the period before the conquest. The plain round arches which divide the nave from the aisles of St. Michael's Church at St. Albans are pronounced to be Saxon. The tower of Earl's Barton, in Northamptonshire, is held to be undoubtedly Saxon; and it has very remarkable characteristics of the Saxon style. We have also the pictorial representation of a Saxon church, in a miniature accompanying a pontifical in the public library at Rouen, which represents the ceremony of dedication. The form of the church is very curious; and, although the perspective and the proportions of parts are altogether false, we see that the towers, the ornamental iron-work of the door, and the cock on the steeple, were much the same, eight or nine hundred years ago as in recent times.*

The clergy were amply provided for. Tithe, at first a free gift, became established as a right by law. There is unquestionable evidence, however, that the tenth part of the produce was not wholly appropriated to the undivided uses of the churchmen and the repairs of the church; but that the poor were to be assisted out of the tithe, not as a matter of compassion, but as having a direct claim to one third of the amount collected. The principle was insisted upon by the ecclesiastical rulers in the seventh century; and it was adopted into the secular law early in the eleventh century, in the reign of Ethelred: "And concerning tithe, the king and his witan have chosen and said, as right it is, that the third part of the tithe which belongs to the Church shall go to the reparation of the church, and a second part to the servants of God, and a third part to God's poor and needy men in thraldom."† But what we now call the voluntary principle entered very largely into the means of the Saxon clergy, in addition to their tithes and their glebe. The oblations of the laity were abundant; and there were other modes of commanding an ample revenue, such as commutations for penance, which appear not quite so honorable to the recipients. But whatever might be the avidity for worldly advantages, either in the conventual establishments or among the parish priests, we cannot doubt that without their ministrations the whole fabric of Anglo-Saxon society would have fallen into primitive barbarism. However deplorable were the corruptions of the Church at any era between the departure of the Roman and the coming of the Norman, there was the pure light of the Christian doctrine always shining through the darkness. We may well believe that among the vast number of presbyters residing in their own parishes, but under the control of the bishops through their deans, there were many who commanded more sincere respect by their domestic virtues than the monks could command by their ascetic seclusion. The married priest, surrounded by the cultivators of his parish, was himself a cultivator. He was their spiritual adviser, but he was also their sympathizing friend. If they rejoiced when "the Lord crowneth the year with his goodness"—if they wept when the pestilence that walketh unseen came upon them—they rejoiced and they wept together. The servant of the altar did not live apart from the tiller of the earth. The poor did not receive their alms at the gate of the abbey from the stern cellarer, when there was a parish priest nigher to their wants. He was of his neighbors' families, and they of his. His children went out with their children to gather the May blossom, and to bring in the Christmas evergreen for his church. His wife knew the sorrows and the joys of their wives. This state of things Dunstan came to break down. The priest was unskilled in the accomplishments of the cloister. Dunstan would supplant him with one that could paint breviaries, and knew the precise intonation of the Gregorian chant. The priest was attached to his home and his village. Dunstan would thrust him forth to make room for one who had no affections but for the discipline which had been newly brought from the Abbey of Fleury. The priest had national feelings, and venerated the zeal of Augustin and the wisdom of Alfred. He should have no country but the Church, and no veneration but for Dunstan and the sovereign pontiff. It was the first great battle for a dominant ecclesiastical power in England. That battle has been fought over and over again; but the assailants of religious liberty, however triumphant for a time, never broke down the eternal principles of right which were opposed to their pretensions.

But it would be unjust and uncharitable to affirm that, in disturbing the long-established influence of the seculars in the conventual

* The existing crosses at Sandbach, in Cheshire, are held to belong to the first age of Christianity in England.
See Mr. Ferguson's beautiful "Illustrated Handbook of Architecture," vol. ii. p. 844.

* There is an interesting description of this MS. in "Archæologia," vol. xxv. † Kemble, "Saxons in England," book ii. chap. 11.

churches, and of the married priests in their rural parishes, Dunstan and his instruments had no great public good in view. Coming from such a hater of episcopacy as Milton, it is startling to find him saying of Dunstan that he was "a strenuous bishop, zealous without dread of person, and, for aught appears, the best of many ages, if he busied not himself too much in secular affairs." Milton was too well read in our early history not to know that the bishop was an essential administrator of "secular affairs;" and that his superior knowledge necessarily made him a superior administrator to the ealdorman or sheriff. The administration of Dunstan kept the country free from external attacks and from domestic disturbance during the reign of Edgar. But, probably from an honest conviction of the absence of all the higher qualities, except courage, in the ranks of thanes, and of the general disposition to sensual pleasures in the mass of the population, he sought to establish an order that, set apart from the world, should afford models of piety and self-denial. He relied too much on the influences of a body of religious and learned men separated from the people. In the seclusion of the monastery, according to his views, there would be assemblies of earnest devotees, striving for no personal advantages, but wholly dedicated to the welfare of their communities. In their quiet retreats they would furnish examples of the purest lives. They would dedicate the hours spared from the service of religion to the pursuits of learning and the arts. They would preserve a knowledge of the language in which Rome spoke to the whole Christian world. They would multiply copies of the Scriptures in that language, and be the recorders of their country's history, in the same universal tongue. They would be the artists of their time—the architects and the painters. Many industrious and holy men, no doubt, were found in these communities; and many of these things they did, and did them well. To them we owe the greater part of our knowledge of our past history, imperfect and prejudiced as are many of their relations. Their architecture has, to a great extent, perished; but their successful cultivation of the arts of design may still be seen in many a manuscript of their undoubted work. The contemporary of Dunstan, Ethelwold, is called the "father of monks." He left a wonderful specimen of what the monkish artists could do, in his "benedictional."* But all these accomplishments were not for the people, and they could produce little influence upon the people. The monks handed the torch of knowledge from one to another, as they ran their course. But that was no light to illuminate a nation. Bishop Ethelwold ejected the secular priests from Winchester, and rebuilt the cathedral; and he established monks in every part of England, as his panegyrists record. Oswald drove away all the clerks "who preferred their wives to the Church." In this process it is difficult to imagine that the people, whom the seculars and clerks had taught, were getting wiser or better, or that the monks, with public and private property heaped upon them, were not destroying "the bones" while they took "the flesh and fat" of the realm.†

The reign of Edgar was a reign of sixteen years of peace. With the exception of an invasion of Wales, to enforce the payment of tribute, he carried on no war in this island. The country, too, was unmolested by the rovers of the Baltic. The great settlements which the Northmen had effected were sufficient to absorb, for a little while, all the restless spirits who still remained in the condition of lawless adventurers. Edgar had been educated under the care of a Dane, and he had been raised to the throne by the Danish population. Among these he naturally found partisans instead of rebels. They looked upon the sweeping ecclesiastical changes of his reign with less suspicion than the people of the Saxon provinces; for their Christianity was comparatively new, and they were as ready to receive a clergy of monks as a clergy of seculars. But out of this peace of sixteen years were to come fearful wars and bitter humiliations. The great Saxon heart was to be held in subjection to the Danish preponderance, which had been unnaturally fostered by Dunstan for party purposes. In his hands the king was a mere pageant. There is nothing more repulsive than the extravagant praises which the monastic writers have bestowed upon this licentious and ostentatious puppet of a bold and sagacious minister. Whenever we can distinctly see Edgar himself, we find a selfish, arrogant, and cruel prince. To us it is of little consequence that a monkish chronicler tells us "that no king, either of his own or of former times in England, could be justly and fairly compared to Edgar."* We trace the absurd praise to its source, when the same writer records that "scarcely does a year elapse in the Chronicles in which he did not build some new monastery." But it is important that, even with regard to such a poor atom of past humanity, the great distinctions of right and wrong should not be confounded. The stories which even his panegyrists record of his private actions, and the attributes which they assign to him of regal pomp, would seem rather to belong to a luxurious age of monarchical despotism than to that of a limited Saxon king. Edgar—of whom it is written, "He reared up God's honor, he loved God's law, he preserved the people's peace, the best of all the kings that were before in the memory of man,"†—is recorded, in the same pages, to have murdered his friend and foster-brother that he might marry his widow, and to have torn a nun from her convent to be the victim of his gross appetites. The story of Elfrida was a popular one in Malmesbury's time; and it will hold a place in history, for it belongs to the romance of history. The king heard of the lady's beauty, and he sent his favorite, Athelwold, to report to him if the universal praise was true, of one who lived in seclusion from the court. Athelwold became violently in love with the lady, and upon his return concealed from the king the impression which her charms had made upon himself, spoke disparagingly of her attractions, and subsequently married her. The truth came to the knowledge of the luxurious king, and he announced to his thane that he would visit him and his bride. The terrified Athelwold exhorted his wife to exhibit herself as a slattern, and to conceal her fascinations under a coarse deportment. The ambitious woman had another policy. She put on her gayest adornings and her most encouraging smiles. Edgar and Elfrida came to a perfect understanding. Athelwold was run through by the king with a javelin, when hunting with him. Elfrida became Edgar's queen. To make up the complete picture, Malmesbury records that Edgar extended his protection to an illegitimate son of Athelwold, because the youth, being asked by his royal master how he liked the sport in which his father fell, replied, "I ought not to be displeased with that which gives you pleasure." The duplicity of Athelwold, the profligate ambition of Elfrida, the ferocity of Edgar, and the dastardly coldness of the sycophantic boy exhibit a state of morals which is not favorable to the cultivation of Saxon sympathies.

To cover the memory of Edgar's crimes we are summoned by his admirers to gaze upon his pomp. Of the most diminutive body, he would challenge any person, however great in stature, to fight with him. Kenneth, king of Scotland, who was a guest at his court, made some offensive remark as to the power which had been established by "such a sorry little fellow." Edgar invited him to a private conference in a wood, and then proposed a duel. The sturdy Scot fell at his feet, say the chroniclers, and tendered his submission. Edgar made kings his watermen. At Chester, Kenneth, king of the Scots; Malcolm, king of the Cumbrians; Maccus, king of the Isles; kings of the Britons, kings of the Irish, do homage to him, and say each, "I ;become your man." Then the king of Albion, the supreme king, takes his barge, and, sitting at the helm, is rowed down the Dee by his eight royal vassals; and at the banquet he exultingly tells his nobles that his successors may well call themselves kings, since they will be the inheritors of his honor and glory. His immediate successor will perish at the bidding of his infamous wife, and the son of the guilty marriage will grovel in the dust before the Danish power, and reduce his kingdom to the lowest depth of disgrace.

It is a common mistake to imagine that the corrupt manners of a people and the mistaken policy of their rulers produce their instant retribution of national suffering and degradation. During the reign of Edgar we find many proofs of a vigorous administration. Dun-

* This manuscript of the tenth century is in the library of the Duke of Devonshire. The book is described in the 24th volume of the "Archæologia," with thirty beautiful engravings of the wonderful miniatures with which this remarkable volume is adorned.

† "Indeed one may safely affirm that the multitude of monasteries invited the invasion, and facilitated the conquest, of the Danes over England, because England had at this time more flesh or fat than bones, wherein the strength of a body consists—more monks than military men." Fuller, "Church History."

* Malmesbury, book ii. chap. viii.

† Quoted in Lingard from the Saxon Chronicle.

tan was his constant director. In his hands the king was made the eady instrument of the ecclesiastical tyranny of his reign. The bulk f the people looked passively on the process ; many nobles murmured nd plotted. But the nation was corrupted by the conflict. Religion o longer wore an aspect of unity and peace, and the people nat-rally came to look with indifference on religion. Zealotry, working vith obstinate passion for modes of faith rather than for the sub-tance, is the parent of unbelief. Superstition may remain, but re-igion takes its flight when her ministers hate and persecute each ther with pagan virulence. Such persecution was going on in Saxon England during the rule of Dunstan. He wielded a despotic power, nd he preserved a show of tranquillity. Nothing stood in the way f his stern justice. He made his king submit to seven years' pen-nce for one of his outbreaks of licentiousness, and he hung three oiners of money before he would perform mass on a Whitsunday. Jnder him we recognize in the laws of Edgar a much stronger mo-archical tone than Alfred or Athelstan ever ventured to assume. Alfred showed his laws to his witan, and promulgated them when to is council it seemed good. What Athelstan commanded "was estab-ished in the great synod." Edgar, according to the same precedent, akes counsel of his witan, but he ordains laws "in praise of God, nd in honor to himself," as well as "for the behoof of all his eople ;" and concludes his ordinances in a strain of high and mighty atronage, which never before proceeded from a Saxon king to a free eople : "I will be to you a very kind lord, the while that my life asts ; and I am exceedingly well disposed toward you all."* In dgar's charters the king's titles are set out in the most inflated style. Malmesbury speaks of the rigor of his justice. It appears that the ost horrible punishments were inflicted upon offenders. We may udge of their severity when we find in a law of the unfortunate thelred, the son of Edgar, the following merciful relaxation: "And ne ordinance of our lord and his witan is, that Christian men for all o little be not condemned to death ; but in general let mild punish-ent be decreed, for the peoples' need ; and let not for a little God's andywork and his own purchase be destroyed, which he dearly ought."† The payment of dues to the Church was enjoined with a everity almost beyond belief. They are exacted in the names of I and the archbishop." A day was appointed for a man to pay his thes ; and if they were not paid he was to forfeit nine tenths of his thable property. The interference of the archbishop with the social ustoms of the people is one of the stories told to his honor. They ere in the habit of quarrelling about the quantity that each man ould drink out of the common cup ; and he enacted that pegs ould be put in the vessels, that no thirsty soul should take more an his just proportion. The legend shows two things—that the axons were very sensual and selfish, and that the restraint was ought in arbitrary power, instead of enforcing improved habits by ne spread of knowledge and true religion. Malmesbury says that e people learned drunkenness from the Danes. It was not neces-ry that a people, under such circumstances as the Saxons under dgar, should be taught any vices. They would spread, naturally ough, in a condition of society where the obligations of a holy life ere merged in the superstitions incident to a fierce polemical con-oversy. In that controversy the ordinary social ties were loosened. here was nothing in its conditions to raise the laity to that enthusi-sm which begets public virtue, while it too often casts aside the do-estic affections. It was an iron domination, in which a sullen obe-ence was enforced by the genius of one man, for a generation, but hich ultimately broke out into violent persecution and as fierce re-istance. Then that principle of nationality was destroyed which ad been growing up from the days of Alfred. Then came the time hen no one could lift the wine-cup to his lips without a pledge for s safety required and given.‡ Then the peace between Saxon and Dane was obliterated in a horrible butchery. Then the Dane won the land which had been long kept from foreign attack and internal outrage by the wisdom and courage of the line of Wessex. The talent of Dunstan was preparing the final fall of the kingdom, even while he retarded the instant catastrophe.

There is a curious circumstance in the reign of Edgar, of which no adequate explanation has been offered by any historian. He had been king fourteen years before he was consecrated. We have mentioned the tradition that he was forbidden by Dunstan to wear his crown for seven years, as a portion of the penance for the abduction of a nun. So writes Malmesbury. But this penance will not account for the suspension of fourteen years of that ceremony which was held essential to the recognition of the Saxon king. The ceremony was at last performed at Bath, with great pomp. Within two years Edgar died. He left two sons. Edward, the child of his first wife Ethelfleda, was thirteen years old at his father's death. Ethelred, the son of Elfrida, was only seven. The question of succession to the vacant throne was immediately raised. A strong party of the nobles demanded that the choice between Edward and Ethelred should be determined by election. Dunstan, by one of his vigorous movements, quelled the dispute, and, presenting Edward to the assembled thanes and ecclesiastics at Winchester, consecrated him on the spot. The question between an Edward and an Ethelred was the question, not of one brother or the other, but of a secular or a monastic church. The reaction of violence now commenced. The Benedictines had expelled the secular clergy from the conventual churches ; the married priests had been ejected from their parishes. Now one ealdorman expelled the monks from the monasteries, while another upheld them in their possessions. Many of the secular clergy had fled to Scotland during the reign of Edgar. They now returned. At their head was a bishop named Beornhelm, a Scottish or Irish bishop. "The choice of this advocate," says Sir F. Palgrave, "is a remarkable fact in ecclesiastical history, because it tends to prove that, at this period, the Church of the Scots, probably in Ireland, was not entirely subject to Rome."* The great parties were headed by the most powerful nobles and ecclesiastics. At Calne, in Wiltshire, a witena-gemot was assembled to debate the points which divided the Church and threatened the kingdom with civil war. There spoke Beornhelm. He spoke with no diminution of power because a voice had previously spoken from a crucifix at Winchester, to determine the controversy in favor of the monks. He was not satisfied when, on that occasion, Dunstan exclaimed, "What wish ye more?" He was a daring unbeliever, and punishment was in store for him and his adherents. The assembly at Calne was held in an upper chamber. Dunstan rose. He was an aged man, he said, and would no longer contend with his opponents. He would commit the cause of the Church to the decision of Christ. The floor of the room gave way. But its strength was miraculously proportioned so as to destroy some, while others, including Dunstan, were saved. "This miracle," says Malmesbury, "procured the archbishop's peace, on the score of the canons."

The year of the catastrophe at Calne, 978, presented another proof of the terrible spirit of mutual hatred which had been engendered by these contentions. Dunstan had a struggle to hold his power—a struggle to which he had long been unfamiliar. It would be unjust to attribute the fall of the building at Calne to his devices. But it is clear that the enemies of his system were becoming desperate. He was the adviser and controller of the young king Edward, as he had been of his father. The innocent boy was to be sacrificed as a party victim by those opposed to the monastic domination ; and his abandoned step-mother, who hated him for standing in the way of her son's elevation, was included in the plot. At Corfe, a royal manor, resided Elfrida and Ethelred. Edward had been hunting at Wareham, and became separated from his companions. A dwarf appears out of the forest-coverts, and proposes to guide him to a place of rest and refreshment. He reaches the home of the widowed queen, who meets him at the door with a betraying kiss. She brings out wine to the wearied boy, and as he lifts the goblet to his lips, sitting on his horse, he is stabbed in the back. He spurs his steed from the fatal porch, faints and falls, is dragged in the stirrups, and is traced by

* "Ancient Laws and Institutions," p. 118.

† Ibid., p. 129.

‡ Strutt, who, in his "Manners and Customs," first engraved the ncient representation of a Saxon feast in the Cotton MS., points out hat "the middle figure is addressing himself to his companion, who lls him that he pledges him, holding up his knife in token of his adiness to assist and protect him." It is usual to refer the pledge the period of Danish tyranny in the time of Ethelred. "The cus-m of pledging healths, still preserved among Englishmen, is said be owing to the Saxons' mutual regard for each other's safety, and as a caution against the treacherous inhospitality of the Danes." Wise ; quoted in Brand's "Popular Antiquities."

* "History of England," chap. xiii.

his blood. We may well believe that the guilty woman, as the chroniclers record, suffered the most fearful terrors of an evil conscience; and we may also believe that many a less innocent saint has been canonized than this poor boy "Edward the Martyr."

CHAPTER XI.

Ethelred—Dunstan's hatred of the young king—Renewed attacks of the Danes—Payment of tribute to the Danes—Corruption and treachery of the chieftains—Exactions and sufferings—Massacre of the Danes—Sweyn, King of Denmark—Flight of Ethelred—Death of Sweyn, and Ethelred's recall—Canute—Edmund Ironside—Division of the kingdom—Death of Edmund—Canute sole king.

It is recorded by the historians of the Abbey of Ely that, during the short reign of Edward, the mother of Ethelred went in solemn procession to the shrine of Saint Ethelreda, and that there the boy solemnly devoted himself to the service of the virgin patroness of that famous church. It would have been well for England if Ethelred "the unready" had been destined to become the drowsy head of a monastery rather than "the sleeping king" that he afterward became. Malmesbury says of him that, "obtaining the kingdom, he occupied rather than governed it for thirty-seven years." It was a fatal reign, but its calamities had a deeper root than the personal character of the king. We have looked with great suspicion upon the monkish accounts of the eminent virtues of Edgar. We may be justified in similar doubts of some of the flagrant demerits of Ethelred. Malmesbury goes on to tell us, "The career of his life is said to have been cruel in the beginning; . . . in the murder to which he gave his concurrence he was cruel." He was only ten years old when this murder took place. Dunstan hated him; and when, as primate, he placed the crown upon his head, he pronounced this curse: "Even as, by the death of thy brother, thou didst aspire to the kingdom, hear the decree of Heaven. The sin of thy wicked mother and of her accomplices shall rest upon thy head, and such evils shall fall upon the English as they have never yet suffered, from the days when they first came into the isle of Britain, even until the present time."* As Edward was murdered by the cruel policy of one party, so was Ethelred inducted into an unhappy reign by this vindictive prophecy of the chief of another party. Dunstan well knew the distractions of the country, and how much of the coming evils of renewed wars, of domestic treasons, of social profligacy, were to be attributed to his own counsels, and the fiery zeal of his adherents. His most unpatriotic prediction was made in the same spirit of haughty self-will which had distinguished all his rule. His power was sliding away, and he would render any other government difficult. Sir F. Palgrave says, "The calamities and miseries which ensued, and which in fact opened the way for the entire subjugation of the country by the Normans, if not occasioned by the very words of Dunstan, were yet extremely enhanced by the effect of his denunciations." These calamities, we believe, may be traced to the deeds of Dunstan much more clearly than to his words. When he dragged Edwy to the banqueting-hall he was the same stern enthusiast as at the coronation of Ethelred. A quarter of a century had not taught him moderation. In an old play, in which Dunstan is one of the characters, he thus speaks of himself as having "flourished in the reign of seven great kings;" and he adds,

> "With all these kings was I in high esteem,
> And kept both them and all the land in awe;
> And had I lived, the Danes had never boasted
> Their then beginning conquest of this land." †

Dunstan lived till the tenth year of Ethelred's reign; but we have no record that he was "in high esteem." He retained his archbishopric; but he appears to have continued his hostility to the king's government up to nearly the time of his death. It was for the aggrandizement of the Church, and not for the peace of the realm, that he went on to denounce and to prophesy. A quarrel arose between the Crown and the Bishop of Rochester, in which the king asserted a demand by military force. Dunstan threatened him with the vengeance of Saint Andrew; but the payment of a sum of money was more effectual to restrain the king's hostility; and then the archpriest again prophesied, saying. "The evils which God has pronounced will shortly come upon you; but they will not come while I live, for this also God hath spoken." Malmesbury says, "Soon after the death of this holy man the predictions began to be fulfilled." It was not difficult to see their approach, without any revelation from on high. There had been no attack of the Danes since the reign of Athelstan. In 980, Sweyn, the banished son of the King of Denmark, was devastating the British shores. Where were now the three thousand six hundred ships with which Edgar, according to his absurd panegyrists, made annual progress round the coasts? In 980, Southampton was "ravaged by a ship force, and the most part of the townsmen slain and led captive. And that same year was Tanetland ravaged." In 981, "was much havoc done everywhere by the sea-coast, as well among the men of Devon as among the Welsh." In 982, "landed among the men of Dorset, three ships of pirates, and they ravaged in Portland. That same year London was burnt." These are the simple notices of the Saxon Chronicle. There was no principle of resistance in the country, even to drive off the three ships that landed among the men of the Dorset; for the men of Dorset, as other men, were quarrelling about the occupation of the monasteries, instead of arming for the defence of their homes. There was a noble who held the earldom of Mercia, Alfric, the son of Alfere. The father had been a courageous opponent of Dunstan, and was accused of having participated in the murder of Edward. The son engaged in a conspiracy against Ethelred, and he was banished. But he was soon restored to his former honors; for the government was too weak to restrain or to punish. In a few years the attacks of the Danes became more systematic. In 991, they landed in East Anglia; and here, alone, they found a sturdy resistance, among those of their own lineage. Brithnorth, the ealdorman, met them with a courage which has been celebrated in Saxon verse; but at Maldon he fell by the "hassagay"—a weapon of which the fierce Saracens had shown the use to the fiercer pirates. The Danes ravaged Ipswich. "And in that year it was decreed that tribute, for the first time, should be given to the Danish-men, on account of the great terror which they caused by the sea-coast. That was at first ten thousand pounds: this counsel advised first Archbishop Sidric."* It was a fatal counsel; "an infamous precedent, and totally unworthy the character of men, by money to redeem liberty, which no violence can ever extirpate from a noble mind." So thought, most truly, brave old William of Malmesbury—a chronicler whose prejudices were those of his order, his sense and learning his own.

The history of England for the next quarter of a century is, in many respects, the most melancholy of its annals. It has been related in detail by modern historians; but it will be scarcely necessary for us to go through the dreary chapter of bloodshed, treachery, cowardice, and imbecility. It is impossible that a martial race should have become suddenly so weak, a free government so incapable, a loyal nobility so traitorous, a Christian people so cruel—only because a timid and frivolous king had been set up to rule over them. Nor was it because peace, as it was called, had been in the land for an unusual period. There was no real peace, because there was no national concord. Wessex had not been in arms against East Anglia, nor Mercia against Northumbria. But there was enmity in the hearts of West Saxons, East Anglians, Mercians, and Northumbrians, against their own kindred. Foreign mercenaries, too, had been gradually settling under the encouragement of the peaceable king; and foreign ecclesiastics had been filling the religious houses of his ambitious minister. Under Ethelred the private vices of the great chieftains took a new direction in public corruption. Treachery and rivalry were in the court and the camp. The army was undisciplined. Their "commanders, if ever they met to confer, immediately chose different sides, and rarely or never united in one good plan; for they gave more attention to private quarrels than to public exigencies." This looks like a passage of modern history; but it is from a chronicle of seven hundred years ago. It is well that we cannot ascribe to recent times what is added by the old writer. "If in the midst of present danger they had resolved on any good plan, it was immediately communicated to the enemy by

* Malmesbury; quoted in Palgrave.

† "Grim, the Collier of Croydon:" Prologue. This curious performance is in Dodsley's Collection.

* Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

traitors."* The impoverishment of the land was the inevitable result of the weakness and wickedness of its rulers. Again and again came the Danes; for they had found a more certain treasure in the Dane-geld—the tribute which the cowardice of the government levied upon the people—than in any casual plunder of towns and villages. In 991, they were bribed and bought off with ten thousand pounds of silver; in 994, with sixteen thousand; in 1001, with twenty-four thousand; in 1007, with thirty-six thousand; and in 1012, with forty-eight thousand A pound of silver was worth about three pounds of modern money, and would have purchased eight oxen, or fifty sheep. We may estimate the sufferings of the people in the payment of the Dane-geld, during twenty years, when we consider that one hundred and thirty-four thousand pounds were equal to six million seven hundred thousand sheep, or one million and seventy-two thousand oxen. The ordinary price of a hide of land was about five pounds of silver, and thus one hundred and thirty-four thousand pounds of silver would have purchased twenty-six thousand eight hundred hides, each of which maintained a free man's family. Taking the hide of arable land, with its appurtenances of woods and common lands, at a hundred acres, this Danish tribute was equal to the fee-simple of all the land of Norfolk and Suffolk, or nearly one tenth of the whole acreage of England. But, wherever they planted their feet, there the invaders would be fed. Famine followed in their steps. There is one unvarying record in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: "The king and his witan desired that they should be sent to, and promised *tribute and food.*" This record, which continues year after year, is occasionally varied by some notice of a gleam of public spirit, such as this: "And forces were often gathered against them; but so soon as they should have joined battle, then was there ever, through some cause, flight begun; and in the end they ever had the victory." What a picture does the following brief and simple narrative of this national ruin present of an imbecile government and of a divided people: "Then went they again to their ships with their booty. And when they went to their ships, then ought the forces again to have gone out against them until they should land; but then the forces went home; and when they were eastwards, then were the forces kept westwards; and when they were southwards, then were our forces northwards. Then were all the witan summoned to the king; and they were then to counsel how this land might be defended. But although something might then be counselled, it did not stand even one month. At last there was no head-man who would assemble forces, but each fled as he best might; nor, at the last, would even one shire assist another."

Amid the misery and disgrace of this "heavy time," as the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle calls this period, there is one event more terrible and full of shame than the weakness which yielded tribute, or the cowardice which fled from battle. There were many of the old Danish settlers in England who had become a part of the nation, with homes to protect as much as their Saxon neighbors. Many had intermarried with the older inhabitants. During these new assaults of their terrible countrymen, the Danes had probably become insolent and overbearing; so that "the common people were so of them oppressed, that for fear and dread they called them, in every house as they had rule of, Lord Dane."† In 1002, Ethelred had married Emma, the sister of the Duke of Normandy. Immediately after his marriage, on the feast of St. Brice, the king issued orders for a massacre of the Danes within the district over which he had authority. On that terrible 13th of November, as bloody a tragedy was enacted in this country as the history of religious persecution or national hatred can furnish in any country. The old writer we have just quoted says that "as common fame telleth, this murder began at a little town in Hertfordshire, within twenty-four miles of London, called Welwynne." This place is not far from the ancient boundary of the Saxon and Danish territory; and it is not unlikely that the people were much intermixed. The poet of the "Night Thoughts," who dwelt in this charming village, could have found no more solemn theme of death and woe than this sad history. Men, women, children, were indiscriminately butchered. The sister of Sweyn, the Northman, who was married in England, and had adopted the Christian faith, was among the victims. In the agony of her last hours the heroic Gunhilda warned her murderers that a terrible retribution would come upon England for this national crime. In less than a year Sweyn was in the land with fire and desolation.

The massacre of the Danes on the feast of St. Brice has some resemblance to the massacre of the French in the thirteenth century, which is known as the Sicilian Vespers. They were each the result of a sudden and cowardly vengeance under insult and oppression. When William the Conqueror desired to excite his Normans against the Saxons, he called upon them to remember St. Brice's day. Yet, in spite of the atrocious character of this event, the national dislike of the Danes was cherished in Saxon England for centuries after the days of Ethelred and Sweyn. In the famous visit to Kenilworth of Queen Elizabeth, the people of Coventry came to her with a petition * that "they might renew now their old storial show; of argument how the Danes whilom here in a troublous season were for quietness borne withal and suffered in peace; that anon, by outrage and unsupportable insolency, abusing both Ethelred the king, then, and all estates everywhere besides; at the grievous complaint and counsel of Huna, the king's chieftain in wars, on Saint Brice's night, anno Dom. 1002 (as the book says, that falleth yearly on the thirteenth of November), were all despatched and the realm rid. And for because that the matter mentioneth how valiantly our English women, for love of their country, behaved themselves, expressed in action and rhymes, after their manner, they thought it might move some mirth to her Majesty the rather. The thing is grounded in story, and for pastime wont to be played in our city yearly." In was a strange pastime for a queen to look on, who knew something of the real history of her country. The people, probably, were little aware that they were celebrating a great disgrace of their ancestors. They exhibited a fight between the Danish lance-knights and the English spearmen, with Danes subdued and led captive by English women. The traditions upon which their storial show was founded were a mixture of truth and falsehood. They knew of the outrage and insolency of a troublous season long past. The treacherous revenge had faded out of the popular legends.

From the year 1003 to 1007, the retribution which Gunhilda had foreseen was going on. Devastation came after devastation, and tribute was exacted after tribute. The people in a brief time would pay no longer; and a bolder and wiser policy was adopted. A man in harness was to be provided upon every eight hides of land, and a vessel from every three hundred and ten hides. Out of the latter contribution came the precedent for that claim for "ship-money," to the resistance of which claim we probably owe the power yet to build ships and to man them, and to feel more secure through these bulwarks than if every landing-place were covered with walls of granite. But vessels of war and men in harness are worthless without brave and faithful leaders. A vast naval force in 1009 was assembled at Sandwich. There were so many ships as were never before, according to the Chronicle. But there was a quarrel among the commanders, and a great wind cast the ships upon the land. "Then was it as if it had been all hopeless; and the king went his way home, and the ealdormen and the high witan, and thus lightly left the ships; and then afterward the people who were in the ships brought them to London; and they let the whole nation's toil thus lightly pass away." At this period there was treachery on every side. There were minor traitors who were punished; but the great traitor, Alfric, who again and again betrayed his country, retained all his ancient power. There was another traitor, the king's favorite, Edric, who, after a series of intrigues against his weak master, finally joined the Danish forces with a large body of men, and assisted in the ravage of Canterbury. The one true and bold heart was to be found in Alphege, the archbishop of Canterbury. He exhorted the people to defend their city; and for twenty days there was a vigorous defence. But another traitor, by name Elfmar, secretly admitted the enemy. The Danes burned the city, and carried off the inhabitants as slaves. They demanded ransom if they spared the life of the primate; but he nobly said that he had no goods of his own to offer for ransom, and that the goods of the Church should not be given up for his own life. They dragged him from his squalid prison, and setting him in the midst of a company of drunken revellers, they threw their weapons at him, and the bones of their coarse

* Malmesbury, book ii. chap. x. † Fabyan's Chronicle, cap. 98.

* Laneham's Letter, 1575.

banquet ; and amid the cries of "Gold, bishop, gold," he was struck to the earth, and the blow of an axe ended his sufferings.

There came, at last, a fleet from Denmark—not for plunder or tribute, but for conquest. The chief devastator had been Thurkill, who, for three years, had been carrying on a predatory war on his own account. But in 1012, having received a vast sum from Ethelred, he became a mercenary under the English. The King of Denmark came with his great fleet, decorated with all the tawdry devices of barbaric pomp, to carry on a war of extermination. His commands were to ravage the fields, to burn the houses, to put every male to the edge of the sword. Lighting his war-beacons wherever he went on his march from the Humber, he was at length under the walls of London. Ethelred and his Danish officer, Thurkill, successfully defended the city. Sweyn retreated to Bath, and there proclaimed himself king of England, and received homage from all the western nobles, and from those of the north. Ethelred now fled to the Isle of Wight, and London surrendered. All the misfortunes of the country are imputed to the unhappy king. But he appears to have come nigher to the truth, in the address which he made to his few faithful adherents. He imputed his misfortunes to the treachery of his generals. The country was subdued ; the coast was watched. They had more to apprehend from their own countrymen than from their enemies. He should send his wife and children to Richard of Normandy. If he could not with him find an honorable asylum, he should not want spirit to die where he was, undishonored. To Richard of Normandy the king went. He had been a faithless husband, but he was received with kindness. In 1014 Sweyn died. His army proclaimed his son Canute as king ; but Ethelred was recalled by "all the witan who were in England, clergy and laity." They recalled him upon terms—"that no lord were dearer to them than their natural lord, if he would rule them rightlier than he had done before." This condition (in which it is held "we may discern the germ of Magna Charta, and of all the subsequent compacts between the king and people of England"*) was accepted by Ethelred, in these words : "He would be to them a loving lord, and amend all those things which they all abhorred ; and each of those things should be forgiven which had been done or said to him, on condition that they all, with one consent, would be obedient to him without deceit." Ethelred came home ; and it was declared that "every Danish king should be an outlaw from England forever." But there was a Danish king in England who made little of empty words. The recall of Ethelred was, most probably, the act only of a part of the nation. Canute held possession of a large portion of the land. Edric, the ancient traitor, kept his old power with his old guile. Edmund, the son of Ethelred, was well qualified by his bodily strength, which gave him the name of "Ironside," and by his energetic valor, to be that leader which the Saxon race had so long needed. Edric was circumventing Edmund at every step. In the mean time Canute was establishing his full claim to sovereignty. In the April of 1016 Ethelred died. The citizens of London proclaimed Edmund king. A council sitting at Southampton, which had previously decreed that every Danish king should be an outlaw, took the oaths to Canute. There was instant preparation for war on both sides. Canute had a great fleet in the Thames. Edmund marched boldly into Wessex, and was there accepted as king. He then raised the siege of London. Battle after battle ensued ; and the Ironside would have cleared the land of his enemies, but for that false confidence which had ruined his father. He trusted once more to Edric ; and in the moment of victory, the betrayer, who had a command in the Saxon army, suddenly cried out, "Flee, English, flee ; dead is Edmund." The English fled. Edmund and Canute agreed to divide the sovereignty. In a very short time Edmund died, and his death is attributed, reasonably enough, to the hand of Edric. Whether or not Canute had given greater "warrant" than "the winking of authority," it is recorded that when Edric came to urge rewards for service, Canute told him that a new lord could expect little fealty from one who had murdered his old lord ; and that, upon this hint, Eric of Northumbria slew the traitor with his battle-axe.

Canute the Dane is in 1017 sole king of England. He calls upon the witan to annul the division of the kingdom by declaring that Edmund had reserved no right of succession, and that Canute was to be the guardian of his children. This guardianship consisted in outlawing them. The infant boys were sent to the king of Sweden, with such intimation of the usurper's wishes as an unscrupulous prince would have readily acted upon. But the king of Sweden removed them to a safe asylum in Hungary. The children grew to manhood ; and the younger, Edmund, became the father of Edgar Atheling, and of Margaret, the queen of Malcolm of Scotland. Edwy, the brother of the heroic king Edmund, was slain by command of Canute. There were two other claimants to the English throne, Edward and Alfred, the sons of Ethelred by his wife Emma of Normandy. Their rights were asserted by their uncle Richard ; but Canute settled the dispute by marrying their mother. His proscriptions of English nobles had no limit but his own will ; and their forfeited property was bestowed upon his Danish instruments. Then was that tyranny at its height which so long rankled in the Saxon heart ; and another day of St. Brice was dreaded by the lordly Northmen. A law imposed a fine upon any township where a Dane was killed. A Saxon might be murdered without such penalty. The Danish thanes were surrounded by their countrymen in the great cities. London, which had so stoutly resisted the intruders, received their yoke. We find many indelible traces of their presence in the land. A place of public assembly became the Danish "husting." The Northmen's Saint, St. Olave, has given his name to London churches. "Knuts'-delfe" is the dike near the Peterborough marshes. The little sandpiper of the fen counties is the "knot,"

> "Canutus' bird of old,
> Of that great king of Danes, his name that still doth hold,
> His appetite to please that far and near was sought,
> For him, as some have said, from Denmark hither brought."*

As we look upon the noble towers of Ely, we still associate them with the song that tradition has ascribed to Canute, as he rowed upon the Nene, and the choral hymn burst from the old minster :

> "Merrily sang the monks within Ely
> When that Cnute, king, rowed thereby ;
> Row, my knights, row near the land,
> And hear we these monkes' song."

The tide, even, that comes rippling up to the feet of the lingerer by the sea-beach recalls to his memory the well-known legend of Canute and his courtiers. The king plants his chair on the sands, commanding the waves to retire, but the waters will not obey ; and Canute moralizes upon the vanity of earthly rule, compared with that of the Power who alone could say to the sea, "Thus far shalt thou go, and no further ; and here shall thy proud waves be stayed."

The impression of his character which Canute has left upon the English mind is not that of a barbarous conqueror. We cannot say of him as one of our great masters of English said of Alfred, "He left learning where he found ignorance ; justice, where he found oppression ; peace, where he found distraction."† But he came, with a powerful will, to make a foreign domination endurable by a show of impartiality, and to substitute the strength of despotism for the feebleness of anarchy. When he ceased to be an enemy of England he became a real friend. His power was too strong to be disputed ; and he therefore wielded it with moderation, after the contest for supremacy was fairly over. He, the emperor of the Anglo-Saxons, as he chose to be called, was also king of Swedes, and Danes, and Norwegians. He was an unmitigated despot in his own half-Christian lands ; but he adapted his English rule to the higher civilization of his most important kingdom. In 1030 he made a pilgrimage to Rome, with his staff and wallet ; and amid the passes of the Alps, or beside the ruins of the Cæsars, he thought humbly of his past life, and made new resolves for his future career. His letter to "all the nations of the English," which he sent from Denmark after his return from Rome, has one passage which may make us believe that power and prosperity are not always corrupting : "And now, be it known to you all, that I have dedicated my life to God, to govern my kingdoms with justice, and to observe the right in all things. If in the time that is past, and in the violence and carelessness of youth, I have violated justice, it is my intention, by the help of God, to make full compensation. Therefore I beg and command those unto whom I have intrusted the government, as they wish to preserve my

* Palgrave, "History of England," chap. xiii.

* Drayton, Polyolbion. † Fuller, "Worthies," vol. i. p. 64.

good-will, and save their own souls, to do no injustice either to poor or rich. Let those who are noble, and those who are not, equally obtain their rights, according to the laws, from which no deviation shall be allowed, either from fear of me, or through favor to the powerful, or for the purpose of supplying my treasury. I want no money raised by injustice." Canute died in 1035.

CHAPTER XII.

Saxon and Danish races—Harold and Hardicanute—Murder of Alfred—Death of Hardicanute—Election of Edward the Confessor—Earl Godwin—Influence of the Normans—Banishment of Godwin and his sons—Triumph of the Norman party.

CANUTE, who died at Shaftesbury, was buried at Winchester. The Danish conqueror found his last resting-place amid the old Saxon kings. A northern antiquary draws the following inferences from the contemplation of the chest in the choir of the present cathedral, in which the bones are collected, according to an inscription, of Kings Canute and Rufus, of Queen Emma, and of two archbishops: "An immense change had taken place with regard to the Danes in England, since their first appearance there as barbarous heathen vikings. Instead of their kings seeking renown by the destruction of churches and convents, and by murdering or maltreating the clergy; instead of their despising any other kind of burial than that in the open fields, or hills under large caverns or monumental stones; their successors were now regarded as the benefactors and protectors of the Church, and, as such, worthy to repose in the most important ecclesiastical edifices—even in the principal district of their former mortal enemies."* Canute, he adds, "had happily broken through the strong barrier which had hitherto separated Saxon south England from Danish North England." From this period, indeed, it would be useless to attempt to draw distinctions between the Saxon and Danish races. The ingenious author we have quoted, with a laudable patriotism, endeavors to show that many of the names and customs which we ordinarily call Saxon are Danish. He has probably carried his theory much too far by looking at such matters "from the Danish point of view."† In regard to language we may well believe that the dialect of the later settlers of Northumbria and East Anglia became blended with that of the earlier settlers of Wessex and Mercia. In the same way the several races became gradually intermixed. Thomas Fuller says of the Saxons that their "offspring at this day are the main bulk and body of the English (though not gentry) nation;" and of the Danes that "living here rather as inroaders than inhabitants is the cause that so few families (distinguishable by their surnames) are descended from them, extant in our age."‡ This good old writer may also have carried his theory a little too far. Whether the Johnsons, Jacksons, Thomsons, Stevensons, are descended from Danes or otherwise, there is no doubt that the ending *son* or *sen* (a son) is quite peculiar to Scandinavia." We may also accept the statement of a striking fact, which will not escape the attention of at least any observant Scandinavian traveller, that the inhabitants of the north of England bear, on the whole, more than those of any other part of that country, an unmistakable personal resemblance to the Danes and Norwegians."§ Still, the conclusion is tolerably clear that "the main bulk and body of the English nation" is Saxon. Compared with south and mid-England, the north was very scantily peopled until it became the great seat of manufacturing industry; and in the period before the Norman Conquest, and long after, it is manifest that a district of fertile lowland, whose plains are watered by gentle rivers, would support a far greater agricultural population than a district where the valleys are narrow and the mountains sterile. From this period, therefore, when the contest of two centuries between Saxon and Dane came to an end, we shall consider the Danish population as a part of the great Anglo-Saxon family, with whom they had at last become identical, in the possession of a common country and a common religion.

Canute had two sons previous to his marriage with Emma of Normandy. They were illegitimate. The one was Sweyn; the other Harold, called Harefoot. His legitimate son by Emma was Hardicanute. At the time of Canute's death, the two sons of Ethelred, also the children of Emma, were living in Normandy. The two sons of Edmund Ironside were in Hungary. Of these possible claimants to the crown of England, Harold was the only one in the country. Sweyn had the kingdom of Norway assigned to him in his father's lifetime; Hardicanute was in Denmark. The great nobles were divided as to the choice of a successor to the Danish king; but at a witenagemot held at Oxford it was decided that Mercia and Northumbria should be assigned to Harold; while Wessex should be held by Emma, as regent for her son Hardicanute, who remained in his Scandinavian kingdom. There was a strong party in Wessex, who would have preferred the sons of their old Saxon king Ethelred. Edward, in consequence, came over with Norman soldiers. But these new followers of an English prince were hateful to the people; and Edward very soon gave up an enterprise which involved so much of personal risk. A similar attempt of his brother Alfred had a tragic ending. With a few adherents he landed in Kent, and proceeded to Canterbury, where the people gladly received him. Ethelnoth, the archbishop, welcomed the exile: for Harold, who had claimed to be supreme king over all England, was living an infamous life, and the archbishop had refused to consecrate him. The unfortunate Alfred was the victim of an abominable plot; and was seduced into the rash step of placing himself in the power of an unscrupulous tyrant. A letter had been written in the name of his mother, urging her son to make an attempt to obtain the kingdom. When Alfred had advanced into the country, Earl Godwin, who had supported the claims of Hardicanute, received him with open arms, and conducted him to Guildford. In the night, the weary adventurers were seized and manacled. There are various narratives of their subsequent fate. Some write that the greater number were massacred, and that Alfred was blinded, and finally put to death at Ely. "No bloodier deed had been done in this land since the Danes came," as one chronicler writes. The mother of Alfred fled to Bruges; and Harold was proclaimed king of all England.

The illegitimate son of Canute—the son of a shoemaker, as the scandal of those times assumes—did not long retain his ill-gotten power. He died in 1039. Hardicanute was now invited to take possession of the vacant throne. His election equally satisfied the Saxons and the Danes. A deputation was sent to Bruges to conduct him and his mother to the kingdom; and the ships which Hardicanute had intended for a hostile descent bore him to the Thames for a peaceful coronation. Setting an example of that paltry vengeance which, in what we call civilized times, disgraced the restoration of the Stuarts, (he caused the body of Harold to be disinterred, to be decapitated, and to be cast into the Thames. There were some proscriptions; and there was extravagant taxation, which drove the people of Exeter to revolt. But the country soon settled into tranquillity under this brief rule. Hardicanute sent for his half-brother Edward, and treated him with a kindness which shows some generosity of nature. He was probably not of a vindictive or suspicious temper; but had some of the negative merits that not unfrequently are associated with the character of the indolent voluptuary. He was propitiated by the splendid presents of the powerful Godwin; and suffered his mother and the great earl to rule the kingdom, while he abandoned himself to his feasts and carousals. He was surrounded by Danish flatterers and boon-companions. His followers were insolent to the Saxon race; but their sociality was more injurious than their insults. The Saxons were addicted to intemperance; yet the examples of Hardicanute and his courtiers plunged them still deeper into sensuality. Hardicanute, the last of the Danish kings, soon made an end of his feasts and dominion. At a great marriage-banquet at the house of Clapa, one of his thanes (from which house we are held to derive the name of our suburban Clapham), the king stood up at a late hour of the night, to pledge the company, and dropping speechless, was carried to his death-bed, after having reigned a little less than two years.

At the death of Hardicanute, in 1042, the English people, however composed of Angles, Saxons, and Danes, had been under direct foreign domination for a quarter of a century. Under the weak government of Ethelred, for thirty-seven years, the Saxons had sustained an unequal conflict with their plundering and tribute exacting

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* "The Danes in England," by J. J. A. Worsaae, p. 29.
† See an able article in *Gentleman's Magazine*, March, 1852.
‡ "Worthies" chap. xxiv. § "Danes in England," p. 80.

enemy. All the glories of the race of Cerdic had vanished. The kingdom had passed through a long period of intestine conflicts and of exhausting wars. But there was still a people. There was a people, with the memories of Alfred, and the first Edward, and Athelstan, still preserved in their national songs and traditions. The last of the oppressing race was gone. The lineal descendant of the Saxon race was among them. Edward, the son of Ethelred, had been brought up an exile with the relations of his mother. He had no vigor of character; he had received the education of a monk rather than that of the descendant of a long line of kings; he was familiar with other customs, and with another language, than that belonging to his race. In his mind the great idea of nationality had but little place. But he was the one left in whom the Saxons could cherish those sacred feelings of a legitimate descent which gave to the king the attribute of blood—that attribute which, in the eyes of the people, was more important than the talent and courage of any claimant to dominion who was not of the stock of those sons of Woden, who, five hundred years before, had led the blue-eyed myriads to conquest. There was a man in England of eminent ability, of almost supreme power, who had that intense feeling of nationality which would make the Saxon race again predominant, and in that predominance would absorb all the minor differences which separated the Danish settlers from the Saxon. That man was Earl Godwin. He saw, which was not difficult to discover, that on the opposite shores there had grown up a nation that would be a more formidable enemy to England than any of the Scandinavian people. He knew that the conquest of England had long been the secret aspiration of the Norman. The descendants of Rollo, planted in a rich soil; cultivating arts in which England was inferior; possessing a more refined luxury; of indomitable courage amid their refinements; dreaded by the Frankish kings whose sovereignty they despised; the conquerors of Sicily; the heirs of the courage and the ambition of the old sea-kings—these were the men whom England had now to dread. Was Godwin powerful enough to be the leader of his country? The time was not come. He put Edward upon the throne; and he gave to him his own daughter in marriage.

Godwin is the prominent man in the reign of Edward the Confessor. His participation in the murder of Edward's brother was "the cry of the Normans," as Thierry emphatically puts it. He was the antagonist of the Normans; and we may readily believe that their historians loaded his memory with unmerited obloquy. Before a great assembly of the witan, in the time of Hardicanute, he swore, according to the Saxon laws—and his oath was, according to the same laws, supported by kinsmen, friends, or witnesses—that he had taken no part in the death of Alfred. At the accession of Edward he held the greatest earldom of the south, including Sussex, Kent, and part of Wessex. His sons, Harold and Sweyn, were, with their father, the lords of all the land from the Humber to the Severn. They had the command of half England, and of the richest half. There were other brothers of this powerful family—Wulnuth, Tostig, Gurth, and Leofwine—who were subsequently advanced to high dignities. Edith, the daughter of Godwin, who became queen, exhibits, in the quiet charms of her character, a proof that in the family of the ambitious earl she had received a gentle nurture. Ingulphus, the monk of Croyland, says of her, in a Latin hexameter, "As the thorn is the parent of the rose, so is Godwin of Editha;" and he adds, "I have seen her many times in my childhood, when I went to visit my father, who was dwelling in the king's palace. Oftentimes, when I was returning from school, would she question me in my grammar, or my verses, or my logic, in which she was skilful; and when, after much subtle argument, she had concluded, she would, by her handmaiden, give me some pieces of money, and send me for refreshment to the buttery." This rose never saw another rose bloom from her tree. Her husband, with the superstition of the cloister, first neglected her. Then came a time when he persecuted her. She was forced upon the king—a mature man of forty—say some of the chroniclers, and they put these words into Godwin's mouth, "Swear to me that you will take my daughter for your wife, and I will give you the kingdom of England." According to others, Edward was as unwilling to receive the kingdom as to be incumbered with a wife. Malmesbury says that, upon the death of Hardicanute, Edward was in great perplexity; that having desired a conference with Godwin, he threw himself at his feet, imploring him to facilitate his return to Normandy; and that to him Godwin answered, that the kingdom was Edward's right; that he was disciplined by difficulties in exile; from his former poverty would feel for the miseries of his people; and that if he would rely upon him, his throne would be secure. The chroniclers represent this as politic ambition postponing its own designs. It appears to us very like honest patriotism. Malmesbury adds of Godwin, "He was a man of ready wit, and spoke fluently in the vernacular tongue; powerful in bringing over the people to whatever he desired." Of Edward we may truly say, he was a man of slow understanding; spoke a tongue which the people did not comprehend; and was powerful to accomplish nothing by his own will. With the vast possessions and popular qualities of Godwin, there is some credit due to him not to have gone the readiest way to supreme power.

It is difficult to trace the origin of Godwin's greatness. An old MS. chronicle says that he was the son of a Saxon herdsman. Mr. Turner has given a romantic story from a northern Saga, which shows how the earl rose from the humblest of the people. After the decisive battle between Canute and Edmund, Ulfr, a Danish chieftain, high in the favor of Canute, had been separated from the army. In much danger he passed the night in a wood; and in the morning he saw a lad driving his cattle to pasture. The Dane asked the way to Canute's ships. The boy said the way was long; the danger was great; he should himself be in peril should he assist one of his country's enemies. Gold was proffered; but the gold was refused. At length young Godwin conducted the thane to the shelter of his father's house; and finally was his guide to the camp of Canute. His service was rewarded; his talents gained him favor; the chieftain gave him his sister in marriage; and the herdsman's son—"the child of Sussex"—became the great earl. There were two other mighty chieftains, who divided the kingdom with Godwin and his family, as the delegates of the sovereign: Leofric, who ruled the northern counties of Mercia; and Siward, whose earldom reached from the Humber to the Scottish borders. This was the Siward of Shakespeare—"Warlike Siward"—"Old Siward"—the protector of Malcolm, the son of the murdered Duncan—the father of "young Siward," who perished in the battle-field where Macbeth fell. "Where were his wounds?" said the stout old earl. "In front." "Then I would wish no better fate."

By these powerful nobles was the throne of Edward upheld, at the beginning of his reign. They asserted the Saxon supremacy, and expelled the traitorous or tyrannizing Danes from the country. They united in resisting the pretensions of Magnus, the successor of Hardicanute in Denmark, to the English kingdom. But the influence of Godwin and his family soon came to be regarded with suspicion. One of Godwin's sons, Sweyn, was guilty of atrocities, which still indicate a period when violence is the ready instrument of power. He carried off an abbess, and was outlawed. He became a terror of the sea, in the old trade of piracy. At length the king pronounced his pardon to the outlaw; but his brother Harold and his cousin Beorn opposed the royal clemency; and Sweyn murdered his cousin. Still he was restored to his estates and honors by the weak-minded king. But his crime was not forgotten. It was one of the causes by which the character of the family of Godwin was lowered; and the influence which they held over the people was for a season diminished. Their strength was, in a short time, to be measured not only with the envy of their rivals, but with the authority of their king. Edward was, however, deficient in force of character, a gentle and merciful ruler. He had abolished the Dane-gelt. Under the old laws, the Saxon and the Dane now lived in peace. They pursued their industrious occupations, and the country was flourishing. The fierce contests about ecclesiastical discipline had passed away. There was no foreign power to disturb the rest of the pacific king. He hunted and he hawked in his forest of Bernwood, near Brill; and there he gave a hunting-horn to Nigel, the huntsman who slew a fierce boar—the famous Borstal horn, by which the Aubrey family hold the estates with which the king endowed the boar-slayer. So the lands of the Pusey family are still held by the horn which King Canute bestowed upon their ancestor William. The gentle king was, moreover, a healer of the sick, and a restorer to sight of the blind. It was he who first used "the healing benediction," which he left to "the succeeding royalty," so that even the pious Charles II. "touched" eight thousand five hundred of his afflicted subjects in one

year, and a hundred thousand in the course of his reign.* Malmesbury, somewhat damagingly to those who believed, to very recent times, in the virtue of the touch from the legitimate king, imputes the power of Edward to "his personal sanctity," and not to "hereditary virtue in the royal line." With these various occupations, Edward might have lived through a long reign untroubled, could he have forgotten the associations of his years of exile. When he became possessed of the power and riches that beloned to the crown of fertile England, the Normans crowded round him to share the abundance of his treasury. They came to fill the great offices of his household; to be the leaders of his troops; to take the command of his fortresses; to be his spiritual directors; to have the richest abbeys and the most honored bishoprics. The seal of wax which Edward was the first to affix to his charters, instead of the mark of the cross of the Anglo-Saxon kings, was an offence against the nationality of England. In the palace where Edith was queen, her father and brothers spoke their country's speech and wore their country's long mantle; while Edward gathered around him the short-cloaked Normans, and bade his subjects address their petitions to his clerks, who only heard those who could employ the polite romance-tongue of Normandy. The Norman favorites ridiculed the Saxon earls; and the Saxon earls looked for a day of vengeance upon the Norman favorites.

Eustace, Count of Boulogne, had married Goda, the sister of Edward, who was the widow of Gualtier of Mantes. He came to the court of his brother-in-law with a great retinue. Here he would meet with bishops and abbots, earls and knights, of French lineage. Radulf, the foreign nephew of the king, was there, all-powerful. Eustace naturally thought that England was a tribute-land for the Normans, and that the Saxon was a born slave. On his return to Boulogne he had to rest at Dover. Before entering the town he ordered his men to put on their hauberks; and at the head of his followers he demanded quarters of the sturdy householders. We can imagine the stir in the little town under the cliff. The burghers resisted the insolent mandate; and one who refused entrance to the foreigners was slain. Then Count Eustace, when the cry of vengeance rose among the people, made a furious onslaught with his spearmen upon the inhabitants, and many fell under the French lances. But it was not their ringed mail that could save them from the swords of the infuriated Kentish men. The burghers hastily armed, and forming themselves in the military order with which they were familiar, encountered the horsemen of Boulogne, and slew nineteen. Then a solitary rider, with a broken plume in his gilt helmet, was madly spurring on the highway, for the people had intercepted his passage to the harbor. A few of his followers came up; and together they took their course along the Watling Street, till they had reached the king's presence at Gloucester. There, surrounded by his Norman court, the pacific king showed unwonted fury against his rebellious subjects, who had resisted the will of his brother-in-law. He sent for Earl Godwin, in whose earldom this outbreak had taken place, and ordered him to visit the people of Dover with a summary vengeance. The earl refused. They should have legal trial in the burh-gemot; he would see justice done; but he would not punish, without a hearing, those whom the king was bound to protect. Sullenly Edward yielded. But the Norman counsellors represented the discretion of Godwin as direct rebellion; and he was summoned to appear before a great council at Gloucester. In his defence of the people of Dover against an illegal chastisement, he had done his strict duty. The eloquent burst of Chatham was as true in the eleventh century as in the eighteenth: "The poorest man in his cottage may bid defiance to all the forces of the Crown. It may be frail; its roof may shake; the storm may enter it; but the king of England cannot enter it. All his power dares not cross the threshold of that ruined tenement." The Anglo-Saxon had the legal right to resist, even to the death, any one who presumed to intrude into his dwelling, as follower of baron or of king. Was then Godwin, in his earldom, to punish those who, in the same spirit of ancient freedom, had resisted an insolent foreigner, because he was the husband of the king's sister? But the discharge of his duty would be no plea for his contumaciousness. While Edward was surrounded by his new favorites, Godwin saw danger; and he came prepared for resistance. The hour for resistance was come, if Saxon-England were to hold her laws and her independence. He and his sons marched to the west with a large force; and they demanded that Eustace and his men should be delivered to their custody. The Earls Siward and Leofric upheld the king, and mustered their forces. They came unwillingly. They came at first with a few men; but at the entreaties of the king they brought up the militia of their earldoms. The Norman Earl of Worcester joined the party of the king with a more determined spirit than those felt who were unwilling to draw the sword against their own people. Civil war seemed imminent. "But, inasmuch as the best men in all England were assembled together on his side and theirs, it seemed to Earl Leofric and some others, to be the more prudent part not to begin a battle with their fellow-countrymen; but they proposed that, exchanging hostages, the king and Godwin should, on a day named, meet at London for a conference."* The king, or rather his Norman advisers, employed the interval in raising a great army; while Godwin's adherents returned to their homes. The king's army was commanded by Normans. In London, thus beleaguered, was Godwin and his two sons summoned to attend the witan. They demanded hostages for their personal safety; but the demand was refused. Then Godwin and his sons, after a second demand and a second refusal of hostages, disobeyed the summons. Sweyn, by sentence of the witan, was outlawed. Godwin and Harold were sentenced to banishment—to depart out of England within five days. Harold sailed from Bristol to Ireland; Godwin and Sweyn from the east coast to Flanders. They, the proudest of the land, were driven from their homes and their large possessions. They had, in the plenitude of their power, pressed hardly upon a weak master; and he, after the fashion of all imbecile and timid rulers, was ready enough to be more oppressive than those who, out of their own strong wills, are calculatingly despotic. The unmanly king extended his revenge to his own wife. He stripped her of every means of independent maintenance—of money, of lands. He plundered her of every womanly ornament. He sent her to the cheerless prison of a monastery—that of Wherwell, where his own sister, the abbess, would be ready enough to persecute one so fair and so accomplished as Edith, the daughter of the banished earl. The time was fast approaching when no earl would defend a burgher against injustice. One system of government is melting into another system. Antiquarians, who look upon an old tower like that of Conisborough, on the Don, dispute whether it be of Saxon or Norman origin. It probably belongs to the border-time of each epoch. So the political histories of two periods that we are accustomed to regard as having distinct attributes, are now gradually blending. The Norman influence is ripening into Norman despotism.

* See a curious account of the resistance of William III. to the continuance of this superstition, in Macaulay's "History of England," vol. iii. p. 478.

CHAPTER XIII.

William of Normandy—Return of Godwin—Death of Godwin—Harold—Harold in Normandy—Harold returns to England—Banishment of Tostig—Death of Edward the Confessor—Harold chosen king—Norman preparations for invasion—Landing of Duke William—Battle of Stamford-Bridge—Battle of Hastings—The Abbey of Bataille—Burial of Harold—Close of the Saxon period.

When Canute leaped into the English throne, and married the widow of Ethelred, her brother Richard II. became the protector of her two sons by her first marriage; and they remained under his guardianship till his death, about 1026. His eldest son, Richard III., succeeded to the dukedom; but he soon gave place to his brother Robert. Whether Richard were murderously thrust from his crown and from his life by his younger brother is matter of doubtful history; but that brother was for ten years the bold and powerful duke, who is sometimes styled "Robert the Magnificent," and more commonly "Robert the Devil." He was favorable to the pretensions of his cousins, Alfred and Ethelred; for he fitted out a fleet for the invasion of England, to place them in the sovereignty which Canute had usurped. But his armament was driven back by a tempest; and he changed its direction, to enforce the submission of Alan, of Brit-

* Roger de Hoveden.

tany. He then went upon a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Before his departure he presented to the nobles a little boy, who he said was his son; and told them that his "little bastard" should be their lord if he saw them no more. He died in Bithynia, in 1035, the same year in which Canute died.

The young William of Normandy was placed under the care of Henry I. of France. At the death of Robert he was put in possession of his father's dominions; and the seat of his court was Rouen. Edward of England and William of Normandy were second-cousins; but the very difference of their ages would have been enough to have prevented much intercourse between them. Edward was called to his kingdom in 1042, seven years after the death of Robert. William was a youth of fourteen, and from the time of his accession the great duchy was distracted by the contests of the nobles and by the pretensions to the sovereign power of Guido, Count of Macon. But there was an energetic will maturing in the boy, whose illegitimacy his father had been proud to proclaim, according to the morality of those times; and he fought against Guido, and conquered in a great battle in 1047. In a year or two he had consolidated his power; and in 1051 was free to visit his cousin Edward in England.

Here then, in all the vigor of youthful manhood, came William of Normandy, to look upon the rich lands, and to understand something of the rough people over whom his feeble relative was the nominal ruler. In the fields through which he travelled he saw an industrious race, churls and slaves, cultivating diligently, and not without skill, after the modes of their predecessors. In the towns he saw busy artisans, who were associated for mutual protection, and had their peculiar laws, handed down in code after code, but with little essential change in their principles. He saw powerful earls—bold, bearded men—who were great landed possessors, but not holding their arable and their pastures, their woods and waters, as fiefs of the crown, but as independent lords, and tyrannizing, wherever they dared, in a most kingly fashion. He saw cathedrals and abbeys, built in a rude style, but splendidly endowed by the piety of the faithful. He heard on every side a tongue which sounded harsh to his ears—a tongue which his own people called barbarous and unfit for gentlemen. The same language, with slight difference, was spoken by the thirty thousand warriors whom Rollo planted a century and a half before, where he now ruled; but it was now the "abhorred English idiom." He saw a land that arms might win, and a people that craft might denationalize. He might be the peaceful successor of Edward, or he might fight for the crown against some pretender, when the childless king should be no more. William sojourned a little while at the court of Edward; and he there found ample encouragement for his ambition, and ready instruments of his will, when the fortunate hour should come. When that hour came, the laws of rude Germanic tribes should be changed for the Roman code. The turbulent earls and sheriffs should be supplanted by his own obedient vassals. The cathedrals and abbeys should be filled by intelligent Norman priests. The language of the Saxon should be supplanted by the refined Norman-French, in which the romances of his poets were sung, and the judgments of his clerks were delivered. "He was a stark man," said one who knew him—that is, he was a man of inflexible purpose. There can be little doubt that his purpose was to possess England. Ingulphus says that he kept his views perfectly secret. Such men never make false confidences. His work was in great part done. Godwin and his sons, who represented the nationality of England, were banished. The king had a Norman court about him. Most of the few strongholds had Norman governors, and were garrisoned by Norman men-at-arms. The honest policy of the Anglo-Saxons did not repress foreign settlers, and there were Normans in every town. The nobles and the franklins, the burghers and the churls, were full feeders and late wassailers. They were a people to be first conquered and then plundered.

The subjection of England was not quite so near its accomplishment as the condition of the country, in 1051, might have led William to expect. Godwin and his sons were banished. The old earl's domains were in the hands of the king, and of Odda the Norman; and Harold's earldom was bestowed upon Algar, the son of Leofric. But banishment and confiscation were of little avail, as long as those bold men could command the sympathies of their countrymen. In 1052, Harold and Leofwine sailed from Ireland and entered the Severn. They landed, and defeated the opposing thanes, whose districts they ravaged. Godwin, in the mean time, had fitted out a fleet from Flanders, and found all the mariners of the coast, and all the people of his old earldom, ready to follow his bidding. Harold came round the coast, and joined his father at Portland. They seized upon the king's ships; they received hostages; they obtained supplies wherever they touched. At length they sailed up the Thames, and found the people of Southwark favorable to their cause. The king had ships in the river, and an army near at hand. But the disposition of the people was too manifest to permit him now to resist the demand that Godwin and his sons should be restored to their possessions and their dignities. Where the great thoroughfare from the west to the east of the most populous city of the earth—a road all too narrow for the daily crush of the thousands who pour along it—is now deafening with the din of never-resting wheels, then, upon that pebbly strand, with field and forest behind, broke the silent wave of the tidal river; and there were drawn up, in order of battle, the forces of the insurgent chiefs. Their demand was not unreasonable, on the part of men who had a superiority of physical force, and whose cause was so popular. The king at length yielded. Then the Normans, who were with the army and the king, hastily fled. The witan was assembled, and decreed the restoration of the earls, and held them innocent of the acts and designs which had been imputed to them. The greater number of the foreign advisers of Edward were declared outlaws. The joy of the Anglo-Saxon race was unbounded. They had achieved a great triumph with little bloodshed.

Within a year after his restoration the energetic and sagacious Godwin died. The circumstances of his death have been related by the Norman historians, so as to revive the old imputation that he was the murderer of Prince Alfred. The king was banqueting at Windsor. This was not the Windsor which is now so rich with historical associations—not "the proud keep," which looks down upon the valley of the Thames, with "its kindred and coeval towers"—but the present Old Windsor, a royal house in the fertile plain skirted by the river, where the Saxon kings went forth to meet their people in Runemed, the Council-meadow. At the king's banquet sat Godwin, in the house where his daughter was again the queen. Edward, in a dispute, hinted that the earl was accessory to the death of his brother Alfred. He stood up to aver his innocence, and fell speechless to the earth. Other writers say that he invoked Heaven to choke him by the bread which he was about to swallow, if that guilt were his; and that he was choked.

The death of Godwin was, we may believe, a public calamity. There was wanting a strong hand to direct the central power in its due control of separate authorities. The great earls were bringing back the country to that condition of misrule which existed before the days of Egbert and Alfred. The earls were no longer the ministers of the king. The Danish "jarl" had superseded the Saxon "ealdorman;" and the wearers of the new title were really district kings. The quarrel between Saxon and Norman had been laid aside for a season; but the ambitious chieftains were quarrelling among themselves. We cannot follow the minute historians in their narratives of the contests between the house of Leofric and the house of Godwin. When Harold vacated the earldom of East Anglia it was bestowed upon Algar, the son of Leofric. He was soon expelled upon a charge of treason. He fled to Griffith, king of Wales, and their united forces ravaged Herefordshire. Harold drove them back. Without any ostensible cause the outlawry of Algar was reversed. He was a second time banished, but he then recovered his possessions by force of arms. Tostig, the brother of Harold, had obtained Northumbria upon the death of Siward. But he was too violent an oppressor, and his land was not tranquil. Edward might well look with dismay to the time when he should no longer be a barrier, however feeble, to the ruin which would come out of rival factions. There was a legitimate heir to the throne in Hungary—Edward, the son of the brave Ironside. He was induced to come to England, and he came with a wife and three children. His death very soon followed his arrival. His child, Edgar, was now the last male of the race of Cerdic. There was little hope of a legitimate succession.

We are now reaching a point of history in which the narratives greatly vary, according to the national prejudices of the relators. The story, as it is told by the Norman chroniclers, has a coherence which gives it the semblance, if not the reality, of truth. There is, moreover, a picture-history of the events which we are about to re-

late. The famous Bayeux tapestry, a roll of brownish linen-cloth, worked with colored thread, with figures and letters perfectly bright and distinct, is a roll twenty inches broad and two hundred and fourteen feet in length. The various figures have no perspective; but it has the artistical merit of constantly preserving the resemblance of individuals and classes. The same figure always represents Duke William; and the same mustached warriors always represent the Saxons. Of the antiquity of this remarkable record there is little doubt; and it has been said of it, "If the Bayeux tapestry be not history of the first class, it is perhaps something better." It is, however, a Norman history, and illustrates the circumstances of the most important period of our annals as they presented themselves to the Norman mind. We must receive these relations, whether of chronicle or picture, with due caution.

In the year 1065 Harold is practically the foremost man of England. He has won the king to endurance of his power, and has almost commanded his confidence and affection. That he was ambitious, to the utmost reach of ambition, is sufficiently manifest. His bravery and military talent were undoubted. He was the idol of the Saxon race. He had subdued the British people to his fealty by the terror of his arms. The Northumbrians were, he might believe, unequal to contend with him in any great contest for supremacy. That he looked to the crown of England on the death of Edward was a natural result of his character and his position. He had the energy of the warrior, but he had also the forethought of the politician. It is said that he kept Edward the Atheling from the presence of his uncle; that he procured the banishment of Algar. We would not speak unkindly of Harold. He had great and noble qualities. He was formed for the re-regeneration of his countrymen, by upholding them against a foreign yoke, and by defending them against domestic oppression. We hear of the licentiousness of his brother Sweyn, and the tyranny of his brother Tostig, but no voice is lifted against Harold. To be merely brave and generous; to assert his pre-eminence over brute courage and sordid craft by the impulses of his own nature, was to put himself in danger. He became, at the court of Edward, the supple friend. He was gentle and submissive to the weak master over whom his father held a stern government. When Wales was at his mercy in 1065, "he ordered a great building to be erected in the country of the Welsh, at a place which is called Portaseith [near Chepstow]; and many things for eating and drinking to be there collected, that his lord, King Edward, might be enabled to stay there sometimes for the sake of hunting."* It is tolerably clear that he was cautiously working upon the mind of the king to make him his successor. Edward, even with his infirmity of purpose, would see the danger of bringing a ruler upon England who would be as hateful to them as the courtiers he had been compelled to drive away. He would see the almost equal danger of raising up one great noble to the sovereign dignity, while others, almost as powerful, were passed by. But the last thing he would do would be to send a message to William of Normandy, by Harold of Wessex, that William was to fill the throne of England. Yet this message, some of the Norman chroniclers say, he so sent. The Anglo-Saxon authorities are silent in the matter. Other authorities state that Edward warned Harold of the danger of putting himself into the power of the Norman duke. Harold's ostensible reason for going was to redeem his young brother Ulnoth, and his nephew, who had both been confided to William, when Godwin gave them as hostages upon the conclusion of his revolt. They had been detained in Normandy, though not ill-treated. The motive for Harold's journey was natural and honorable; and he might not be unwilling to measure his intellectual strength with one who was marked as his rival. Fear was unknown to him. The ingenious historian of the Bayeux tapestry had as much adroitness in the exhibition of minute circumstances as have the picture chroniclers of our own times. We see in that lady's work, whether of palace or monastery, a king sitting in a chair of state, over whose head is written, "Edwardus Rex." He is addressing two persons. This is Harold, it is held, with a companion, taking leave of the king. We next see Harold, as the inscription testifies, on the road to his manor of Bosham, in Sussex. He rides, as becomes a great duke, with his falcon on his hand, and his dogs leaping before him and horsemen in his train. He next enters a church, not unmindful of one great duty. But the manners would not be Saxon, if a picture did not show him, or his followers, at a banquet. He goes on ship-board; but his dog is under his arm, and his hawk is on his wrist. His ship is then coming to anchor. The crew are impatiently gazing, and a sailor is on the mast. They have been driven by a tempest on the coast near the mouth of the Somme.

Guy, the Count of Ponthieu, is lord of that territory. He has no personal enmity to Harold; but he has a strong desire to possess himself of his equipments—his armor and his jewels, his embroidered mantles, and his well-stocked purses. The count, too will have ransom for his prisoner; and he shuts him up in a fortress near Montreuil. All this the lord of Ponthieu did, according to the feudal laws of hospitality. Harold had little hope of immediate escape; but he found a ransomer in Duke William. Upon his release from Montreuil, Harold goes on to Rouen. There he is welcomed with the most lavish generosity. The secret rivals become the warmest friends. Harold followed William to his war with Conan, a count of Brittany; and William honored him with splendid gifts of arms and horses. These things the chronicles and the tapestry duly record. The duke frankly promised the surrender of Ulnoth and the son of Sweyn. It was a time of feasting and pageantry, of dangerous battle and more dangerous tranquillity. In that noble city, where the Englishman delights to gaze upon the quaint gables that have stood through many generations, and to believe that some of his Norman kings might have rested beneath these roofs, or worshipped in those churches, whose grandeur and beauty are scarcely surpassed by his own cathedrals—there, where the quays of the Seine are loaded with the cotton-bags of America, and the chimneys of the factories send their heavy smoke over its green islets—was Harold led by his host in stately procession with knight and bishop, or sailed with him in his pleasure-barge on the broad river to the sound of flute or sackbut. The brawling revel of the Saxon palaces was not there. Ladies sat not long, as at the coarse Saxon feasts, amid the ribaldry of the drinking-horn. But when a temperate repast was quickly ended, in flower-garden or in tapestried hall the lute was heard; and the romancer sang of the deeds of Roland and Charlemagne, while warriors whispered of love to not unwilling ears. In such scenes, say the chroniclers, and more emphatically the poets, was Harold subdued by the conqueror's fair daughter, Adeliza.*

Robert Brunne, in his chronicle, says of William and Harold, "tales together they told, ilk on a good palfrey." William would tell of some knightly feat; and then compare it with the courage and humanity of the son of Godwin, who saved the lives of Norman soldiers, as they were sinking in the quicksands of the river of Couesnon, when they crossed together to fight in Brittany. Harold would speak of Norman chivalry; and of his own pride at having received his spurs from the hand of William. They talked of England; and the duke said that when he and Edward were living under the same roof in Normandy, Edward had affirmed that if ever he became king of England, William should be his successor. The timid man of forty was making this promise to the bold boy of fourteen, if we are to believe the Norman chronicles. William then asked whether Harold would support him in realizing that promise. The Saxon was in his power. These were not times when ambition was easily surrendered to conscientiousness. Harold assented. But his assent was to be more solemnly enforced. He was to swear. He did swear. But he swore with a mental reservation. The Bayeux tapestry shows in what manner he did swear. The duke sits upon his chair of state, with his sword in his hand. Before him stands Harold, between two ornamental pedestals, upon the top of which he places his fingers. He is swearing upon common reliquaries, as he thought; such as parish priests in England kept upon their altars, to command the faith of ignorant boors. He swears. But under the reliquaries are hidden, by a cloth of gold, the bones of saints and holy martyrs. William then commands the cloth to be removed; and Harold turns pale when he knows the super-sanctity of the oath which he had taken. This strange story in in perfect accordance with the character of the age in which these men lived. It argues nothing against the peculiar narrowness of his mind that could conceive of this method of making an oath sacred; or of his impiety who

* Roger de Hoveden.

* The scene and its manners are beautifully set forth in Mr. Taylor's poem, "The Eve of the Conquest."

should shudder at the force of an obligation, in the presence of dust and ashes, which would sit lightly upon him if simply made in the presence of the Most High. But it shows how far true religion was separated from the superstitions that passed for religion; and how the strongest minds were then subjected to influences which still remain, in some modified form or other, to prostrate the weakest.

Harold, at length, returned to England. In that voyage across the narrow sea he had lost much. He had lost his future freedom of action. He would be false to his oath; or he would surrender his nationality to a crafty and imperious lord. The season of his return was not one of inaction for Harold. His brother Tostig and William of Normandy had married sisters—the daughters of Baldwin, Count of Flanders. In his earldom of Northumbria, Tostig was most tyrannous and oppressive, even beyond the usual oppression which others of these petty kings exercised over their people. We may know what was the general nature of this oppression from the story of Godiva. A true poet has told that story with more than historic fidelity.* We see the gentle woman appealing to her grim lord Leofric to remit a tax upon the people of Coventry:

"She told him of their tears,
And pray'd him, 'If they pay this tax they starve.'"

And so, to procure the remission of the tax, she did her lord's imperious bidding; and

"Then she rode forth, clothed on with chastity."

It was the rapacity of the great earls that, among many other evils of misrule, made the country weak and demoralized. But Tostig went beyond the enormities of most of the grasping and licentious nobles, "who made a prey of the common people," as Malmesbury writes. The people of Northumbria rose against his power, drove him from York, and chose Morcar, one of the sons of Leofric, as their chief. The whole country was in alarm; and Harold was deputed to put down the insurrection. The fraternal bond—the pride of family which would shrink from the elevation of a son of Leofric over his own house—might have moved Harold to throw his whole military strength into the contest. But he summoned the insurgent people to a conference. They stated their wrongs. He tried to extenuate the deeds of Tostig, and to plead for his restoration. "We were born free," said the Northumbrians. "We were brought up in freedom. We will have no tyrant." Harold returned to the king without striking a blow; and he brought back to the insurgents pardon and peace. Tostig fled to Flanders, and became Harold's implacable enemy.

Upon the banishment of Tostig, Harold contracted a marriage of policy. He married a daughter of Algar; she being the widow of Griffith, king of Wales, whose sons had succeeded to the kingdom. He was thus placed in alliance with two of the most powerful of the other chieftains. The king was old, and more than ever enfeebled. His great desire was to complete his abbey-church of Westminster. Close by that abbey was his palace. Here the gentle Edward died, on the 5th of January, 1066. A few fragments are left of that palace, upon the site of which another palace of Westminster has arisen. The new palace has its political foundations firmly based upon the old institutions of which "the Confessor" was the head. A more splendid abbey-church was raised up under the Norman kings than that in which "the Confessor" had his last resting-place. But a few heavy and discolored arches, amid the architecture of a later age, stand as memorials of the ancient building; and in what is still called "The Confessor's Chapel," is a shrine, in which are the ashes of the last of the lineal descendants of that strenuous race of kings, who first, in 519, "obtained the kingdom of the West Saxons."

The Bayeux tapestry, continuing its history, shows us the sickness and death of Edward, and his funeral procession to the abbey-church which he built. It carries on the picture narrative by two simple representations. Harold stands with his plain battle-axe in his hand, while one man offers him a crown, and another a battle-axe having a cross at the junction of the handle with the blade. The inscription says, "They gave the crown to king Harold." "They" were the witan. Some of the chroniclers, among others Hoveden, state that before his decease the king appointed Harold his successor. The fact is generally admitted; but it is coupled by others with a statement that the nomination was extorted from the dying Edward by the importunities of Harold and his partisans. The Saxon king was crowned on the day of Edward's burial, by the Saxon archbishop Stigand, who had been raised to the see of Canterbury when the monk of Jumièges was expelled. Stigand was never acknowledged by the papal power, and his support of Harold was a new offence to Rome.

Duke William is in his city of Rouen, in the January of 1066. He goes forth to hunt in his forest of Rouvray. Princes have their "toys of age" as well as the humbler; and William had a new bow in his hand, of which he was trying the power. A messenger comes in haste. The duke hears his message, throws down the bow, hastily repasses the Seine, and strides into his hall. No one dare speak, for he clinches his teeth, stalks up and down with unequal steps, and half draws his sword from its sheath. He has had news from England; and all Rouen has heard the same news. Edward is dead; Harold fills his throne. But William is a man of action, and wastes no time in impotent rage. His envoy departs for Rome, to ask that Nicholas II. should put England under interdict—the England that had chosen a perjurer for king; that had expelled a Norman archbishop whom Rome had consecrated; that had ceased to pay the "Peter's pence," which her pious kings of old had willingly given. The duke secured the aid of Rome. He was not so successful with the king of France, whose aid he implored in his projected assertion of a right to the English crown, on the promise of Edward. Philip of France thought his imperious vassal somewhat too powerful already. Baldwin of Flanders, his brother-in-law, was equally indisposed to assist him in his enterprise. Conan, then duke of Brittany, after William had for some time announced his design, declared war against him, claiming Normandy as his own. Conan paid the penalty of his rashness. He died by poison. William had still to surmount difficulties with his own people. He called a great council at his castle of Lillebonne. About two miles from the eastern bank of the Seine, near Quillebœuf, is the old town of Lillebonne, with its Roman ampitheatre and other spoils of time; and near the town is "Le Manoir de Guillaume Conquerant." A lofty circular tower is the principal remain of the ancient palace. On this spot were assembled warriors, churchmen, burghers, when the duke told them of his plans and asked for their aid. They retired to deliberate. Fierce was the debate; and though Fitz Osbert, the seneschal of Normandy, urged ther compliance, and misrepresented their opinions when they again had audience, they sturdily refused what William asked. They would give no double knight's service. They would defend their own country; but they would not aid their duke in making a conquest of a land beyond the sea. William found out a secret which has been transmitted to later times. Those who were obstinate in a public assembly were pliant enough in private negotiation. Gold did more than the eloquence of Fitz Osbert. Then went forth a proclamation, that, supported by the Holy Father of Christendom, who had sent to him a consecrated banner, William, Duke of Normandy, was about to demand, by force of arms, his rightful inheritance of England; and that all who would serve him with spear, sword, or cross-bow, should be amply rewarded. At this call gathered together all the adventurers of Western Europe. They came in crowds from Maine and Anjou, from Poitou and Brittany, from Aquitaine and Burgundy, from France and Flanders. They should have land; they should have money; they should wed Saxon heiresses; the humblest foot-soldier should be a gentleman. The summer of 1066 was almost passed before the preparations were complete. A large fleet had assembled at the beginning of September at the mouth of the Dive. We come again to our picture-history, and we see men cutting down trees and others building vessels. Another section of the needle-work shows us how the ships were moved to the sea, by men dragging them with ropes. They were not ships that rust from their stocks like loosened castles; but small transports, scarcely larger than a fishing-smack. Their whole number is stated to have been nine hundred and ninety-seven. The fleet was detained for a month by contrary winds, and had been driven from the mouth of the Dive to the mouth of the Somme. The troops landed and encamped at Saint Valery. The rain poured down; the hurricane drove dismasted vessels on the shore; the Norman soldiers murmured and said "God is against us."

* Tennyson's "Godiva."

The duke understood the temper of his men. In solemn procession through the camp was borne the shrine which contained the relics of Saint Valery; and the army knelt before the shrine, and made offerings to the priests. The next day the clouds were less lowering. At night the wind changed. On the morning of the 27th of September the sun was gilding the calmer waves of the channel. The tents were struck; the embarkation commenced; and before evening the fleet had weighed anchor, amid the shouts of men and the braying of trumpets. The vessel of William led the way; and he outsailed the fleet. After some anxiety, for the ships were widely dispersed, they were again together on the morning of the 28th of September. "He passed the sea in a great ship, and came to Pevensey." So says the inscription on the tapestry. There, on the flat beach, which, seven hundred and fifty years afterward was to be defended against another invasion by martello towers, William leaped from his boat; and falling to the ground, a cry went forth that it was an evil omen. He grasped the sand, and turned the omen into a sign of gladness, for he had taken seizin of his kingdom. The castle of Pevensey was at a short distance—now a ruin, of Roman, Saxon, and Norman construction. In a few days the army marched to Hastings.

King Harold was far away when Duke William landed on that unprotected shore. His exiled brother, Tostig, had been to Normandy, and had arranged with William a plan of united action for the invasion of the country; and he engaged Hardrada, the king of Norway, in the confederacy. Tostig first tried his fortune alone, on the south coast; but the vigilance of Harold drove him to the north. At the mouth of the Tyne, Tostig waited for the Norwegian armament, and their forces having landed, they marched to York. Here they defeated the Northumbrian earls, Edwin and Morcar. Harold was with his army on the southern coast when the news of the Norwegian invasion reached him; and he marched at once to encounter these enemies. He would have negotiated with his brother; but when Tostig asked what the king of Norway should have, the Saxon answered "Seven feet of earth for a grave." A great battle was fought at Stamford Bridge on the Derwent; and Hardrada and Tostig were among the slain. Where this battle was fought, the bones of the dead whitened the earth for half a century. That day of carnage was the same 27th of September on which William sailed from Saint Valery. As Harold sat at a banquet at York after the victory, the news came of the Norman landing. He had made adequate preparations for a resistance by sea when he marched to the north; but the same tempest that detained the invaders in Normandy compelled the Saxon ships to remain in their ports. They came out too late, and blockaded the whole coast. Harold rested not a day in Northumbria. He marched direct for London, where all the warlike population rallied round his standard. Meanwhile the Normans had intrenched themselves near Hastings. They had ravaged this beautiful district so mercilessly that for twenty years it lay waste and desolate. The tapestry exhibits their feastings in this land of fertility, when the harvest was in the homesteads, and the oxen were fattening in the marsh-lands.

On the 13th of October, the army of Harold was encamped on a range of hills, near a place then called Senlac. This is the modern "Battle." The sea was in the distance, and the English ships were ready to cut off the retreat of the invaders. The army of William was on another range of hills. The watch-fires of each camp could be seen by the other as the night closed in. There was revelry in the English camp. There was silence and prayer in the Norman. The historians have put a long harangue into the mouth of William, when he mounted his horse at daybreak of the 14th. They are as genuine as the speeches which we find in Livy. At nine o'clock the Normans moved across the little valley, with the papal banner carried in advance of the duke. They were formidable in their cavalry and their bowmen. The English waited the attack with their battle-axes, the Kentish men in the front. The Anglo-Saxons kept their ground like a mighty wall; and they advanced in the same firm array. This solidity in battle has been the great tactic of the country even to this day; and it belongs to the nature of the people. But it is in the same nature to be open to stratagem. After a fight of six hours, William commanded his men to turn their backs. The English raised a cry of triumph, and, breaking their ranks, rushed from their commanding position into the plain. Then the Norman cavalry wheeled round, and a terrible slaughter took place. Harold fell a little before sunset. There was still a struggle; but the great leader had passed away.

> "In Waltham Abbey, on St. Agnes' Eve,
> A stately corpse lay stretch'd upon a bier.
> The arms were cross'd upon the breast; the face,
> Uncover'd, by the taper's trembling light
> Show'd dimly the pale majesty severe
> Of him whom Death, and not the Norman Duke,
> Had conquered; him, the noblest and the last
> Of Saxon kings; save one, the noblest he—
> The last of all."*

Upon the ground where "was tried, by the great assize of God's judgment in battle, the right of power between the English and Norman nations,"† the conqueror, within two years, founded an abbey. The old name of Senlac was changed, and this foundation was called "The Abbey of Bataille." The present buildings, so imperfectly preserved, and so miserably defaced, are of a later date. But no changes of time or of irreverent hands can destroy the interest which belongs to this memorable place. Some years ago, after a visit to Battle, the author of this history wrote:

"The politic conqueror did wisely thus to change the associations, if it were possible, which belonged to this fatal spot. He could not obliterate the remembrance of the 'day of bitterness,' the 'day of death,' the 'day stained with the blood of the brave.'‡ Even the red soil of Senlac was held, with patriotic superstition, to exude real and fresh blood after a small shower, 'as if intended for a testimony that the voice of so much Christian blood here shed does still cry from the earth to the Lord.'§ This Abbey of Bataille is unquestionably a place to be trodden with reverent contemplation by every Englishman who has heard of the great event that here took place, and has traced its greater consequences. He is of the mixed blood of the conquerors and the conquered. His national character is founded upon the union of the Saxon determination and the Norman energy. As he treads the red soil of Senlac, if his reformed faith had not taught him otherwise, he would breathe a petition for all the souls, Saxon and Norman, 'that there slain were.'"

The victory of the Norman was no final triumph of one race over another. The nationality which Harold asserted, in a fight that might have had a different ending had the fatal arrow not pierced his brain, was never lost. The language and the laws of the victor only supplanted for a short season, and in a limited range, the old language and the old laws. It was in this spirit of nationality that the Anglo-Saxon people long refused to believe that the last of their kings had perished at Senlac. They believed that his wounds were healed amid loving friends; that he waited, in some safe seclusion, again to head his faithful English when the hour of deliverance should appear approaching; that their Harold did not sleep in the tomb which was called his tomb in Waltham Abbey.‖ That abbey, like the abbey of Bataille, has been removed to make way for the arches and columns of a later period. But, in the belief that Harold was borne to the great religious house which he had endowed, that venerable church of Waltham will be associated with our national history, while the memory is cherished of the brave, whether victorious or subdued, who have fought to the death for their country.

Here, then, is the close of this history of eleven hundred years. It

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* "Eve of the Conquest."
† Daniel.
‡ Matthew of Westminster.
§ William of Newbury.
‖ Fuller, in his "History of Waltham Abbey," of which he was curate, has the following account of Harold's burial at Waltham: "Githa, mother of Harold, and two religious men of this abbey, Osegod and Ailric, with their prayers and tears, hardly prevailed with the Conqueror (at first denying him burial, whose ambition had caused the death of so many) to have Harold's corpse (with his two brethren, Gurth and Leofwine losing their lives in the same battle), to be entombed in Waltham Church of his foundation. He was buried where now the Earl of Carlisle's leaden fountain in his garden, then probably the end of the choir, or rather some eastern chapel beyond it; his tomb of plain but rich gray marble, with what seemeth a cross-floree (but much descanted on with art) upon the same, supported with pillarets, one pedestal whereof I have in my house. As for his reported epitaph, I purposely omit it, not so much because barbarous (scarce any better in that age), but because not attested, to my apprehension, with sufficient authority." The "reported epitaph" was HIC JACET HAROLD INFELIX.

is a history full of doubt and obscurity—a history in which we have to seek the growth of a nation amid the most conflicting elements, sometimes wondering how they could have given birth to a perdurable state. Out of this British, Roman, Saxon, Danish, Norman stock, has come the English people. Out of these fierce wars, adverse religions, discordant institutions, has come, in the fulfilment of the decrees of an overruling Providence, a nation that has preserved its free spirit under every form of foreign domination or domestic oppression; a nation that in every conflict with authority, whether that of king, noble, or priest, has asserted the right of individual liberty, and has, with constantly increasing strength, upheld the principle that all power is derived from the people for the general good. To the Saxon mind we owe a great part of the English Constitution. It was as rudely developed, in its original stages, as the Saxon tongue. But as that tongue was gradually formed into a language, which has been spread over the earth, and has made new nations, so the Saxon principle of the natural right of each man to do what to him seemeth best, as long as it does not interfere with the rights of others, and the Saxon practice of social co-operation for public objects, have gone forth, and will still go forth, ultimately to banish from the civilized world that despotism which asserts the empire of the few over the many.

CHAPTER XIV.

Coronation of William I.—Fortresses, and Norman governors—William goes to Normandy—Oppressions of the Norman Chieftains—Insurrections—William in London—Siege of Exeter—Insurrections in the North, and Danish invasion—Devastation of Northumbria—Confiscated properties—The nobles and the people—The march to Chester—Norman clergy—Croyland—The camp of refuge—The last national struggle.

From the day of his coronation, the 25th of December, 1066, we shall date the commencement of the reign of William I. It has been dated from the death of Edward the Confessor, on the 5th of January in that year; and also from the battle of Hastings, on the 16th of October. The difference appears of little importance; but it really involves a great point of our constitutional history. If the Norman duke won the crown by the victory of Hastings, we may date his accession from the 16th of October. If, more than two months after that eventful day, he was elected king, and, consequently, crowned king, we must date his accession from the day of his coronation. Successful as the arms of William had been, the crown continued elective, as in the Saxon time. His own chaplain, William of Poitiers, says he was "electus in regem," elected king—which election was followed by his coronation. It was an election and a coronation, under conditions, thus recorded in the Saxon Chronicle: "Then, on Midwinter's-day, archbishop Aldred hallowed him to king at Westminster, and gave him possession with the books of Christ, and also swore him, ere that he would set the crown upon his head, that he would so well govern this nation as any king before him best did, if they would be faithful to him."* He did not "so well govern this nation," and this nation was not "faithful to him." Thence came long years of trouble.

"These Saxons, by God's goodness, King Henry the First's favor, their own patience and diligence, put together the planks of their shiprack'd estates, and afterward recovered a competent condition." Thus writes the quaint old historian of "The Worthies of England." This shipwreck and this recovery form the history which we have to work out during the next two centuries.

William of Normandy was encamped at Hastings when he heard that a division of his army, having landed at Romney, had been attacked by the people of that port. William marched to Romney, and revenged himself by a slaughter of its inhabitants. Dover had a strong garrison, and there, around the castle, "built upon a steep rock overhanging the sea," was a large English force collected. The Normans set the town on fire, and the castle was taken. William's army was falling away by sickness. "A great number of soldiers, who devoured flesh-meat half raw, and drank too much water, died of dysentery."† The conqueror waited for reinforcements from Normandy; and at length, leaving the coast, marched along the Watling Street to London.

Some weeks had elapsed since the terrible day of Senlac. The people knew that their Saxon king had fallen; but they were not ready to acknowledge that the foreign winner of one field should be the king of England. There was a lineal descendant of their ancient kings among them—Edgar, the grandson of Edmund Ironside. He was unquestionably the heir to the crown; and the very remote claim of William of Normandy, through his affinity to Emma, the queen of Ethelred, was not to be put in comparison with that of a true son of the race of Cerdic. The sons of Harold had no claims comparable with his; and the pretensions of Edwin and Morcar, the powerful chiefs who were brothers-in-law of Harold, were not founded upon any higher right than that of their Saxon origin. The people of the South and of London chose Edgar Atheling as king. It was an unwise choice to oppose a feeble boy to the most ambitious man of his age, at the head of a conquering army. The two great earls of Mercia and Northumbria withdrew to the north. William advanced toward London, and the people exhibited a show of resistance; but they finally made their submission, through the archbishop, and great nobles, who did homage to the invader at Berkhampstead. He was crowned king at Westminster, on Christmas-day. On that occasion there was a great tumult, which indicated that rival influences and fierce passions could with difficulty be kept in check. Westminster Abbey was surrounded by Norman troops, while the solemn ceremony went forward. Aldred, the archbishop of York, put the question to the English, whether they would have William for their king, and the same question was put by the bishop of Coutances to the Normans; "and the whole assembly loudly gave their willing assent in one voice, though not in one language."* The Norman troops outside, believing, as some of the chroniclers say, that their leader was in danger, when they heard the shouts, set fire to the adjoining houses. The spectators rushed from the abbey. The king and the prelates were left alone at the altar; and in the midst of the din without and the solitude within, William took the usual oath of the Anglo-Saxon kings, and was consecrated by the trembling bishops, himself in great alarm. So writes Ordericus. It is difficult to understand the origin or the object of this tumult. At the previous meeting at Berkhampstead, some of the English nobles and prelates had agreed to receive William as king. Camden says that they yielded, "victori Normanno multa et magna pollicenti," to the victorious Norman on his promising many and great things. This may be conjecture. But the Norman chiefs would have learned that the ancient rites of the coronation involved the taking of a regal oath which would forbid any arbitrary exercise of sovereign power. We may thus not unreasonably conceive that, at a preconcerted signal, when the form of the people's acclamation had been gone through, the more solemn form of swearing to govern justly, as the best of the Anglo-Saxon kings had governed, was to be interrupted. Upon the right of conquest, the Norman soldiers rested their hopes of that unreserved plunder of the Saxon people which their leader had promised them; and though he himself professed that he claimed the crown under the will of Edward the Confessor, and was politic enough to use, in the beginning of his reign, that moderation which belonged to a legal title, the hordes of needy adventurers, who had truly placed the crown upon his head, would have been much more satisfied that he should reign under the law of the strongest. The king, as the events of the two succeeding years will show, was wiser than his followers. The victory of Hastings was not the conquest of the realm. He had a difficult policy to carry through. He had to propitiate the rapacity of his own people; and he had to avert the hatred of those whom he claimed to rule over. The estates of the crown were his; he had confiscated the possessions of the family of Harold. But the domains of those who were strong, such as the great earls of the north, were yet to be held by them in security. He treated Edgar Atheling with kindness; he welcomed some of the chieftains to his court. He exhorted his adherents to moderation. He so regulated the collection of his revenue that the burden should be equally distributed. He prohibited all riotous assemblies. He provided for the safe passage of traders, and the transport of merchandise by sea and land. But, with all these wise proceedings,

* See Sir Harris Nicolas' "Chronology of History," pp. 272–279.
† "Ordericus Vitalis," Forester's translation, book iii. c. xiv.

* "Ordericus Vitalis."

the king could not, from the very nature of his position, resist the employment of a stronger arm of government than that of conciliation. He built a fortress to overawe "the fierce and numerous population" of London. He gave the custody of other strongholds to his Norman leaders. In the castle of Winchester, which he erected, he placed William Fitz-Osborn, as lieutenant of the south. His half-brother Odo, bishop of Bayeux, was established at Dover, as governor of Kent. Where the country was considered settled, there the rule was intrusted to Norman chiefs. But scarcely a fourth of England had as yet been offended by these foreign intrusions; and no part had endured any violent change in its tenure of property, or in the ancient laws. The king was now called "Conquestor," or "Conquereur;" but not in our modern sense of "Conqueror." That term involved no idea of the forcible subjection of a people. It signified an "acquirer;" one who had sought and obtained a right. While the king was present to control his followers, there was quiet, a sullen and enforced repose. The leaders of the people, to some extent, believed in his right intentions. One of that class of country-gentlemen, who, in the middle of the seventeenth century, were well read in the legal antiquities of their nation, says, "It is not imaginable his victory could have made him so absolute as within three months to receive the whole kingdom in peace, had he not joined a fitting moderation with it."* In this moderation the people confided for the security of their homes and the preservation of their institutions.

It is the holy season when the Church, by fasting and humiliation, is preparing for the great festival of Easter. King William has gone to Pevensey, to take ship for his own Normandy. The stipendiary soldiers who had assisted him in his great exploit are here dismissed to their homes, with ample rewards. A train of English and Norman nobles are with him. Edwin and Morcar; Stigand, the archbishop; Edgar; Waltheof; the earls of Northampton and Huntingdon; Ethelnoth, the lord of Canterbury—these English have come to swell the pomp with which the victor is hailed in his progress. Are they unwilling hostages, or pliant servants of their new master? The duke parades the riches of the kingdom which he has won; and the English chiefs are admired for their graceful persons and their flowing hair. It is Lent; but the obsequious bishops and abbots receive their sovereign with an anticipation of the festivities of Easter. The festival is kept at Fécamp with unusual magnificence. William's queen, Matilda, is the partaker of these splendors. After the gayeties of the court, William employs himself in his peaceful duties. He attends the consecration of churches. He issues ordinances for the public good. The spring, the summer, the autumn are passed, and he is still in Normandy. Modern historians have indulged in speculations why the Conqueror should have risked so long an absence from England. Hume supposes that he was guided by a policy as atrocious as it was dangerous—that, during his absence, his rapacious captains might harass the English into insurrection; and that he might then return, and seize upon the possessions which he had spared under the semblance of a legal administration. There is a much readier solution of the difficulty. In every circumstance that could contribute to his personal gratification, Normandy was to William, as it was to several of his successors, of far more importance than England. It was the country of his birth and of his education. Its abbeys were more rich, its palaces more sumptuous, its cities more full of stately buildings, than those of England. He was familiar with its language and its laws. The feudal system, which made him the lord of all the Norman territory, was far more agreeable to his views than the Saxon institutions which admitted of free tenures. There was a wide field for his ambition in the extension of his Norman dominions; and the wealth which could be extracted out of the industry of England would furnish new means for the prosecution of that ambition. The possession of England as a province of Normandy must never be relinquished; but to place England above Normandy, by making it the chief seat of the Norman-Anglo government, would be no wise or pleasant policy. The rich lands of the Thames and the Severn would properly be the fiefs of the Norman knights; but their homes should be on the Seine and on the Orne.

During the long absence of the Conqueror from England, his chieftains commenced a system of oppression which might have exterminated a people less bold and enduring than the Anglo-Saxon race. Odo, the bishop of Bayeux, and William Fitz-Osborn, "the king's lieutenants, gave no heed to the reasonable complaints of English subjects, and disdained to weigh them in the balance of equity."* The men-at-arms outrageously robbed the people. The women were exposed to their gross licentiousness. There was no punishment but for those who complained of their wrongs. Such is the testimony of the chronicler we have just quoted; who wrote very soon after these times; and, though born in England, spent the greater part of his life in a Norman monastery. No writer who lived near those days is more honest than this monk of St. Evrault. He was devoted to the glory of Normandy, but he had the feelings of an Englishman; and he expressed them with a frankness which strongly contrasts with the sycophancy with which other Norman chroniclers describe the actions of their powerful men. The tyranny of the invaders drove many of the best and bravest into exile. Then the Anglo-Saxon of Kent and East Anglia became the Varangian of Constantinople. Ordericus has briefly told the story of "the flower of the English youth," who valiantly served in the armies of Alexius, the Greek emperor. Gibbon relates how "a band of adventurous youths resolved to desert a land of slavery; the sea was open to their escape; and, in their long pilgrimage, they visited every coast that afforded any hope of liberty and revenge."† There was a band of Scandinavians in the service of the Greek emperors, nearly half a century earlier; and the knowledge of this fact perhaps determined the course of the Saxon exiles. In the decline of his great powers, Walter Scott constructed a romance on this period of Byzantine history. But, unequal as his narrative is, he has drawn no more perfect picture than that of the "tall stranger at the Golden Gate," with his piercing blue eyes, his fair hair, his composed countenance, and his ponderous battle-axe."‡ The position of Alexius, at the period of the Norman oppression in England, was favorable to this emigration. He was attacked by the Normans under Guiscard; and the Saxon was too happy to prove against the Norman that the battle of Hastings had not been lost through any want of the ancient courage.

Those who thus formed the body-guard of Alexius, and whose posterity are held to have spoken their native English as late as the fifteenth century,§ abandoned their country, hopelessly and forever. But others sought in foreign aid for their country's deliverance. They invited Sweyn, king of Denmark, to repossess the land in which Canute had been king. They invited Count Eustace, once so obnoxious to the Saxon, to seize upon Dover. He came; but his expedition was unsuccessful. In the west the people depended upon themselves. Edric, commonly known as "The Forester"—Edric of the woods—refused obedience to Fitz-Osborn, as Earl of Hereford; and with the aid of the British held the district against him. The two sons of Harold sailed from Ireland, and ascending the Avon, ravaged the country near Bristol. But the English, though ready to resist the Norman oppression, would not submit to the greater evil of those who, pretending to be deliverers, acted as pirates and marauders. William was alarmed by the news of all this disaffection and disquiet. He hastily left the administration of Normandy to his queen and his son Robert, and sailed from Dieppe for Winchelsea, on the night of the 6th of December. He kept his Christmas at London, and assembled around him the English bishops and nobles. "He received each with open arms, gave them the kiss of welcome, and was affable to all."‖ The archives of London contain a charter, written in Anglo-Saxon, which the city historians say was granted on that occasion: "William the king friendly salutes William the bishop, and Godfrey the portreeve, and all the burgesses within London, both French and English. And I declare that I grant you to be all law-worthy, as you were in the days of King Edward; and I grant that every child shall be his father's heir, after his father's days, and I will not suffer any person to do you wrong.

* "Considerations on the Government of England," by Sir Roger Twysden. Printed for the Camden Society.

* "Ordericus Vitalis." The only English translation of this interesting "Ecclesiastical History of England and Normandy," is that recently completed by Mr. Forester.

† "Decline and Fall," vol. vii. p. 123, Smith's edit.

‡ "Count Robert of Paris." § Gibbon, note 48 to chap. lv.

‖ "Ordericus Vitalis."

God keep you."* The Londoners were satisfied; and the king departed to carry his arms to the west and to the north.

The year which elapsed from the coronation of William had witnessed no extension of his sovereignty. In the four years which succeeded his return from Normandy, the subjection of the English people was completed. As his power strengthened, so did his severity. From 1068 to 1072 the history of the king is the history of the country; and in the development of his character we trace how he went gradually on from mildness to ferocity; from a show of justice to the most lawless exercise of power; from the ordinary cruelty of a despot to an avidity for blood and devastation which few tyrants have been able to equal. The course of this man was regulated by the same strong will, whether he moved in gentleness or in terror. He had none of the capricious impulses of ordinary tyrants, and few of the petty jealousies. If a rival were weak, he fed him and flattered him. If a rival were strong, he imprisoned him or murdered him. If a city or a district gracefully yielded after a brief resistance, he asked no forfeiture of life or liberty in its defenders. If resistance were obstinate and universal, there was no punishment short of the extermination of the people, root and branch. One great end he never lost sight of, whether he worked by clemency or by terror—the plunder of the land. "He had fallen into avarice, and greediness he loved withal."† He plundered by direct confiscation and exaction. He plundered through his subordinate plunderers. It is a fearful and disgusting history. It would be humiliating to feel that the people from whom we are sprung did not turn and rend "this very stark man and very savage"—this man "stark beyond all bounds to those who withsaid his will"—did we not know that no oppression could ultimately subdue this long-suffering race; and that the instruments of their partial subjection were, in little more than a century, united with them in building up a system of government which should, at every new storm of tyranny, become stronger and more defiant.

In studying the original narratives of the four eventful years in which William completed the subjugation of the Saxon race, we cannot withhold our wonder at the surpassing energy of this remarkable man. He is in his forty-second year; capable of enduring the most severe fatigues; utterly regardless of unfavorable seasons; marching with wonderful rapidity from the south to the north, from the west to the east; leaving the high roads, to lead his men, by shorter paths, over barren mountains and through dangerous fords; always fearless and self-confiding. At the Christmas of 1067 he is feasting in London. In those days the climate of England—then covered with thick forests and dreary marshes, and with rivers overflowing their banks—was far colder in the winter and spring than in the cultivated England of our time. Yet William waited not for sunny days to march into districts where his Normans had yet established no dominion. In January his army is before Exeter—the walled city which had been growing into great importance since the time of Athelstan. The burghers had fortified it with towers and intrenchments, and had gathered forces from other places of Devon and Cornwall, to oppose the foreign king. William had sent messengers to demand their allegiance; and they replied, "We will neither swear allegiance to the king, nor admit him within our walls; but will pay him tax, such as we have been wont to pay;" and William replied, "It does not suit me to have subjects on such conditions." The men of Exeter were bold, and they fought stoutly for eighteen days. But they finally surrendered. William displayed exemplary moderation. He saved the city from pillage, and he made no immediate confiscations. But he planted a garrison within the walls; and the castle of Rougemont was built out of the ruins of forty-eight houses which had been destroyed in the siege. The king marched into Cornwall, where he met no resistance. Easter fell that year on the 23d of March, and he celebrated the festival at Winchester. At Whitsuntide, his queen Matilda, who had arrived from Normandy, was crowned in that city. But in that royal seat of the Saxon race, rich in accumulated treasures, and filled with an industrious population, William did not long tarry. Edwin of Northumbria had, with his brother Morcar, given his adhesion to the Norman; and he was tempted, as Harold was tempted, by the charms of a daughter of the great duke. William, in the early days of his new and doubtful sovereignty, had promised this lady to the powerful earl. But when he became more secure, William "refused to give him the princess who was the object of his desire, and for whom he had long waited."* The brothers, indignant at the promise-breaker, summoned the English and Welsh to their standard, and sent their messengers in every quarter to rouse the people to rebellion. The provinces beyond the Humber were the first to rise. But the prompt vigor of the king put down the insurrection before it became general. Edwin and Morcar submitted; and William made a show of favor and forgiveness. He was scarcely strong enough to punish. But during this expedition he planted a line of fortresses, to overawe the people in the settled districts, and to arrest the advance of those who were not yet under the yoke. In this year Edgar Atheling fled, with his mother and sisters, to Scotland, and they were received with kindness by Malcolm, the king.

The submission of Edwin and Morcar had not arrested the disaffection of the north. In 1069, wild bands of Saxons were living in tents, having abandoned the towns which were watched and controlled by the Norman garrisons. One of the chiefs of William, Robert de Comines, had received the county of Durham as his earldom. He entered Durham at the head of five hundred men, took possession of the bishop's palace, and commenced the usual course of spoliation. In the stillness of night the English gathered together in great numbers; and before daybreak burst into the city, set fire to the palace where the intrusive earl and his followers were sleeping after late revelry, and massacred all the Norman soldiers except two. York then rose upon its foreign garrison. These events took place in the beginning of the year. Again the king came in person against the insurgents, and routed them with unsparing slaughter. The queen Matilda, who, at Winchester, had given birth to a prince, afterward Henry I., now returned to Normandy. It was a time of fearful uncertainty. In June, the sons of Harold again came in force, and landed near Plymouth. They were repulsed. But a more formidable enemy was at hand. For two years Sweyn, the king of Denmark, had been preparing for an invasion. His son Canute came, with a mighty fleet, in June. These forces were repulsed on the south and eastern coasts; but in August the invaders sailed for the Humber. They were here joined by a fleet under Edgar Atheling, and some English earls. As this army advanced toward York, the Normans in garrison set fire to the houses, and the city was burning for three days. The Normans made a sally upon the Danes and English, who had invested the city, and were utterly defeated with immense loss. William was hunting in the Forest of Dean when the news of this defeat arrived. He swore, with one of his terrible oaths, that not a Northumbrian should escape his revenge. He had collected about him a new body of auxiliary troops, and he marched to the north with an overwhelming force. But he trusted not to force alone. His agents were busy among the Danish chiefs; and their powerful army retired to their ships. The English, who had joined the Danes at the Humber, fell back to the Tyne. York was left to be defended by Earl Waltheof alone. The insurrectionary spirit had spread upon the news of the Danish landing, and William had to fight his way through a hostile population in the midland counties. At length he reached Pontefract. The winter was come with rain and snow. The river Aire had become a torrent, and was impassable by boats. Three weeks was the fiery king detained; till at length a ford was found and the army crossed. Their march was through the wild hills and the pathless forests of a district now rich with modes of industry then undreamed of—by paths so narrow that two soldiers could not walk abreast. He entered York, which he found abandoned. But there he sat down, to spend the festival of Christmas in the organization of a plan of vengeance that would have better fitted one who had never had the name of the great teacher of mercy on his lips. He dispersed his commanders in separate divisions over a surface of a hundred miles, with orders to destroy every living man and every article that could minister to the sustenance of life. Houses were to be burned; the implements of husbandry were to be broken up; the whole district from the Humber to the Tees, from the Wear to the Tyne, was to be made a desert. And it was made a desert. Throughout this region, when,

* Maitland, "History of London," vol. i. p. 57, ed. 1756.
† Saxon Chronicle.

* "Ordericus Vitalis."

fourteen years after, the survey recorded in Doomsday-book was completed, the lands of Edwin and Morcar were entered as *vasta*—laid waste. Many others belonging to the sees of York and Durham, and to Waltheof, Gospetric, and Siward, the Saxon lords, had the terrible word *vasta* written against them. Malmesbury, writing half a century afterward, says, "Thus the resources of a province, once flourishing, were cut off, by fire, slaughter, and devastation. The ground for more than sixty miles, totally uncultivated and unproductive, remains bare to the present day." Ordericus winds up the lamentable story with these words: "There followed, consequently, so great a scarcity in England in the ensuing years, and severe famine involved the innocent and unarmed population in so much misery, that, in a Christian nation, more than a hundred thousand souls, of both sexes and all ages, perished of want. On many occasions, in the course of the present history, I have been free to extol William according to his merits, but I dare not commend him for an act which levelled both the bad and the good together, in one common ruin, by the infliction of a consuming famine. For when I see that innocent children, youths in the prime of their age, and gray-headed old men, perished from hunger, I am more disposed to pity the sorrows and sufferings of the wretched people than to undertake the unpleasing task of screening one by lying flatteries who was guilty of such wholesale massacre. I assert, moreover, that such barbarous homicide could not pass unpunished. The Almighty Judge beholds alike the high and low, scrutinizing and punishing the acts of both with equal justice, that his eternal laws may be plain to all."

Detestable as these cruelties appear to us, it is satisfactory to find that they were held in detestation by those who lived near the times in which they were perpetrated. It was not a characteristic of these ages, which we are accustomed to think barbarous, that the monastic writers, who possessed all the knowledge of the period, should speak with indifference of men eating human flesh, under the pressure of famine; of perishing creatures selling themselves into perpetual slavery to obtain food; of corpses rotting in the highways, because none were left to bury them.* Nor are we quite warranted in believing that the great Norman chieftains, even while they received enormous grants of confiscated properties, could look with unmixed satisfaction upon pasture lands without herds, and arable lands without men to till them. Alain of Brittany, the nephew of the Conqueror, received a grant of all the villages and lands in Yorkshire which belonged to the Saxon earl Edwin, and here he built the castle of Richmond, whose keep still crowns the high hill round which the Swale has its winding course; where the streets with Norman names still attest the presence of the conquering race; and in which romantic town the charters of the dukes of Brittany, extending over two centuries, are still preserved as the origin of municipal rights and privileges. But Alain of Brittany, once in possession, would have an interest which no sternness of his imperious lord could control, in gathering around him peaceful cultivators and confiding handicraftsmen. William de Percy, who found that his eighty manors yielded only a tenth of the rent which they produced in the time of the Confessor, would discover some surer means of obtaining rent than by fire and sword. Gilbert de Lacy, who dispossessed all the ancient free proprietors of a great district round Blackburn and Rochdale, and was the sole lord of many servile tenants, would, nevertheless, limit his exactions by some regard to his own interests. Robert d'Omfreville, who, upon the grant of the forest of Riddesdale, swore upon the sword of William that he would clear the country of wolves, and of all the men who were hostile to the conquest, would discover that if his domain were to be of any value, he must be somewhat more merciful than to confound the unquiet men with the wolves as equal enemies. A little while after the very period in which Ordericus has described the devastation of the north, which he calls "the lasting disgrace" of William, he says, speaking, we may believe, of the more settled districts, "the cultivators of the soil renewed their labors in some sort of security;" and he adds that the English and Normans had begun to intermarry. It is thus that, in spite of wars and revolutions, of tyrannies and confiscations, the eternal laws of Providence in time assert their predominance over the transient efforts of man. The property of England had, in a great degree, changed its masters; but the population of England, wasted as it was, was still there. If the old proprietors were dispossessed, there were still the tenants and the serfs. There were no vast hordes of the Norman peasants crowding over from their own pleasant seats to thrust out the children of the soil from eating the bread of their laborious poverty. We indeed find mention of the arrival from Gaul of men and their wives, with household accompaniments, such as are recorded in an old ballad:

"William de Coningsby
Came out of Brittany
With his wife Tiffany
And his maide Maupas
And his dogge Hardigras."

But we doubt whether Thierry does not exaggerate such instances as Coningsby and his wife Tiffany, and Noel and his wife Celestria, when he says, "From the time that the conquest began to prosper, not young soldiers and old warlike chiefs alone, but whole families, men, women, and children, emigrated from every remote district of Gaul to seek their fortunes in England." Had there been any extensive colonization of this nature, so that the Norman should have dispossessed the Saxon population, as the Saxon had dispossessed the British, the great body of the English nation, in succeeding generations, would have been Norman. "The whole cloth thereof," to use Fuller's words, would have been Norman, instead of that cloth being "guarded (fringed) here and there with some great ones of foreign extraction." The dominant race were men in armor, who kept their followers for knight-service, but who left to their tenants the inglorious duties of the seed-time and harvest. The church lands were still the undisturbed possessions of the cathedrals and abbeys, though the bishops and abbots might be changed. The ancient churls would still cluster round these tolerant masters and instructors, who, to do them no more than justice, were of higher natures than to be instruments of unprofitable oppression. Trodden down, vilified, despised as was the Saxon race, it had lost the unity of a nation, but there still was a people.

The rough work of conquest is nearly over. The north is devastated. But the submission of the wretched inhabitants of the north provokes the resentment of Malcolm, king of Scotland, and he becomes their enemy. At the head of an army he crosses the Tyne, and completes the work of devastation. He was, no doubt, fancying that he was asserting the right of Edgar to the crown, and that the pretensions of the Atheling would one day be acknowledged, for he sought Edgar's sister, Margaret, in marriage; and from this alliance came what has been called "The Union of the Races," when Henry I. married Matilda, the daughter of Malcolm and Margaret. From the desolated Yorkshire, William, in the March of 1070, led his army to Chester. Ordericus has given a vivid description of this march: "With unwearied vigor he made his way through roads never before travelled by horses; across lofty mountains and deep valleys, rivers and rapid streams, and dangerous quagmires in the hollows of the hills. Pursuing their track they were often distressed by torrents of rain, sometimes mingled with hail. At times they were reduced to feed on the flesh of horses which perished in the bogs." Where William marched through a desert, there is now the densest population in the world; and not a river that rushes through these beautiful valleys is without the mill-wheel on its banks; and from the hollows of the hills rises a cloud which tells of industry producing national wealth, compared with which all the plunder of Saxon England would be as dust in the balance. At length the king, contending with a mutinous soldiery, who were suffering cold and hunger and the attacks of hostile marauders, reached Chester, and put down the insurrectionary spirit in Mercia.

At Easter the king is again at Winchester. The Church has had his care. The Saxon prelates he holds unworthy; and the Pope has sent him three legates to assist in the work of purification. Stigand, the archbishop, who had supported Godwin and crowned Harold, was deposed. Other prelates were set aside "for criminal life, and ignorance of pastoral duties." Norman monks took possession of the monasteries, and expelled the Saxon clergy. The Norman lords had their ecclesiastical friends and favorites. Ivo Taillebois ruined the Saxon abbot Ulfketul by his accusations; and the abbey of Croyland was given to Ingulphus, who had been secretary to the Conqueror. He was an Englishman; and we are therefore not surprised to find that, although bred in Normandy, he behaved with a brotherly

* Roger de Hoveden.

kindness to his ejected predecessor. "Seeing that this venerable person was worthy of all favor and filial love, and was distinguished for his most holy piety, I had him placed in his ancient stall; nor did I, so long as he lived, consider myself as being fully the husband, but always as a sort of bride-man or steward of the monastery." The Norman bishops and abbots, who gradually dispossessed the Saxon, were for the most part of loftier and more cultivated minds than the men of war who elevated them to wealth and power. Many who came into vast possessions employed them in raising magnificent buildings, upon which we still gaze with admiration. They stood between the Conqueror and the people, to mitigate their oppression, and to save the property of the Church, which was essentially public property—the inheritance of the lowliest—from the grasp of private rapacity. Ambitious and luxurious as some might be, others were humble and self-denying. One of the most learned of the Norman monks, Guitmond, was offered an English bishopric by William; he replied, "I look upon England as altogether one vast heap of booty, and I am as afraid to touch it and its treasures as if it were a burning fire."* They were not all as Ordericus has described "some churchmen, who, to appearance, were religious, but constantly followed the court, and became abject flatterers;" and whom, in their elevation, he compares to wolves devouring their flocks. These had a natural fellowship with the adventurers of the laity, whom the same honest Norman depicts as "ignorant upstarts, driven almost mad by their sudden elevation." Such a bloated tyrant was Hugh d'Avranches, constable of Chester, who "set no bounds either to his generosity or his rapacity"—"who wasted his own domains"—and "indulged in gluttony to such a degree as to become so fat that he could scarcely walk."† Another of this class was Ivo Taillebois, whom the people of the fens "supplicated as their lord on their bended knees;" and who, at his good pleasure, "tortured and harassed, worried and annoyed, incarcerated and tormented them."‡ This mirror of chivalry "would follow the various animals of the people of Croyland in the marshes with his dogs; drive them to a great distance, drown them in the lakes, mutilate some in the tail, others in the ear; while often, by breaking the feet and the legs of the beasts of burden, he would render them utterly useless."§ Still it would be unjust to believe that such specimens of the "Norman gentleman" constituted the majority of those who had dispossessed the "Saxon barbarian." Ingulphus gives us a very different picture of a Norman, who thought that life had higher duties than to take lance in hand against grumbling churls, and destroy the property of those who had still something to call their own. There was a real agricultural improver in those days, living in the same district where Ivo Taillebois amused himself with laming cattle and hunting swine. Richard de Rulos inclosed the waste marshes of Deeping; shut out the overflowings of the Welland by a great embankment; built within the embankment numerous cottages; and made in the meadow land which had previously been impassable bogs, quite a pleasure-garden of fertile fields.‖ The example of this good and sensible Norman changed the character of the great fen district, and the people of Multon, and Weston, and Spalding, "in imitation of those at Deeping, by a common enactment agreed to among them, divided among themselves, man by man, their marshes."¶ Such were the healing influences that very speedily mitigated the evils of the conquest. Such is the course of most political revolutions. If the spirit of a people be not wholly trodden out—if their arts and their industry have not wholly perished—if knowledge and religion still throw a gleam over the darkness—if the memory of the past inspire hope and endurance—tyranny is only a passing storm which purifies while it destroys.

Ingulphus was installed as abbot of Croyland in 1076. Four years before, that region of waste waters encompassing patches of fertility, had been the scene of the last struggle of Saxon nationality. Hereward, as the good monk wrote some twenty years later, had left a fame for undaunted prowess, "as we still hear sung in our streets." He had been exiled under the displeasure of his father, Leofric, the lord of Born, and had fought in foreign lands. After the conquest his patrimonial possessions had been seized on the death of his father, and his mother was turned out to starve by a foreign minion of the Conqueror. He came to England, collected a band of the friends of his youth, and drove the intruders from his inheritance. Ingulphus presents to us a singular picture of the times, in describing how Hereward, not being a belted knight, repaired to his uncle, the exiled abbot of Peterborough, and there, after solitary watchfulness and prayer in the church from sunset to sunrise, made offering of a sword which the abbot blessed; and laying that sword upon his neck, devoted him to the duties of knighthood. This, the writer says, was the custom of the English; but that the Normans despised this mode of consecration, and held the soldier thus hallowed by the Church to be still a plebeian. According to them, the king or the lord must make a knight. But the Saxon knight bore himself as bravely as the noblest of those who had won their spurs in the Norman ranks. He raised the standard of revolt, and drove the foreign abbot and his monks from Peterborough. Ivo Taillebois, the lord of Hoyland, led a great force against Hereward; but he was repulsed again and again. The fame of the Saxon's exploits went through the land, and fugitives gathered from every quarter to his "Camp of Refuge." William had become jealous of Earls Edwin and Morcar, and had commenced a persecution which threatened their personal safety. Morcar fled to the camp of Hereward. Edwin endeavored to escape to Scotland; but his flight was interrupted through treachery, and he was slain, leading a few followers, as he attempted to ford a swollen river. The head of the young earl was carried to William, who appeared indignant at the death of one who was mourned, not only by English but by Normans; and he banished those by whom Edwin had been betrayed. With Morcar came to Hereward many an ejected chief and many a deprived churchman. The isle of Ely, which was the chief seat of Hereward's force, was a surer protection, for a time, against the Norman cavalry than the defiles of Yorkshire, through which William had led his army in the pursuit of the rebellious Northumbrians. But the king, who had at first despised the insurgents of the fens, saw that this was no trifling outbreak which an Ivo Taillebois could put down. William possessed the highest talent for war—that talent which regulates the movements of an army by the most comprehensive view of the physical character of a district, and knows when to fight, and when to employ means more effectual than fighting. The king collected a large naval force in the Wash and blockaded every arm of the sea that was an inlet to the fens. Wherever a road led into that district, he closed all access by his troops. The camp of Hereward was intrenched in the midst of waters, in some places stagnant and thick with reeds, in others rapid but in all places dangerous for the passage of horse or foot. He commenced the building of a great causeway; but at every pile they drove, Hereward came suddenly upon the laborers, and the work made no progress. The Normans said that Hereward was in league with the powers of darkness; and William, to satisfy his followers called a sorceress to his own aid, and she ascended a wooden tower to be the guardian of the causeway. The Saxons opposed no rival conjurations, but burned the tower with its witch. Three months did William blockade the "Camp of Refuge." At last he found a way more practicable than his bridges. The monks of Ely began to feel the approaching scarcity of the wheaten bread and fresh meat to which they had been accustomed; and they made terms with the king for the discovery of a passage from the fens to the camp. The Norman troops entered the isle, occupied the monastery, and finally stormed the intrenchments. Resistance was at an end. Morcar became a captive, and the king kept him imprisoned for years. Hereward threw himself into the marshes, and escaping to his own estates long kept up a partisan warfare. He at length submitted, when a longer struggle was hopeless. The metrical chronicle of Geoffrey Gaymer recites how he fell fighting, without helm or hauberk, against fifteen Normans. Ingulphus, a more trustworthy historian, says that, having "made peace with the king, and obtained his patrimonial estate, he ended his days in tranquillity, and was very recently, by his especial choice, buried in our monastery by the side of his wife."

* "Ordericus Vitalis." † Ibid. ‡ Ingulphus.
§ Ibid. ‖ Ibid. ¶ Ibid.

CHAPTER XV.

Revolt of Nobles—Continental wars—Family quarrels—General Oath of Fealty—Domesday book—Classes—Industry—Land—Forests—The New Forest—Gardens—Mills—Mines—Cities and Burghs—Royal and baronial manors—Castles—Churches—Knight-service—Feudal tenures—Feudal Exactions.

ENGLAND at length has rest. The politic Conqueror has destroyed the Saxon independence, by force or by cunning. Malcolm of Scot-

land has submitted to him, and remains at peace. Edgar Atheling has become a pensioner upon the bounty of William, who thrust him from a throne. The people are settling into their old habits of rural industry. Many of the dispossessed and hunted proprietors and tenants of the northern counties had found shelter in Scotland, under the protection of Margaret the queen. The Scottish warrior-king, totally illiterate, was made gentle and devout under the guidance of his noble wife; and the lowland districts beyond the Tyne gradually became more and more Saxon in their language and manners. At this period it is probable that no sweeping change had taken place in the laws of England or the tenure of property. The king had repeated his oaths to maintain the ancient laws; and although there were confiscations of English lands, wherever there had been resistance, and enormous grants to Norman soldiers, the system, founded upon what Mr. Kemble calls "the monstrous fiction that the king is owner of all the land in a country," had not been brought into general usage. The settlers in Normandy under Rollo are described as never bowing the knee to king or lord, but holding their lands free from service.* The old Germanic constitution of England had not yet sustained the full burden of the yoke of feudality, which had gradually been established in France by the middle of the eleventh century.

While England was under the dominion of the Norman dukes, and was to all intents a tributary state, our historians have commonly bestowed nearly as much attention upon the affairs of Normandy and Maine, of Brittany and Anjou, as upon those of our own country. This arises from the habit of too commonly looking at the history of a king as the history of a nation. Sometimes, indeed, in certain portions of a reign the personal history of the monarch is no uptrue representation of the condition of the nation. But, as a general principle, that personal history must be regarded as a very imperfect and a very unimportant if not delusive chronicle. "So strong an association is established in most minds between the greatness of a sovereign and the greatness of a nation which he rules, that almost every historian of England has expatiated with a sentiment of exultation on the power and splendor of her foreign masters, and has lamented the decay of that power and splendor as a calamity to our country."† We shall endeavor to avoid this error, and principally to regard the acts of the Norman kings merely as illustrations of the course of events and the progress of society in England.

William, in 1073, is in Normandy. There was an insurrection in Maine. It would seem that his army was composed of Normans and English; and with a great force he speedily quelled the revolt. But there is again danger in England. Roger Fitz-Osborn, the earl of Hereford, and Ralph de Guader, the earl of Norfolk, had agreed to unite their interests by the marriage of the sister of one to the other. But the king, with that tyrannical interference with the domestic rights of families which prevailed down to the time of the Stuarts, issued his commands that no such marriage should take place. He was absent, and the earls gave no heed to his prohibition. There was a great feast at Norwich; and there came bishops and barons, Saxon as well as Norman, to honor the bridal of Emma with De Guader. It was a time when men spoke out; and the Normans complained bitterly of the interference of the absent king with their private alliances. The Normans complained of his ingratitude; the Saxons of his oppressions. The murmurs ripened into plots. Waltheof, the Saxon earl, was made privy to the conspiracy; but he refused to take any active part in what he conceived a hopeless attempt. He however kept the secret of the Normans. The insurrection broke out, but was speedily subdued. A great battle was fought in Norfolk, before the arrival of William from Normandy. He came to determine the fate of the captive rebels. The Norman leaders were sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. Waltheof was betrayed by his wife—the Conqueror's daughter, Judith; and after lingering a year in prison was beheaded at Winchester The Norman archbishop Lanfranc made great efforts to save the Saxon. But the perfidy of Judith, and the rapacity of those followers of William who thirsted for his blood that they might possess his estates, determined the fate of Waltheof, whose memory was long regarded as that of a martyr.

William returned to Normandy after the revolt of the nobles was suppressed. For seven or eight years we cannot trace him in England. But the space is filled up by narratives of his continental wars and his family quarrels. The Norman princes of the blood have no very prepossessing associations belonging to them. Robert is the eldest. Before the conquest of England he had been named as his father's successor in Normandy. Richard, the second son, had been killed in England by an accident while hunting. Robert desired to have the crown of Normandy during his father's life, and his father was not at all willing to forego any power. William, the next brother, who was now twenty-one, took part against Robert. Henry was a boy of nine years. The younger brothers were playing at dice in the gallery of a house at Maine, and Robert was beneath. To insult their brother, they threw water on the heads of him and his followers; and the fiery Robert followed his brothers to the banqueting-room in fierce anger. Their father interposed. But the elder son could not forgive the insult, and was soon in arms to enforce his pretensions. The parent and child met in battle; and the son unhorsed the father. Perceiving whom he had at his mercy, the son begged the forgiveness of the parent. But the very stark man would not be fully reconciled; and after a few years of secret hostility they never again met. Odo, the half brother of the king, gave him dire offence by entertaining the ambition of becoming pope. William seized him as he was sailing from the Isle of Wight, and kept him strictly imprisoned, till death conquered the Conqueror. While these turbulent princes are hating and fighting, the lower world goes on in its accustomed round, of the proud and the avaricious oppressing the humble and the contented. There was little difference in the principles by which the selfish accomplished the supremacy over the generous, in those times as compared with ours. They only employed different instruments from those we employ. Yet, after all we read in their chronicles of the power and riches of the ancient tyrants, there was, perhaps, more real happiness in the hut of the "poor old woman of Weston," who, when the monastery of Croyland was burned down, gave the produce of her spindle to sew the garments of the houseless monks,* than in the mansion of Ivo Taillebois, who was evermore their persecutor. We may believe that the satisfaction of Fergus, the coppersmith of Boston, when he gave two bells to the new church of Croyland, was more precious to the simple Christian than the murderous triumph of Tonstain, the Norman abbot, who chased all the Saxon monks out of Glastonbury with sword and lance, because they chanted the service after the fashion of their predecessors.

Under the date of 1085 the Saxon Chronicle has an important passage, which has been considered, by some authorities, to determine the period when the feudal tenures were generally established by a solemn legal act, which was preceded by a general survey of the kingdom. The writer of this portion of the Chronicle was an Englishman, and a man of high position; for in describing the character of William he says, "If any one wish to know what manner of man he was, or what worship he had, or of how many lands he was the lord, we will describe him, as we have known him: for we looked on him, and some while dwelt in his court." It is conjectured that this chronicler was Wulstan, the only Saxon bishop that was left at that time. This faithful witness records that in the nineteenth year of King William's reign, Canute, the King of Denmark, was expected to invade England; and that when William, who was then in Normandy, heard this, he came over with a great army of Normans and Bretons—a greater company of horse and foot than had ever before entered the land, insomuch that men wondered how such a host could be fed. He dispersed this army through the country, and they devastated the maritime districts, and the people suffered much by their presence. The invasion being abandoned, the king sent back some of these stipendiaries. The writer then relates that at Christmas the king was at Gloucester, with his witan, and held his court there for five days, after which the archbishop and clergy held a synod for three days. Then the king called a great council, and had much grave talk concerning the land, how it was held, and by what men. Then he sent his servants through all the country, to make a survey of every possession, and to register every hide of land in every county, and what was the money value, and what cattle were main-

* See the pretended epitaph on Rollo, in "Ordericus Vitalis," bk. v. c. 9.

† Macaulay, vol. i. p. 14.

* Ingulphus.

tained upon each property. The chronicler further relates that at Lammas, in 1085, the king was at Salisbury; and there came to him his witan, and all the landowners of any account, from all parts of England, whose men soever they were, and they all bowed to him and became his men, and swore to him an oath of fealty, that they would be faithful to him against all other men. It will be desirable, at this period of our narrative, to enter upon some detailed account of this remarkable survey of the kingdom; and to consider what great and long-enduring change was wrought in the country, when the king's witan, or chiefs, and all the landowners, became the king's immediate vassals, and did homage, and swore the oath of fealty.

On the left of the passage which leads to the entrance of Westminster Abbey called "Poets' Corner," stands the Chapter-House of the abbey, hidden by brick tenements, and fitted up within with shelves and closets for public records. Yet this Chapter-House is one of the most beautiful buildings of our country; and was thus desecrated in the time of James I. by some official representative of the ignorant indifference of the people for their national monuments. In one of the closets of this building is locked up the most precious document of English history—the register of the survey made under the orders of the Conqueror and his witan, which we have just noticed. This document is called "Domesday Book," and, in fact, consists of two books, of different sizes—one a folio, the other a quarto—on the vellum of which the entries are made, in beautifully clear characters. The whole register, with valuable introductory matter, indices, etc., was printed at the cost of the government in 1787, in types which represent the contractions of the original with all needful exactness.

The survey thus contained in this ancient register extended to all England, with the exception of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Durham. All the country between the Tees and the Tyne was held by the bishop of Durham; and he was reputed a count palatine, having a separate government. The other three northern counties were probably so devastated that they were purposely omitted.* Let us first see, from the information of "Domesday Book," by "what men" the land was occupied.

First, we have barons, and we have thanes. The barons were the Norman nobles; the thanes the Saxon. These were included under the general designation of *liberi homines*, freemen; which term included all the freeholders of a manor. Many of these were tenants of the king "in capite"—that is, they held their possessions direct from the Crown. Others of these had placed themselves under the protection of some lord, as the defender of their persons and estates, they paying some stipend or performing some service. In the register there are also *liberæ feminæ*, free women. Next to the free class were the *sochemanni* or "socmen," a class of inferior landowners, who held lands under a lord, and owed suit and service in the lord's court; but whose tenure was permanent. They sometimes performed services in husbandry; but those services, as well as their payments, were defined. Descending in the scale, we come to the *Villani*. These were allowed to occupy land at the will of the lord, upon the condition of performing services, uncertain in their amount, and often of the meanest nature. But they could acquire no property in lands or goods; and they were subject to many exactions and oppressions. There are entries in "Domesday Book" which show that the *villani* were not altogether bondmen; but represented the Saxon "churl." The lowest class were *servi*, slaves; the class corresponding with the Saxon "theow." By a degradation in the condition of the *villani*, and the elevation of that of the *servi*, the two classes were brought gradually nearer together; till at last the military oppression of the Normans, thrusting down all degrees of tenants and servants into one common slavery, or at least into strict dependence, one name was adopted for both of them as a generic term, that of *villeins regardant*.†

Of the subdivisions of these great classes, the Register of 1085 affords us some particulars. We find that some of the nobles are described as *milites*, soldiers; and sometimes the *milites* are classed with the inferior orders of tenantry. Many of the chief tenants are distinguished by their offices. We have among these the great regal officers, such as they existed in the Saxon times—the *camerarius* and *cubicularius*, from whom we have our lord-chamberlain; the *dapifer*, or lord-steward; the *pincerna*, or chief butler; the constable, and the treasurer. We have the hawk-keepers, and the bow-keepers; the providers of the king's carriages, and his standard bearers. We have lawmen, and legates, and mediciners. We have foresters and hunters. Coming to the inferior officers and artificers, we have carpenters, smiths, goldsmiths, farriers, potters, ditchers, launders, armorers, fishermen, millers, bakers, salters, tailors, and barbers. We have mariners, moneyers, minstrels, and watchmen. Of rural occupations we have the bee-keepers, ploughmen, shepherds, neat-herds, goat-herds, and swine-herds. Here is a population in which there is a large division of labor. The freemen, tenants, villains, slaves, are laboring and deriving sustenance from arable land, meadow, common pasture, wood, and water. The grain-growing land is, of course, carefully registered as to its extent and value, and so the meadow and pasture. An equal exactness is bestowed upon the woods. It was not that the timber was of great commercial value, in a country which possessed such insufficient means of transport; but that the acorns and beech-mast, upon which great herds of swine subsisted, were of essential importance to keep up the supply of food. We constantly find such entries as "a wood for pannage of fifty hogs." There are woods described which will feed a hundred, two hundred, three hundred hogs; and on the Bishop of London's demesne at Fulham a thousand hogs could fatten. The value of a tree was determined by the number of hogs that could lie under it, in the Saxon time; and in this survey of the Norman period, we find entries of useless woods and woods without pannage, which to some extent were considered identical. In some of the woods there were patches of cultivated ground, as the entries show, where the tenant had cleared the dense undergrowth, and had his corn land and his meadows. Even the fen lands were of value, for their rents were paid in eels.

There is only mention of five forests in this record, Windsor, Gravelings (Wiltshire), Winburn, Whichwood, and the New Forest. Undoubtedly there were many more, but being no objects of assessment they are passed over. It would be difficult not to associate the memory of the Conqueror with the New Forest; and not to believe that his unbridled will was here the cause of great misery and devastation. Ordericus Vitalis says, speaking of the death of William's second son Richard: "Learn now, my reader, why the forest in which the young prince was slain, received the name of the New Forest. That part of the country was extremely populous from early times, and full of well-inhabited hamlets and farms. A numerous population cultivated Hampshire with unceasing industry, so that the southern part of the district plentifully supplied Winchester with the products of the land. When William the First ascended the throne of Albion, being a great lover of forests, he laid waste more than sixty parishes, compelling the inhabitants to emigrate to other places, and substituted beasts of the chase for human beings, that he might satisfy his ardor for hunting." There is probably some exaggeration in the statement of the country being "extremely populous from early times." This was an old woody district called Ytene. No forest was artificially planted, as Voltaire has imagined, but the chases were opened through the ancient thickets, and hamlets and solitary cottages were demolished. It is a curious fact that some woodland spots in the New Forest have still names with the terminations of *ham* and *ton*.* There are many evidences of the former existence of human abodes in places now solitary; yet we doubt whether this part of the district plentifully supplied Winchester with food, as Ordericus relates; for it is a sterile district, in most places fitted for little else than the growth of timber. The lower lands are marsh, and the upper are sand. The Conqueror, says the Saxon chronicle, "so much loved the high deer as if he had been their father." The first of the Norman kings and his immediate successors would not be very scrupulous about the depopulation of a district, if the presence of men interfered with their pleasures. But Thierry thinks that the extreme severity of the forest laws was chiefly enforced to prevent the assemblage of Saxons in those vast wooded spaces which were now included in the royal demesnes. Into these extensive tracts were, more or less, retreats for the dispossessed and the discontented. The Normans, under pretence of preserving

* Introduction to "Domesday," by Sir. H. Ellis, folio, p. xii.
† Introduction to "Domesday."

* Notes to Stewart Rose's poem of "The Red King."

the stag and the hare, could tyrannize with a pretended legality over the dwellers in these secluded places; and thus William might have driven the Saxon people of Ytene to emigrate, and have destroyed their cottages, as much from a possible fear of their association as from his own love of "the high deer." Whatever was the motive, there was devastation and misery. Domesday shows that in the district of the New Forest certain manors were afforested after the Conquest; cultivated portions, in which the Sabbath-bell was heard. William of Jumièges, the Conqueror's own chaplain, says, speaking of the deaths of Richard and Rufus, "There were many who held that the two sons of William the king perished by the judgment of God in these woods, since for the *extension* of the forest, he had destroyed many inhabited *places* (*villas*) *and churches within its circuit.*" It appears that in the time of Edward the Confessor, about seventeen thousand acres of this district had been afforested; but that the cultivated parts remaining had then an estimated value of 363*l.* After the afforestation by the Conqueror, the cultivated parts yielded only 129*l.**

The grants of land to huntsmen (*venatores*) are common in Hampshire, as in other parts of England; and it appears to have been the duty of an especial officer to stall the deer—that is, to drive them with his troop of followers from all parts to the centre of a circle gradually contracting where they were to stand for the onslaught of the hunters. In the survey many parks are enumerated. The word hay (*haia*), which is still found in some of our counties, was an inclosed part of a wood to which the deer were driven. In the seventeenth century, this mode of hunting upon a large scale by stalling the deer—this mimic war—was common in Scotland. Taylor, called "The Water Poet," was present at such a gathering; and has described the scene with a minuteness which may help us to form a picture of the Norman hunters: "Five or six hundred men do rise early in the morning, and they do disperse themselves divers ways; and seven, eight, or ten miles' compass they do bring or chase in the deer in many herds (two, three, or four hundred in a herd) to such a place as the noblemen shall appoint them; then, when the day is come, the lords and gentlemen of their companies do ride or go to the said places, sometimes wading up to the middle through bourns and rivers; and then they being come to the place, do lie down on the ground till those foresaid scouts, which are called the tinkhelt, do bring down the deer. Then, after we had stayed there three hours or thereabouts, we might perceive the deer appear on the hills round about us (their heads making a show like a wood), which being followed close by the tinkhelt, are chased down into the valley where we lay; then all the valley on each side being waylaid with a hundred couple of strong Irish greyhounds, they are let loose as occasion serves upon the herd of deer, that with dogs, guns, arrows, dirks, and daggers, in the space of two hours, fourscore fat deer were slain."

"Domesday" affords indubitable proof of the culture of the vine in England. There are thirty-eight entries of vineyards in the southern and eastern counties. Many gardens are enumerated. Mills are registered with great distinctness; for they were invariably the property of the lords of the manors, lay or ecclesiastical; and the tenants could only grind at the lord's mill. Wherever we find a mill specified in "Domesday," there we generally find a mill now. At Arundel, for example, we see what rent was paid by a mill; and there still stands at Arundel an old mill whose foundations might have been laid before the Conquest. Salt-works are repeatedly mentioned. They were either works upon the coast for procuring marine salt by evaporation, or were established in the localities of inland salt-springs. The salt-works of Cheshire were the most numerous, and were called "wiches." Hence the names of some places, such as Middlewich and Nantwich. The revenue from mines offers some curious facts. No mention of tin is to be found in Cornwall. The ravages of Saxon and Dane, and the constant state of hostility between races, had destroyed much of that mineral industry which existed in the Roman times. A century and a half after the Conquest had elapsed before the Norman kings had a revenue from the Cornish iron mines. Iron forges were registered; and lumps of hammered iron are stated to have been paid as rent. Lead-works are found only upon the king's demesne in Derbyshire.

Fisheries are important sources of rent. Payments of eels are enumerated by hundreds and thousands. Herrings appear to have been consumed in vast numbers in the monasteries. Sandwich yielded forty thousand annually to Christ Church in Canterbury. Kent, Sussex, and Norfolk appear to have been the great seats of this fishery. The Severn and the Wye had their salmon fisheries, whose produce king, bishop, and lord were glad to receive as rent. There was a weir for Thames fish at Mortlake. The religious houses had their *piscinæ* and *vivaria*—their stews and fish-pools.

"Domesday" affords us many curious glimpses of the condition of the people in cities and burghs. For the most part they seem to have preserved their ancient customs. London, Winchester, and several other important places are not mentioned in the record. We shall very briefly notice a few indications of the state of society. Dover was an important place, for it supplied the king with twenty ships for fifteen days in a year, each vessel having twenty-one men on board. Dover could therefore command the service of four hundred and twenty mariners. Every burgess in Lewes compounded for a payment of twenty shillings when the king fitted out a fleet to keep the sea. At Oxford the king could command the services of twenty burgesses whenever he went on an expedition; or they might compound for their services by a payment of twenty pounds. Oxford was a considerable place at this period. It contained upward of seven hundred houses; but four hundred and seventy-eight were so desolated that they could pay no dues. Hereford was the king's demesne; and the honor of being his immediate tenants appears to have been qualified by considerable exactions. When he went to war, and when he went to hunt, men were to be ready for his service. If the wife of a burgher brewed his ale, he paid tenpence. The smith who kept a forge had to make nails from the king's iron. In Hereford, as in other cities, there were moneyers, or coiners. They were seven at Hereford, who were bound to coin as much of the king's silver into pence as he demanded. How the operations of this provincial mint were conducted may be seen from an ancient sculpture of a coiner at work. At Cambridge the burgesses were compelled to lend the sheriff their ploughs. Leicester was bound to find the king a hawk, or to pay ten pounds; while a sumpter, or baggage-horse, was compounded for at one pound. At Warwick there were two hundred and twenty-five houses on which the king and his barons claimed tax; and nineteen houses belonged to free burgesses. The dues were paid in honey and corn. In Shrewsbury there were two hundred and fifty-two houses belonging to burgesses; but the burgesses complained that they were called upon to pay as much tax as in the time of the Confessor, although Earl Roger had taken possession of extensive lands for building his castle. Chester was a port in which the king had his dues upon every cargo; and where he had fines whenever a trader was detected in using a false measure. The fraudulent female brewer of adulterated beer was placed in the cucking-stool, a degradation afterward reserved for scolds. This city has a more particular notice as to laws and customs in the time of the Confessor than any other place in the Survey. Particular care seems to have been taken against fire. The owner of a house on fire not only paid a fine to the king, but forfeited two shillings to his nearest neighbor. Marten-skins appear to have been a great article of trade in this city. No stranger could part goods within a particular part of the city without being subjected to a forfeiture of four shillings, or two oxen, to the bishop. We find, as might be expected, no mention of that peculiar architecture of Chester called the "Rows," which has so puzzled antiquarian writers. The probability is, that in a place so exposed to the attacks of the Welsh they were intended for defence. The low streets in which the Rows are situated have the road considerably beneath them, like the cutting of a railway; and from the covered-way of the Rows an enemy in the road beneath might be assailed with great advantage. In the civil wars of Charles I. the possession of the Rows by the Royalists, or Parliamentary troops, was fiercely contested. Of their antiquity there is no doubt. They probably belong to the same period as the Castle. The wall of Chester and the bridge were kept in repair, according to the Survey, by the service of one laborer for every hide of land in the county. It is to be remarked, that in all the cities and burghs the inhabitants are described as belonging to the king, or a bishop, or a baron. Many, even in the most privileged places, were attached to particular manors.

* Introduction to "Domesday," folio, p. xxxiv.

The Domesday Survey shows that in some towns there was an admixture of Norman and English burgesses; and it is clear that they were so settled after the Conquest, for a distinction is made between the old customary dues of the place and those the foreigner should pay. The foreigner had to bear a small addition to the ancient charge. No doubt the Norman clung to many of the habits of his own land; and the Saxon unwillingly parted with those of the locality in which his fathers had lived. But their manners were gradually assimilated. The Normans grew fond of the English beer, and the English adopted the Norman dress.

The Survey of 1085 affords the most complete evidence of the extent to which the Normans had possessed themselves of the landed property of the country. The ancient demesnes of the Crown consisted of fourteen hundred and twenty-two manors. But the king had confiscated the properties of Godwin, Harold, Algar, Edwin, Morcar, and other great Saxon earls; and his revenues thus became enormous. Ordericus Vitalis states, with a minuteness that seems to imply the possession of official information, that "the king himself received daily one and sixty pounds thirty thousand pence and three farthings sterling money, from his regular revenues in England alone, independently of presents, fines for offences, and many other matters which constantly enrich a royal treasury." The numbers of manors held by the favorites of the Conqueror would appear incredible, if we did not know that these great nobles were grasping and unscrupulous; indulging the grossest sensuality with a pretence of refinement; limited in their perpetration of injustice only by the extent of their power; and so blinded by their pride as to call their plunder their inheritance. Ten Norman chiefs who held under the Crown are enumerated in the survey, as possessing two thousand eight hundred and twenty manors.*

That this enormous transfer of property did not take place without the most formidable resistance, has been already shown. But when a period of tranquillity arrived came the era of castle-building. The Saxons had their rude fortresses and intrenched earth-works. But solid walls of stone, for defence and residence, were to become the local seats of regal and baronial domination. "Domesday" contains notices of forty-nine castles; but only one is mentioned as having existed in the time of Edward the Confessor. Some which the Conqueror is known to have built are not noticed in the survey. Among these is the White Tower of London. The site of Rochester Castle is mentioned. These two buildings are associated by our old antiquaries as being erected by the same architect. Stow says, "I find in a fair register-book of the acts of the bishops of Rochester, set down by Edmund of Hadenham, that William I., surnamed Conqueror, builded the Tower of London, to wit, the great white and square tower there, about the year of Christ 1078, appointing Gundulph, then Bishop of Rochester, to be principal surveyor and overseer of that work, who was for that time lodged in the house of Edmere, a burghess of London." The chapel in the White Tower is a remarkable specimen of early Norman architecture. The keep of Rochester Castle, so picturesquely situated on the Medway, was not a mere fortress without domestic convenience. Here we still look upon the remains of sculptured columns and arches. We see where there were spacious fire-places in the walls, and how each of four floors was served with water by a well. The third story contains the most ornamental portions of the building. In the "Domesday" enumeration of castles, we have repeated mention of houses destroyed, and lands wasted, for their erection. At Cambridge, twenty-seven houses are recorded to have been thus demolished. This was the fortress to overawe the fen districts. At Lincoln a hundred and sixty-six mansions were destroyed, "on account of the castle." In the ruins of all these castles we may trace their general plan. There was an outer court, an inner court, and a keep. Round the whole area was a wall, with parapets and loopholes. The entrance was defended by an outwork, or barbican. The prodigious strength of the keep is the most remarkable characteristic of these fortresses; and thus many of these towers remain, stripped of every interior fitting by time, but as untouched in their solid construction as the mounts upon which they stand. We ascend the steep steps which lead to the ruined keep of Carisbrook, with all our historical associations directed to the confinement of Charles I. in this castle. But this fortress was registered in "Domesday Book." Five centuries and a half had elapsed between William I. and James I. The Norman keep was out of harmony with the principles of the seventeenth century, as much as the feudal prerogatives to which Charles unhappily clung.

We have thus enumerated, as briefly as possible, some of the more prominent statistics of this ancient survey, which are truly as much matter of history as the events of this beginning of the Norman period. There is one more feature of this "Domesday Book" which we cannot pass over. The number of parish churches in England in the eleventh century will, in some degree, furnish an indication of the amount of religious instruction. By some most extraordinary exaggeration, the number of these churches has been stated to be above forty-five thousand. In "Domesday," the number enumerated is a little above seventeen hundred. No doubt this enumeration is extremely imperfect. Very nearly half of all the churches put down are found in Lincolnshire, Norfolk, and Suffolk. The register, in some cases, gives the amount of land with which the church was endowed. Bosham, in Sussex, the estate of Harold, had, in the time of King Edward, a hundred and twelve hides of land. At the date of the survey it had sixty-five hides. This was an enormous endowment. Some churches had five acres only; some fifty; some a hundred. Some are without land altogether. But whether the endowment be large or small, here is the evidence of a church planted upon the same foundation as the monarchy, that of territorial possessions.

The politic ruler of England had, in the completion of "Domesday Book," possessed himself of the most perfect instrument for the profitable administration of his government. He was no longer working in the dark, whether he called out soldiers or levied taxes. He had carried through a great measure rapidly, and with a minuteness which puts to shame some of our clumsy modern statistics. We were guessing at the number of our population until the beginning of this century. We are still guessing how much corn is grown upon our lands, what is pasture, what is wood, and how many sheep and oxen are maintained. In the Chapter-House at Westminster, the two vellum books of eight centuries ago presented to the administrators for whom they were prepared a more complete view of the material condition of the country than we have at this hour. But the Conqueror did not want his vellum books for the gratification of official curiosity. He went to work when he knew how many tenants-in-chief he could command, and how many men they could bring into the field. He instituted the great feudal principle of knight-service. His ordinance is in these words: "We command that all earls, barons, knights, sergeants, and freemen be always provided with horses and arms as they ought, and that they be always ready to perform to us their whole service, in manner as they owe it to us of right for their fees and tenements, and as we have appointed to them by the common council of our whole kingdom, and as we have granted to them in fee with right of inheritance." These words, "in fee, with right of inheritance," leave no doubt that the great vassals of the crown were absolute proprietors, and that all their subvassals had the same right of holding in perpetuity. The estate, however, reverted to the crown, if the race of the original feoffee became extinct, and in cases, also, of felony and treason. When Alain of Bretagne, who commanded the rear of the army at the battle of Hastings, and who had received four hundred and forty-two manors, bowed before the king at Salisbury, at the great council in 1085, and swore to be true to him against all manner of men, he also brought with him his principal *land-sittende* men (landowners), who also bowed before the king and became his men. They had previously taken the oath of fealty to Alain of Bretagne, and engaged to perform all the customs and services due to him for their lands and tenements. Alain and his men, were proprietors, but with very unequal rights. Alain, by his tenure, was bound to provide for the king as many armed horsemen as the vast extent of his estates demanded. But all those whom he had enfeoffed, or made proprietors, upon his four hundred and forty-two manors, were each bound to contribute a proportionate number. When the free service of forty days was to be enforced, the great earl had only to send round to his vassals, and the men were at his command. By this organization, which was universal throughout the kingdom, sixty thousand cavalry could, with little delay, be called into the field. Those who held by this military ser-

* See the detailed number in Introduction to "Domesday," p. lxxii.

vice had their allotments divided into so many knight's fees, and each knight's fee was to furnish one mounted and armed soldier. The great vassals retained a portion of their land as their demesnes, having tenants who paid rents and performed services not military. But, under any circumstances, the vassal of the crown was bound to perform his whole free service with men and horses and arms. It is perfectly clear that this wonderful organization rendered the whole system of government one great confederacy, in which the small proprietors, tenants, and villeins, had not a chance of independence; and that their condition could only be ameliorated by those gradual changes which result from a long intercourse between the strong and the weak, in which power relaxes its severity and becomes protection.

In the ordinance in which the king commanded "free service," he also says, "we will that all the freemen of the kingdom possess their lands in peace, free from all tallage and unjust exaction." This, unhappily for the freemen, was little more than a theory under the Norman kings. There were various modes of making legal exaction the source of the grossest injustice. When the heir of an estate entered into possession, he had to pay "a relief," or "heriot," to the lord. This soon became a source of oppression in the crown; and enormous sums were exacted from the great vassals. The lord was not more sparing of his men. He had another mode of extortion. He demanded "aid" on many occasions, such as the marriage of his eldest daughter, or when he made his eldest son a knight. The estate of inheritance, which looks so generous and equitable an arrangement, was a perpetual grievance; for the possessor could neither transmit his property by will nor transfer it by sale. The heir, however remote in blood, was the only legitimate successor. The feudal obligation to the lord was, in many other ways, a fruitful source of tyranny, which lasted up to the time of the Stuarts. If the heir were a minor, the lord entered into temporary possession of the estate, without any accountability. If it descended to a female, the lord could compel her to marry according to his will, or could prevent her marrying. During a long period all these harassing obligations connected with property were upheld. The crown and the nobles were equally interested in their enforcement; and there can be little doubt that, though the great vassals sometimes suffered under these feudal obligations to the king, the inferior tenants had a much greater amount of oppression to endure at the hands of their immediate lords. But if the freemen were oppressed in the tenure of their property, we can scarcely expect that the landless man had not much more to suffer. If he committed an offence in the Saxon time, he paid a "mulct;" if in the Norman, he was subjected to an "*amerciament.*" His whole personal estate was at the mercy of the lord.

Having thus obtained a general, however imperfect, notion of the system of society established in less than twenty years after the Conquest, we see that there was nothing wanting to complete the most entire subjection of the great body of the nation. What had been wanting was accomplished in the practical working out of the theory, that the entire land of the country belonged to the king. It was now established that every tenant-in-chief should do homage to the king; that every superior tenant should do homage to his lord; that every villein should be the bondman of the free; and that every slave should, without any property however limited and insecure, be the absolue chattel of some master. The whole system was connected with military service. This was the feudal system. There was some resemblance to it in parts of the Saxon organization; but under that organization there was so much of freedom in the allodial or free tenure of land that a great deal of other freedom went with it. The casting-off of the chains of feudality was the labor of six centuries.

CHAPTER XVI.

Burning of Mantes—Death-bed of the Conqueror—His funeral—Traits of his character—Coronation of William II.—Insurrection of Norman nobles in England—Ralph Flambard—Profligacy of the court of Rufus—Robert's government in Normandy—Quarrels of William and Robert—Troubles in England—Rapacity of the king—Effects upon the country—Robert pawns Normandy—The First Crusade preached by Pope Urban II.—Progress of the Crusaders—Jerusalem taken—William's Norman wars—His death in the New Forest.

King William was holding his court at Westminster in 1086. His youngest son, Henry, who is eighteen years of age, had been knighted by his father. He was the *Beau Clerc*—the lettered prince—of the family; brought up under the tuition of the learned and sagacious Archbishop Lanfranc. In the January of 1087 William returned to Normandy. He had a long-standing dispute to settle with Philip I. of France, about his claim to the territory of the Vexin, which had been dismembered from Normandy and annexed to France. The French king despised the demand of the Norman duke, and made a coarse joke about his corpulency. William, old and heavy, had still that alacrity of mind and that unconquerable will which won and kept England. He left his bed at Rouen, and in August was on his war-horse before the town of Mantes. As his army had marched along those pleasant banks of the Seine, on whose winding course the steam-borne traveller of the nineteenth century gazes with delight, the ripe corn was burned and the laden vines trodden down. The fierce soldiers took the town by assault; and fire and slaughter waited upon the ferocious duke as his accustomed ministers. The race, of which he was the greatest, cared very little for human life; but they were equally prodigal of their own lives. William, under the hot autumn sun, rode among the smouldering ruins of the burning town. His horse fell, with his bulky rider, who received a severe injury and was carried back to Rouen. The hour was approaching when the great ones of the earth feel that their glory is a very unsubstantial thing; and when some human emotions mingle with the pride and cruelty which have separated them from mankind. The death-bed of William, according to the chroniclers, was a death-bed of repentance. He had always made a profession of religion, and he was now surrounded by bishops and confessors. He spoke, it is related, of the rivers of blood he had shed. He lamented his barbarities in England. We are somewhat sceptical about the authenticity of his dying oration. His two sons, William and Henry, were around their father. Robert, the elder, was at the court of France. He whom his fathers and brothers used to ridicule for his short legs—the Gambaron or Curt-hose—had a nobler nature than the brutal Rufus or the crafty Beau Clerc. But the king hated him. Still he could not deny him his right to the inheritance of Normandy. To William he recommended an instant journey to England to secure possession of the crown. To Henry, who was then only eighteen years of age, he bequeathed five thousand pounds of silver. He commanded the release of some whom he held in captivity—among whom was earl Morcar. His forgiveness of Odo was most reluctantly wrung from him. The great duke and king suddenly expired, on the morning of the 9th of September, as the cathedral bell of Rouen was tolling the hour of prime. The moment he was gone his attendants laid hands on robes and linen, plate and armor; and the Conqueror was left, to point the same moral of the vanity of grandeur, and the heartlessness of flatterers and favorites, that has been drawn from kingly death-beds, even up to our own times. The grave of William was as remarkable for an extraordinary occurrence as the deserted chamber of death. He had founded the church of St. Etienne at Caen. It was consecrated in 1077, amid the most gorgeous ceremonies. The west front of the original building, with two high and solid towers, still remains. Here was brought the body of the king, by barge from Rouen. Being about to be lowered into the earth—in the presence of a few, for a fire had broken out in the town—Ascelin, the son of Arthur, cried out, that the land upon which they stood was the yard belonging to his father's house, and that the Duke of Normandy had seized it, by an exercise of tyranny. "I therefore," said the bold man, "openly demand its restitution, and in God's name I forbid the body of the spoiler being covered with earth which is my inheritance." Ordericus thus sums up the closing scene of the life of the Conqueror: "A king, once potent and warlike, and the terror of numberless inhabitants of many provinces, lay naked on the floor, deserted by those who owed him their birth, and those he had fed and enriched. He needed the money of a stranger for the cost of his funeral, and a coffin and bearers were provided, at the expense of an ordinary person, for him, who till then had been in the enjoyment of enormous wealth. He was carried to the church, amid

flaming houses, by trembling crowds, and a spot of freehold land was wanting for the grave of one whose princely sway had extended over so many cities, and towns, and villages."

The Saxon chronicler, from whom we have quoted a passage or two bearing hardly upon the character of the Conqueror, has put some of his merits in a fair point of view. He says, "King William was a very wise man." He was "rich," and "worshipful," and "strong," according to the same authority; but these would have availed him little had he been wanting in sagacity. His ferocity is contrasted with "his mildness to good men who loved God." Whatever violence was exercised by the powerful, he forcibly put down that system of private violence which was a part of the old Germanic habits and traditions: "No man durst slay another man, though he had suffered never so mickle evil from the other." In Alfred's time, the right of private vengeance, in certain cases, was legally recognized. However, the Norman chiefs plundered the Saxon, in the guise of feudal rights, the vulgar plunderer was mercilessly punished, "So that a man, that was good for aught, might travel over the kingdom with his bosom full of gold, without molestation." His pride, his avarice, his severity, are prominent characteristics of this man; but we must look at him in connection with the times in which he lived, and the circumstances he had to control; and admire the pious chronicler who sums up his merits and demerits, by praying that God would "grant him of his sins forgiveness."

The "Red King" was crowned at Westminster on the 26th September, 1087. He was on his road to England while his father was dying. But there were difficulties in his elevation to the throne, which would probably not have been easily overcome had not Archbishop Lanfranc moved the whole power of the church in his behalf. The principle of elevation to the sovereignty was not relaxed. As the elder brother, Robert would have had a clearer title, the doubts that hung over the accession of the younger were very considerable. But, beyond this, the severance of the crowns of England and Normandy could not have been agreeable to many of the Norman barons. If the severance could have been maintained, the destinies of the island-kingdom might have been changed at an earlier period.

The first proceedings of William II. gave evidence of his character. The death-bed clemency of the Conqueror had bestowed freedom on Morcar, and on Wolfnoth the brother of Harold. They followed Rufus to England; and he rewarded their confidence by immediate imprisonment. He had greater dangers to apprehend from the Norman chiefs. Some of the more powerful were strongly against a divided sovereignty. They had large possessions in both countries. If they clung to William, Robert would seize upon their Norman estates. If they clung to Robert, William would seize upon their English estates. Robert was of an easy temper; William was arrogant. Odo and others therefore tendered their allegiance to Duke Robert. An insurrection very soon broke out in different quarters. It is worthy of special remark that the English, almost universally, supported the young king. We may attribute this not only to the oppressions they had endured from the Norman chieftains, but to a far-seeing policy, chiefly derived from the churchmen. The bold and haughty Rufus, as a sole king of England, was to be upheld, in preference to the indolent and pliant Robert, as joint sovereign of England and Normandy. It was a part of the old Saxon nationality, subdued, but not extinct. William raised a large army and besieged Odo, who was the most formidable of the conspirators, in Rochester Castle, after a previous encounter at Pevensey. There were five hundred Normans shut up in the stronghold of the Medway, with the Bishop of Bayeux, and Eustace of Boulogne, and other powerful leaders. It was the height of summer, and the heat, and the vitiated atmosphere of the castle, produced disease, and a plague like one of those of Egypt—the plague of "innumerable flies." At length the garrison was allowed to capitulate; and the Norman revolters marched out, amid the English cry of "a gallows for the bishop." Odo never returned; and his enormous possessions were confiscated. The other disaffected nobles and bishops were subdued or propitiated.

In 1089, Lanfranc, the archbishop of Canterbury, died. To his firmness and moderation William II. was mainly indebted for his throne; and, during the short time in which Lanfranc was his adviser, the more prominent evils of the king's character were kept in subjection. William appointed no successor to the archbishop, but held the revenues of the see in his own hands. He soon found a more congenial minister than Lanfranc. There was in his court a Norman clerk, of the name of Ralph, of handsome person and fluent speech, sensual and ambitious. So the old writers describe him; and they tell us that the king's steward—*dispensator* (from whose title came the family name of Despenser), gave Ralph the sobriquet of Flambard; "for, like a devouring flame, he tormented the people, and turned the daily chants of the church into lamentations."* He was a subtle financier. He managed to swell the king's revenues by a stricter admeasurement of the lands of the kingdom than that of "Domesday Book." He was perhaps not altogether wrong in this strictness; for we learn from Ingulphus that the commissioners who prepared the first survey "showed a kind and benevolent feeling toward our monastery, and did not value the monastery at its true revenue, nor yet at its exact extent, and thus, in their compassion, took due precautions against the future exactions of the kings." The simple Abbot of Croyland did not calculate upon the presence of "the destructive torch," to throw a light upon these little secrets of official management. In other state matters, Flambard and his master seized church properties, and made exactions upon the laity, with no pretence of justice. Malmesbury has given a strong picture of these times. There was no man rich except the money-changer; no clerk, unless he was a lawyer. The halter was loosened from the robber's neck if he could promise any gain to the king. The courtiers consumed the substance of the country people. The state of manners at the court of Rufus is described as the most disgusting mixture of folly and licentiousness. The extravagant fashions of dress are amusingly detailed by Ordericus. The shoes were long-peaked, turned up like a ram's horn, instead of the "shoes with round toes, fitted to the foot, which were in common use by rich and poor, clergy and laity." These most inconvenient marks of gentility kept their place for three centuries. The courtiers of Rufus, too, wore long robes and mantles; muffled their hands with gloves that prevented their doing anything useful; and their flowing locks were curled with hot irons. These extravagances are denounced with an honest vehemence by the monk of St. Evroult, and he contrasts these absurd and costly fashions with the proprieties of "a modest dress, well fitted to the proportions of the body, and convenient for riding and walking, and for all active employments, as common-sense dictated." The "wealthy curled darlings" passed their time in banqueting and drunkenness, in idle talk and gambling. It might be a question if the silly and enervated parasites of Rufus were not more endurable than the crafty and tyrannous warriors of the Conqueror, did we not know that the caterpillars that devour the leaves and blossoms of the vineyard are more destructive than the boar that roots up the vine.

Robert, duke of Normandy, was doing wrong to his commonwealth, after a different mode from William, king of England. Robert was destroying the resources of the state by improvident liberality. He had sold a third part of his duchy, the province of Cotentin, to his brother Henry, under some financial pressure; while his kind brother of England was using every intrigue to dispossess him of all that was left of his dominions, and had already obtained possession of fortresses on the right bank of the Seine. In 1090 the city of Rouen was incited to insurrection, chiefly by the bribes and promises of William. Henry came to the aid of Robert, although they had previously quarrelled; and through his determined boldness the revolt was quelled. The townsmen were divided. Some fought for the king, and some for the duke. The revolters against the ducal government were led by Conan, a rich burgess of Rouen. The revolt was put down, and he was taken prisoner, and led to the castle. Then Prince Henry took him to the summit of a tower, and bade him look upon the beautiful prospect beneath them—the wooded glades of the park on the south bank of the river—the vessels laden with merchandise—the populous city, with its high walls, and rich churches, and stately houses. "These are the things of which you desired to be master," said the prince to the citizen. "Take all my wealth for ransom," cried the trembling prisoner. "By the soul of my mother, I will take no ransom;" and with these words the strong youth seized the wretched man, and threw him headlong from the lofty window. Ordericus tells this story, and

* "Ordericus Vitalis," book viii. c. 8.

adds, "The place where the deed of vengeance was wrought is called to this day 'Conan's Leap.'"

Robert, the duke, had many affairs on his hands at this period. When he was roused by war he appears to have been foremost in battle and siege. In 1090 he is besieging Brionne, and setting fire to the castle by arrows whose steel points were made red-hot in a furnace. In 1091 he is before Courci, where the garrison made a resolute defence. Red-hot arrows are weapons of war not very common in the middle ages; but at the siege of Courci, the Norman duke employed a mode of offence which became common enough before the practice of warfare had been wholly changed by the invention of gunpowder. "He caused a vast machine called a belfry (*berfredum*), to be erected over against the castle-walls, and filled it with all kinds of warlike instruments."* These sieges and slaughterings arose out of the unhappy condition of the ducal dominions, which the historians attribute to the pride and ambition of the Norman nobles, bloated with the ill-gotten wealth of England. Robert, however, was freed awhile from the rapacity of Rufus. The king passed many months in Normandy, during the year 1091; and the brothers came to terms of agreement for their future government. Edgar the Atheling is still upon the stage; and he is now deprived of his estates in Normandy, and compelled to seek an asylum in Scotland. The king and the duke have now grown jealous of Henry, who has put his five thousand crowns to such good interest that he has become formidable. Among several strong castles, he has secured Mount St. Michael, although obliged to abandon other fortresses. Here, on this lofty rock, which stands, twice in the day, amid a plain of sand, and twice encompassed with tidal waters, Henry bade defiance to the assaults of armies. But the waters which surrounded the castle were useless to allay the cravings of his famished garrison, and he was finally obliged to capitulate. There are two occurrences during this siege which are told by Malmesbury as characteristic of the king and the duke. William was unhorsed by a soldier, who was about to kill him, when he cried out, "Hold, rascal, I am the king of England." The king was spared, and the soldier rewarded. Robert, having learned that Henry was suffering in the beleaguered castle, with his men, contrived that they should obtain some water, at which the less tender William was enraged. "Oh, shame," said Robert, "should I permit my brother to die of thirst? and where shall we find another if we lose him?"

In 1092 the king returned to England, accompanied by the duke of Normandy. During his absence, Malcolm, the king of Scotland, had invaded the northern counties; and William hastened to drive him back. The armies met in Lothian; but a peace was concluded. On the return to the south the English king seized Carlisle, which had been considered an appanage of the crown of Scotland. Here he founded a colony, and built the present castle. Another quarrel was the consequence; and Malcolm, after having met the English king at Gloucester, and resisted his claims, invaded Northumberland. Here the unfortunate king of Scotland, and his son Edward, were killed in a sudden surprise—some say by treachery. The good Queen Margaret survived her husband and son only four days.

Duke Robert had come to England to obtain indemnity for possessions which he had surrendered in Normandy. He obtained nothing. According to the custom of chivalry, Robert sent to England two heralds to denounce his faithless brother as a perjured knight. William, like many other guilty men, would bear no imputation upon his honor, and went to Normandy to submit the points in dispute to arbitration. Twenty-four Norman barons decided against him. He then resolved upon war, and collected a large army at Hastings. The chroniclers say that the unscrupulous financier, Ralph Flambard, made this a new pretence of extortion. The war with Robert was not undertaken; and the soldiers were dismissed to their homes, upon making a handsome contribution to the wants of the king. He had more bribery to accomplish in Normandy. But he suddenly returned home, to put down an outbreak of the Welsh; to which succeeded an insurrection of the nobles in the north. Rufus was as energetic and as merciless as his father; and the dangers were averted.

But there was a new arrangement between the rival brothers which was eventually to unite England and Normandy again under one king. Robert, in 1096, pawned his dukedom to William for five years. The mortgage-money of ten thousand pounds was, of course, to be paid by the people of the island. William and Robert are once more bound in hollow friendship, bought by "an edict for an intolerable tax throughout England."*

The quarrels and the reconciliations of these turbulent princes would have little interest for us in these days, if we did not regard them from a higher point of view than that of their personal relations. Whatever these individuals do or suffer, the great body of the people is in some degree affected by their movements. In 1091, William, as we have seen, went to Normandy to cajole Robert, and to bribe Robert's supporters. He had a large revenue, but he required more money, and he levied a severe tax throughout the kingdom. Was it a tax which the rich and the powerful alone paid out of their abundance? Malmesbury writes thus of the year 1092: "On account of the heavy tribute which the king, while in Normandy, had levied, agriculture failed; of which failure the immediate consequence was a famine. This also gaining ground, a mortality ensued, so general that the dying wanted attendance, and the dead burial." Agriculture failed, because the king had appropriated the capital which was stored up for the maintenance of agriculture. The lands were untilled one year, and famine inevitably followed. The poverty produced by exorbitant taxation, and by abstracting all the surplus wealth of the country, without a chance of its returning through the channels of commerce, kept the towns as poor as the fields were barren. In 1091 London was so meanly and unsubstantially built that six hundred houses were blown down by a violent whirlwind. In 1092 the greater part of London was destroyed by fire. Hoveden, who records these calamities, gives us no description of the houses that were blown down or burned. No doubt they were wretched wooden hovels, such as were common enough in England and every other European country, till the peaceable and industrious many had become too numerous and too strong any longer to bear the oppressions of the arrogant and luxurious few. It was a long and difficult process to work this change; but we shall find how, amid all the misery and isolation of the feudal state, the great principles of modern society were gradually evolved, and a free and flourishing nation arose out of the chaotic relations of tyrant and bondman.

The mortgage of Normandy to William was connected with one of the most wonderful stirrings of the human heart that has been recorded in the history of mankind. The money of which William stripped his people, to pay the stipulated price to Robert for the surrender of his dominions—to raise which he even compelled the churchmen to bring to him their golden shrines and silver chalices—this price was nothing compared with the property that was devoted by the people of Europe for the recovery of Jerusalem from the infidels. "Whatever was stored in granaries, or hoarded in chambers," says Malmesbury, "all was deserted." Robert of Normandy was one of the leaders of the First Crusade. "It was one of those events," writes Guizot, "which change the condition of the people."

It is recorded that, on the night of the 4th of April, 1095, Gilbert, Bishop of Lisieux, in Normandy, who had been chaplain and physician to William the Conqueror, observing that remarkable phenomenon of innumerable falling stars which is now familiar to us at particular seasons, interpreted the appearance as a portent of an immense emigration of people from one country to another, from which they would never return till the stars came back to their place in the heavens.† In November of the same year, Pope Urban II. attended the great council of Clermont, in Auvergne; and from a lofty scaffold in the market-place of Clermont preached the Crusade to assembled thousands. A vast multitude had arrived from all the surrounding districts—princes, bishops, nobles, knights, priests, burgesses, and rustics. For a zealous missionary had gone through Italy and France, and had proclaimed in every land that the Holy Sepulchre, which Christian pilgrims had freely visited from the days of Haroun Alraschid, was now closed against them by the Turk who had conquered Syria; and that the servants of the cross were massacred, plundered, sold into slavery. This was Peter of Amiens, known as Peter the Hermit.‡ It was in the power of this man, mean

* "Ordericus Vitalis," book viii. c. 16.

* Malmesbury, book iv. c. 1.

† "Ordericus Vitalis," book ix. c. 2.

‡ This common title was derived from his family name of L'Ermite.

of person, but gifted with that eloquence which is more potent than any physical superiority, to rouse a spirit in prince and people which had the character of universality. Before this time there was no common bond among the Christian communities of Europe—no prevailing sentiment which could unite the governments, and still less the people, in any general course of action. The extension of the Mohammedan empire was dreaded; but no state was strong enough to encounter the danger single-handed; and no confederacy of states could be constructed amid the jealousies and hatreds of their ambitious rulers. Not only was any political unity impossible among many nations, but a common political sentiment was equally impossible among the classes of any one nation. But a vast European confederation for obtaining the freedom of Christian worship in the land which the Redeemer and his apostles had trodden, was an idea that seized upon the minds of men in all countries and of all classes, with a force which those only cannot comprehend who measure the character of a past age by the principles and feelings of their own age. When Pope Urban, from his lofty platform in the market-place of Clermont, called out to the chieftains and warriors, "Go, and employ, in nobler warfare, that valor and that sagacity which you have been used to waste in civil broils," he addressed himself to that love of excitement which, as much as the love of plunder, had called forth the lord from the monotony of his solitary castle, gladly to encounter the perils of "civil broils," rather than to dream away his life in wearisome idleness. None of the resources of modern society could give a relish to the existence of the feudal chief. The chase and the carousal, day by day, and year by year—the same priest at the mass; the same wife at the distaff; the same jester at the banquet—no books, no intelligent converse, no regular communication with the surrounding world, no care for the education of children, no solicitude for the welfare of dependants—a dark tower for a dwelling, with neighbors whom he despised and persecuted—this was an existence for the lord of many manors that those who command the humblest of the manifold conveniences and pleasures of modern times need not envy. The prospect of visiting far-off and famous lands; of fighting against heathen miscreants; of returning with wealth and glory; or of dying in the assured hope of felicity; made the Crusade as welcome to the feudal lord as the gayest tournament. Nor was it less welcome to those whom Urban addressed, not as leaders in the enterprise, but as humble followers: "Let no love of relations detain you; for man's chiefest love is toward God. Let no attachment to your native soil be an impediment; because, in different points of view, all the world is exile to the Christian, and all the world his country." Attachment to his native soil would scarcely be an impediment to the lord's humble vassal; for the produce of the soil was scanty, and what he reaped he could rarely gather into his own homestead. If he could find another country where the prince would not rob the lord, and the lord would not grind the tenant—where the earth ripened her fruits beneath warmer suns, and man required less sustenance to be earned by unremitting labor—there would he gladly go. The burgher, who crouched under the hill-castle of the proud earl, and did his servile work of smith-craft or carpentry, with small pay and heavy dues, would dream of a land where ignorant misbelievers lived in glorious mansions, rich with all the wealth of the East—for so the pilgrims told of the Asiatic cities—and that wealth might be his. The foot-soldier, before whom the mounted men—the favored of the earls—looked with contempt, would warm into a hero when the Pope spake of the Turks, who fought at a distance with poisoned arrows—the thin-blooded people, over whom the stalwart children of the West would make an easy conquest. To the feudal lord, to the tenant of his demesne, to the burgess of his town, to the common soldier who watched upon his ramparts—the Crusade would offer the strongest incentives to the worldly-minded as well as to the enthusiastic. The mixture of motives made every crusader more or less alive to the higher influences. If wealth was not to be won, and new homes were not to be conquered, there were unearthly mansions prepared for the soldiers of the cross. With one voice, therefore, the people in the market-place of Clermont shouted—*Deus lo volt; Deus lo volt.* "It is, indeed, the will of God," said the Pope. "Let that acclamation be your battle-cry. Wear the cross as your sign and your solemn pledge."

The great army of the East was to be gathered together from all nations, by another year. But the impatience of the people would not wait for arms or leaders. In the March of 1096 a vast multitude set forward from France, gathering fresh crowds as they proceeded. The wonderful scenes of that year have been described by eye-witnesses. The peasant shod his oxen like horses, and, yoking them to a cart, migrated with his wife and children; and the children, whenever they approached a town, cried out—"Is this Jerusalem?" Lands were abandoned. Houses and chattels were sold for ready money by townsmen and husbandmen. The passion to reach Jerusalem extinguished all ordinary love of gain, and absorbed every other motive for exertion. Where Jerusalem was situate was to many a mystery. It was a far-distant land which a few pious and adventurous spirits had attained by difficult paths, over mountains and through deserts, and had returned to tell of its wonders and its dangers. It was a land where the fierce heathen kept possession of the holy seats which they despised, and where impure rites and demoniacal enchantments polluted the birthplace of the one true religion. The desire to see that land, if not to possess it, went through the most remote parts of Christian Europe. Wales, Scotland, Denmark, and Norway sent out their thousands, to join the great body that were moving on to the Rhine and the Danube. As they passed through the populous cities of Germany, the spirit of fanatical hatred which belonged to that age incited the multitude to pillage and massacre the Jews; and the best protectors of the unhappy race were the Christian bishops. This irregular host reached the frontiers of Austria, and then had to traverse the vast forests and morasses of Hungary and Bulgaria. Undisciplined, ill-provided, incumbered with women and children, their numbers had gradually been wasted by hunger and fatigue. They were led in two divisions, one of which was commanded by Peter the Hermit, the other by a soldier named Walter the Penniless. They irritated the inhabitants of the wild countries through which they passed, and suffered the most terrible defeats in Bulgaria. These were not the warlike bands that followed, under renowned and able leaders, in all the pomp and power of chivalry. In this irregular army there were only eight horsemen to fifteen thousand foot. At last the remnant of the hundred thousand that had undertaken this perilous journey reached Constantinople. The emperor would have treated them with kindness, but they began to plunder the beautiful city, and they were driven out to seek the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus. They here renewed their devastations, uncontrolled by any respect for their leader, Walter, or any care for their own safety; and they were finally routed and cut to pieces by the Turks. The regular army of the crusaders at length approached Asia under the commanders whom history and poetry have made famous—Godfrey of Bouillon, Hugh of Vermamdois, Robert of Normandy, Robert of Flanders, Stephen of Chartres, Raymond of Toulouse, the ambitious Bohemond, and the accomplished Tancred. They came by different routes from their several countries. The history of their progress belongs not to our narrative. It was more than three years after Pope Urban had preached the crusade at Clermont that Jerusalem fell, and the Holy Sepulchre was free. A terrible massacre disgraced this Christian triumph; and while the merciless conquerors knelt upon the sacred earth, they showed how little they comprehended the spirit of the religion whose sign they bore in that great warfare. But it is not the crimes of the fanatical warriors who won the Holy Land, or the rashness of the ignorant multitudes who preceded them, that should lead us to speak of the Crusades "as the most signal and most durable monument of human folly, that has ever yet appeared in any age or nation."* One who looks upon history with a more extended range of vision has pointed out that "the Crusades were the continuation, the zenith, of the grand struggle which had been going on for four centuries between Christianity and Mohammedanism."† Like all other great struggles of principle, they produced the most enduring influences upon the destinies of mankind; and, marked as was their course by the display of many evil passions and many dangerous illusions, their tendency was to elevate the character of European life, and to prepare the way for the ultimate triumph of mental freedom and equal government.

While Duke Robert was at the head of his knights and their horsemen in siege and battle; enduring privations unknown to the Norman military life; exposed to diseases peculiar to a climate so differ-

* Hume. † Guizot, "Civilization in Europe."

ent from that of his own pleasant lands; William, the king, was foreclosing upon the property of Normandy like a grasping usurer. In 1095, "he crossed over the sea in the month of September, and obtaining possession of Normandy for the price he paid, trampled it under foot for nearly five years, that is, all the rest of his life." * Hume, without any distinct authority, but with a just estimate of the character of Rufus, has said, "it is likely that he made the romantic chivalry of the Crusades the object of his perpetual raillery." According to William's estimate of human affairs, his own business was to get as much as he could out of the less sordid impulses of those who fell into his toils. His borrowed dukedom, however, gave him some trouble. He renewed the old quarrel with the King of France about the Vexin territory. In the province of Maine also, which had been ceded to him, there was an obstinate baron, Helie, who was little disposed to submit to his domination, and relied upon the support of the people, by whom he was beloved. The Red King was too strong for the baron in the end. His contest in this petty war is characteristic of the energy and self-confidence which belonged to the descendant of "Robert the Devil." In 1099 William was hunting in the New Forest, when he received a message that Helie had defeated the Normans and surprised the city of Mans. Without drawing bit, he galloped to the coast, and jumped into a vessel lying at anchor. The day was stormy, and the sailors were unwilling to embark. "Sail instantly," cried the bold man, "kings are never drowned." He landed at Touques, a small port, and was soon at the head of his troops. Helie fled, without offering battle. In the siege of the castle of Maiet, William was held at bay; and finally marched back, after the accustomed fashion, "laying waste the enemy's country in every way, rooting up the vines, felling the fruit-trees, levelling walls and buildings, and ravaging the whole district, which was very rich, with fire and sword." †

In the July of 1099, at which time Duke Robert is marching into Jerusalem, King William is ravaging Maine. But he cannot leave England for long to its own guidance. Moreover, he wants more money from his island subjects; for the Duke of Guienne is willing to mortgage his dominions, that he may have the means of proceeding to the Holy Land. The ecclesiastics, too, are by no means well affected to their stern master, who had quarrelled with Anselm, the archbishop of Canterbury, and compelled him to flee from his dominions. The king has built Westminster hall—a vast room, whose roof was supported by columns—upon the site of the present noble structure, whose walls encase some of the timbers of the hall of Rufus. He has magnificent ideas; for he says that the hall shall be a mere bedroom compared with the palace which he means to build. He has erected a wall, too, around the Tower of London. Wherever he moves—and these Norman kings were constantly hurrying from city to city, and from castle to castle—the royal household plundered like an invading army. The king, in common with many other mighty tyrants, mingled jest with savagery. A Jew, whose son had become Christianized, ventures to implore William to use his influence to bring the convert back to the faith of his fathers; and the king accepts the office for a present payment. The young man will not yield, and the Jew asks the king for his money again; he obtains only half, for the magnanimous prince keeps the other half as the payment for his trouble. These, and other anecdotes of his rapacity and want of reverence for all sacred things and high principles, may be the idle tales of the cloister; but they show how the chroniclers felt that this son of the Conqueror had all the defects of his father's character, without any of his great qualities, except that of courage; and was despised as well as hated by his contemporaries. Whether this hatred and contempt led to the final catastrophe, or whether it was the result of accident, cannot now be determined. William of Malmesbury tells the story with some picturesque circumstances, of which we shall avail ourselves. The king is in Malwood keep, in the New Forest, hunting and feasting. On the 1st of August, 1100, being asked where he would keep his Christmas, he says at Poitou, for he was speculating upon the new dominion which England's money would obtain from the Duke of Guienne. That night he has had dreams; and a certain foreign ecclesiastic also dreams about the king coming into a church with menacing looks, and, insulting the symbol of religion, was struck down by the image. This is told to William, who says, "he is a monk, and dreams for money like a monk: give him a hundred shillings." But he is moved and dispirited, and will not hunt. Dinner comes, with copious draughts of wine; and then he will ride in the forest. He is alone with Walter Tyrrel. The sun is declining. The king has drawn his bow and wounded a stag; he is shading his eyes from the strong level light, when Walter, aiming at another stag, pierces the king's breast with a fatal arrow which glances from a tree. Breaking off the shaft of the arrow, William falls from his horse, and "speaks word never more." Walter immediately runs up to the body, and then leaps upon his horse, none perceiving him. A few countrymen convey the body in a cart to Winchester, and there "it was committed to the ground within the tower, attended by many of the nobles, though lamented by few." In a hall of no great antiquity in the pretty town of Lyndhurst, hangs the stirrup which tradition, from time immemorial, asserts was attached to the saddle from which Rufus fell, when struck by the arrow of Walter Tyrrel. It is recorded also that the man who picked up the body was a charcoal-burner, of the name of Purkess, living in the village of Minstead, in the forest, and that on his cart was the corpse removed to Winchester. In that village in 1843 we saw the name of Purkess over the door of a little shop; and Mr. Stewart Rose, who held an office in the forest, records that the charcoal-burner's descendants have always lived in this village, where they still live, the possessors of one horse and cart, and no more. There was a stone erected in "green Malwood," by Lord Delaware, in 1745, upon a spot where the tree is said to have stood from which the arrow of Tyrrel glanced. In the time of Leland, there was a chapel built upon the site. After our visit to this interesting and beautiful glade, which Gilpin has described as "a sweet sequestered bottom, open to the west, where the corner of a heath sinks gently into it, but sheltered on the east by a beechen grove," * we thus wrote: "It would be a wise act of the Crown to found a school here—a better way of continuing a record than Lord Delaware's stone. The history of their country, its constitution, its privileges: the duties and the rights of Englishmen—things which are not taught to the children of our laboring millions—might worthily commence to be taught on the spot where the Norman tyrant fell, leaving successors who, one by one, came to acknowledge that the people were something not to be neglected or despised."

* "Ordericus Vitalis," book x. c. 4. † Ibid., book x. c. 9.

* "Forest Scenery," vol. ii.

† "Introduction to Kalendars, etc., of the Exchequer," by Sir F. Palgrave.

CHAPTER XVII.

Prince Henry seizes the treasures of the crown—Coronation of Henry I.—Charter of Liberties—Marriage with Matilda—Duke Robert invades England—Henry punishes disaffected barons—Hostile movements of Henry in Normandy—Battle of Tinchenbrai—Battle of Noyon—Death of Queen Matilda—Eustace and Juliana—The Blanche-Nef—Geoffrey Plantagenet—Death of King Henry—Prophecies of Merlin.

On the 2d of August, in the year 1100, there was a chase from Malwood, across the New Forest, and onward to Winchester, in which chase the prey was of far greater importance than stag or boar. Henry, to whom his father gave five thousand pounds as his inheritance, with an injunction to bide his time, found that his time for accomplishing all that his loftiest ambition could desire had at length arrived. He had been riding near the spot where William fell. Immediately that the death of his brother was certain, he spurred his horse along the green glades, for a gallop of twenty miles in that autumn evening. But another horseman was at his heels. William de Breteuil, the treasurer of Rufus, divined the prince's purpose. They arrived at Winchester at the same hour. Henry hastened to the Treasury, which probably was in some strong vault of the Castle, similar to the arched chamber of the Treasury at Westminster, in the Cloister of the Abbey next the Chapter-house, in which the pix is still contained.† The prince authoritatively demanded the keys. William de Breteuil insisted that they should not be given up, saying that Prince Henry, as well as himself, had paid Robert, the elder brother, homage, and that he

was the rightful successor. Henry drew his sword, and at length, by force and persuasion, obtained the royal treasures. The next step was easy. He was crowned at Westminster on Sunday, the 5th of August.

Duke Robert, after the conquest of Jerusalem, had set out homeward. It is related that the crown of Jerusalem, which was ultimately worn by Godfrey of Bouillon, had been offered to him. He preferred his dukedom. Passing through the Norman dominions in Italy, he was cordially received at the court of Geoffrey of Conversana, in Apulia; and there, amid all the refinements of a chivalric life, he lingered long, and finally married Sibylla, the daughter of his entertainer. With his young and beauteous wife he received a marriage-portion, amply sufficient to redeem his mortgaged dukedom. They arrived in Normandy, within a few weeks after Henry was firmly seated on the throne of England.

The sovereignty of Henry was so clearly an usurpation that, with that prudence, however selfish, which belonged to his character, he sought to conciliate all classes of his subjects. He published a charter of liberties in 1101, in which he engaged to put in force the laws of Edward the Confessor, which the Anglo-Saxon race had so earnestly demanded. To the Church he promised that he would retain no vacant benefices, nor sell them, nor farm them. He granted to his immediate vassals—and required that they should grant the same to their sub-vassals—to be in future free from arbitrary exactions in the form of reliefs; that the lord should not interfere with the marriage of their daughters; and that heiresses and widows should not be compelled to marry against their will.* He, however, retained the royal forests and the forest laws. It was a very large concession to the public good. Like many subsequent charters and ordinances, it soon became inoperative in many of its provisions.

It is now thirty-five years since the Conquest. A generation has passed away, to whom the name of Norman was odious. Two kings have gone to their account, with whom the name of Saxon was associated with the character of slave. The third king of the Norman race is, probably, as little English in his heart as his father and brother; but he knows how essential the English support is to his safety. The reign of Henry is not a struggle against the resistance of the Saxons, but a perpetual conflict against the disaffection of the Normans. There is a gradual progress, therefore, toward the condition in which the Normans should become Anglicized, and Norman domination should be lost in English independence. The transition state of the period of Henry I. is, in many respects, one of the most interesting of our history. It is not marked by any very great events. The course of political action is, in its general character, monotonous and languid. There is a perpetual contest of local and class interests. The battle of feudal selfishness is chiefly removed from the island to the continent. England has a long rest from the devastations of war, though she knows its cost. The Church is becoming a great power, that stands between the people and their tyrants, and which upholds, though in no slavish spirit, the one regal tyrant as the lesser evil. There are several contemporary historians of this period; and out of their narratives, the more trustworthy in proportion as they are rambling and ill-digested, may be constructed a tolerably complete view of the first half of the twelfth century.

The court of Rufus had been contemptible for its unscrupulous profligacy. While his father, amid all his self-will and ferocity, had manifested a respect for the decencies of life and the sanctities of religion, his successor had offended the churchmen by his profaneness, and the laity by his licentiousness. Surrounded by men of abandoned lives, his scurrilous jests and his brutal voluptuousness made him as odious as his energetic tyranny made him dreaded. Henry lived in that court, and he partook of its voluptuousness, while his cultivated intellect revolted at its grossness. He had many of the high qualities of his father, with an amount of adroit duplicity which his father scarcely condescended to exercise. Upon his accession he purged his government of the evil ministers of his brother's pleasures and the corrupt administrators of his oppressive exactions. Ralph Flambard, the bishop of Durham, who was particularly obnoxious, was committed to the Tower, whence he contrived to escape to Normandy. His friends had conveyed to him a rope in a pitcher of wine, and after a night of carousal with those who should have guarded him, he let himself down by a window, and reached the coast in safety, where he found a ship ready to bear him across the Channel. He soon became an instrument of mischief at the court of Duke Robert. Meanwhile Henry had married. His choice of a queen appears to have been decided by a just and wise desire to propitiate the English population. Maud, the daughter of Malcolm, king of Scotland, and of Margaret, the sister of Edgar the Etheling, was of the lineage of the Saxon kings. She had been brought up under the care of her aunt, the Abbess of Wilton, who, to preserve her from the Norman warriors, who seized upon the Saxon maidens as wives or mistresses, had caused her to wear the veil, though she had not taken the vows. After many discussions among the ecclesiastics, it was held that Maud was not bound to celibacy; and the king, "having been long attracted by her many graces and virtues," according to Ordericus, shared his throne with her, and she was crowned by Gerard, bishop of Hereford.

This marriage, which, as we have before mentioned, was called "The Union of the Races," was a cause of offence to the imperious Norman nobles. The queen's name, as a Saxon maiden, was Edith; but her name was changed to Maud, or Matilda, as having a more agreeable sound to the Norman ear. The proud countrymen of Henry gave him the nickname of Godric, and the queen that of Godiva—both conveying some opprobrium. "This marriage was regarded as a marriage between a white planter and a quadroon girl would now be regarded in Virginia."* Yet, supported as Henry was by the best of the churchmen, and especially by Anselm, the honest and enlightened bishop of Canterbury, who had been recalled and reinvested, the union might have tended to produce a more united people, at an earlier period than that when the distinctions of race were forgotten in common interests, had there been a wiser sovereign in Normandy. Robert, though his claim to the crown of England was founded upon the strict right of succession, would have evinced more sagacity to have been content with the expressed desire of his father, that one brother should rule Normandy and another England. He was misled by the belief that the Norman barons and their Norman followers were all-powerful in England. He had conducted himself with skill and bravery as a leader in the Crusade; but as the ruler of a kingdom he was manifestly inferior to the politic Henry. The exiled bishop of Durham was one of his chief advisers in an invasion of England in 1101. The king was prepared for the danger, and had disciplined the English, upon whom he could rely more confidently than upon the barons and their followers. The Duke of Normandy landed at Portsmouth on the 1st of August. Some of the Norman barons openly joined him: others secretly encouraged his pretensions. Robert marched from the coast, and the two armies pitched their camps near each other. Henry desired a conference with his brother; and they met in the presence of the hostile troops, who "formed a magnificent circle round them, displaying the terrible but brilliant spectacle of the Normans and English under arms."† They were reconciled. Robert was of a generous and a yielding nature; Henry was far-seeing and prudent. A treaty was concluded without umpires, of which the chief article was that Robert relinquished his claims upon England. The rivalry between the brothers was not subdued; but the blood of two hostile races was no more to be poured out upon English ground. Robert and his army returned to Normandy, and the troops of Henry were disbanded, after the duke had remained a guest for several months at the court of the king.

In the following year Henry, of whom clemency was not an attribute, commenced a series of persecutions against those of his barons who had favored the enterprise of Robert. They were protected by the treaty of 1101, in which there was an amnesty for political offences. But the king brought many of them to trial, on charges which had probably some solid foundation, though urged with acrimony and punished with severity. Thus, Ivo de Grantesmenil was subjected to an enormous fine, for having "set the example of engaging in war on his own account, and given to the flames the territories of his neighbors, such private wars being hitherto unknown in England."‡ Unquestionably Henry was right in allowing no such wars.

* See p. 65.

* Macaulay, History, vol. i. † "Ordericus Vitalis," book x. c. 18.
‡ "Ordericus Vitalis," book xi. c. 2.

to devastate England as were then raging in Normandy, and which in the next reign of Stephen rendered our country a desert. If the king was not magnanimous in punishing under legal forms those who had offended him by their disaffection, we may still believe that the great mass of the people were not injured by his severity. One of the principal offenders was Robert de Belèsme, earl of Shrewsbury. No one of the Norman chieftains was more cruel or rapacious, no one more powerful. The king had surrounded him with spies, and preferred many charges against him of the heaviest nature. The earl fled to his castles, and refused to appear to abide a trial. Henry immediately called out the whole military force of the country, so formidable was this baron. His castles of Arundel and Blythe surrendered; and Bridgenorth, after a long siege, was opened to the royal troops. Robert de Belèsme had possession of Shrewsbury, and the king marched with a vast army to besiege the town, by a road called the "Huvel Hegen"—which Ordericus interprets as the evil way—more properly the evil hedge. The description of this road presents a curious feature of a large town still protected by an old Saxon wood one one side, while a river, the Severn, was a natural defence to the rising ground round which it flowed. "This road was for a thousand paces full of holes, and the surface rough with large stones, and so narrow that two men on horseback could scarcely pass each other. . . . There were more than sixty thousand infantry in the expedition; and the king gave orders that they should clear a broad track by cutting down the wood with axes, so that a road might be formed for his own passage, and a public highway for ever afterward." The rebel earl surrendered, and was banished; and at the fall of the tyrant, according to Ordericus, "all England was in a tumult of joy." The same chronicler adds, "Robert de Belèsme having been thus expelled, the realm of Albion enjoyed peace and tranquillity, and during the thirty-three years of Henry's subsequent reign no one afterward dared to revolt in England, nor held any fortress against him." But the terrible earl, who had vast estates in Normandy, went over to a land where there was no energetic ruler to oppose him, and for several years ravaged the country, and defied the power of the duke, who had entered into a mutual engagement with Henry to make common cause against any traitor to either of them. At length Duke Robert concluded a peace with the fierce earl, and admitted him to his patrimonial estates. There was now a new cause for enmity between the reigning brothers. The catastrophe was fast approaching which had been long foreseen.

The natural and laudable desire to take part with the weak against the strong has given a color to the popular view of the reign of Henry I. The eminent ability of the king, as a ruler, has been overshadowed by the heartlessness of his conduct as a brother. Yet even the unbending determination with which Henry made himself master of Normandy, and held Robert a prisoner to the end of a long life, cannot be wholly referred to the obdurate hostility and calculating ambition of the wiser and more powerful of the two princes. There is nothing more clear than the general course of Henry's policy from the commencement of his reign. He was determined to be supreme in England; to hold in check the tyranny of the great vassals of the crown; to cultivate friendly relations with the Anglo-Saxon people; to respect the authority and maintain the possessions of the Church, without yielding an unreserved obedience to the pretensions of the Papacy. Had there been a sovereign of equally vigorous character in Normandy, it is possible that Henry might have been content with his island dominions. But the loose authority of Robert was a perpetual danger to Henry; for in repressing the enormities of the barons in England he roused the sympathies of their connections in Normandy, and tranquillity in the island was uncertain while there was constant disaffection on the continent. Many of the Anglo-Norman barons were also vassals of the crown in Normandy, and thus there was a perpetual conflict of interests, while the policies of the two countries were discordant. The Norman ecclesiastics were, moreover, subjected to constant outrage and terror under the feeble administration of Duke Robert. Mailed freebooters, with high-sounding titles, ravaged the country, with no central power either of arms or law to control and punish. No doubt, the ambition of Henry, criminal as it might have been in his family relations, but in some degree justifiable in his sovereign character, was ready to avail itself of its opportunities in the misrule of his brother. The story of his acquisition of Normandy, and of his subsequent wars for its safe possession, may be very briefly told as regards its leading events; but the accessories of that story, as related by the contemporary chroniclers, and especially by Ordericus Vitalis, are among the most curious illustrations of the feudal times.

Robert of Normandy had lost his wife in 1102. The corrupt manners of the times were immediately exhibited in the personal conduct of the unhappy prince; and for three or four years his example was one of public offence. In 1104 Henry went over to Normandy. Many of the nobles, who had also estates in England, gathered round him, and stimulated what was no doubt the secret desire of his heart; yet the brothers parted friends. Again the province was ravaged by the private hostilities of those who were considered the friends of Henry, and those who hated him. The country people in many districts fled into France, leaving their lands uncultivated. In the spring of 1105 the king of England took a final step toward the union of the two crowns. There is a dramatic interest in his cautious and half-reluctant approaches to the deposition of his brother, which reminds us of the well-known passage of a later history, when Glo'ster is urged "of his accustomed goodness and zeal unto the realm, now with his eye of pity to behold the long-continued distress and decay of the same."* Henry landed on Easter Eve, at the small port of Barbaflot; and slept at the village of Carentan. On Easter Sunday he went in the most private manner to the church, where Serlo, the bishop of Séez, was to officiate at the solemnities of the great festival. The king had taken his place at the lower end of the church, seated among peasants' panniers and household goods of every kind, with which the place was incumbered. The bishop took this desecration as his theme. The spectacle exhibited in the church shows the desolation of the Cotentin. All Normandy is a prey to freebooters. This edifice is, for want of a just protector, become the storehouse of the people. The goods heaped up in this house of God are brought here by the defenceless peasants to save them from the sons of violence. Rouse yourself, then, O king, in the name of the Lord, and with the sword of justice make yourself master of your father's inheritance. Your brother Robert is abandoned to sloth and folly. He is surrounded by buffoons and harlots, who plunder him even of his clothes. Take arms, then, to redress this affliction of the land. Take arms, and recover the territory of your ancestors, and rescue the people from the dominion of abandoned men. And then the king said, "In God's name, I will not shrink from toiling earnestly for the restoration of peace." The bishop then went on to inveigh against the fashions of the time—against long hair, and long beards, and peaked-toed shoes; and exhorted the king to testify by his example against these abominations. The king was ready with his testimony; and forthwith the zealous bishop produced a pair of scissors out of his scrip, and cropped first the king's hair with his own hand. Then the flowing locks of the earl of Mellent—"the glass of fashion," as well as the most sagacious councillor of the English court—were subjected to the fatal shears. After these examples the royal household and the other great men of the congregation contended with each who should be cropped first. This farce went before the tragedy. Very shortly after the king took Bayeux by assault, and burned it to the ground. The people of Caen surrendered their fortress. At Whitsuntide Henry and Robert had a conference without coming to agreement. The Normans took their several sides; and the country was burned and pillaged. Henry returned to England for money and men. But in 1106 he was in Normandy with a far greater force, and constructed a fort before Tenchebrai. The place was vigorously defended by William, earl of Morton; and Duke Robert came to his relief with a large force of Norman chivalry. Henry was strong in his infantry, both English and Norman. There was some negotiation before the decisive battle, which took place on the 28th of September, the anniversary of William the Conqueror's landing at Hastings. When the ranks met, "the troops were thronged so closely and their weapons so locked together that it was out of their power to injure each other, and both parties in turn attempted in vain to break the impenetrable phalanx." The details of the battle are rather meagre, beyond this curious circumstance related by Ordericus. One of Henry's chaplains, Baudri,

* Sir Thomas More's "Tragical History of Richard III."

took the duke prisoner, after he had gallantly fought with unequal numbers. The contest was over. Among other prisoners was Edgar the Etheling, who passed the remainder of his eventful life in England, without molestation, an object of pity rather than of fear. The deposed Duke Robert was kept a prisoner in Cardiff Castle. Eleven years later Pope Calixtus met King Henry at Gison; and, when exhorted by the pontiff to release his brother, said, "I have not caused him to be bound in fetters like a captive enemy, but treating him like a noble pilgrim worn by long sufferings, I have placed him in a royal castle, and supplied his tables and wardrobe with all kinds of luxuries." We may believe in the luxuries or not; but there are entries in the accounts called "The Pipe Rolls," which show that in 1131 the Count of Normandy, as he is termed, was supplied with new clothes. The story of his eyes being put out, by the organs of sight being seared over a red-hot basin, rests upon no contemporary authority. William of Malmesbury, who wrote while Duke Robert was alive, says "he endured no evil but solitude, if that can be called solitude where, by the attention of his keepers, he was provided with abundance both of amusement and of food. He was confined, however, till he had survived all his companions in the crusade, and whether he ever will be set free is doubtful." In another manuscript of Malmesbury's chronicle, we find this reading: "Nor was he liberated till the day of his death." That release from a captivity of twenty-eight years arrived in 1135.

At the time of the battle of Tenchebrai, Duke Robert had a son of five years old, who had been brought up at Falaise. When Henry took possession of the place, the little boy was led to him. This possible heir of two kingdoms bore the name of his grandfather; and the William of five years old shrank with terror from his conquering uncle. Henry used no violence to the child, but committed him to an honest guardianship. The king appears, in another year, to have repented of his honesty, and to have desired to get the young prince into his power. But Helie de St. Saen fled with his charge, and put him under the protection of Louis, king of France, and Fulk, earl of Anjou. As the boy grew, the interests connected with him became more complicated. He was first patronized, and afterward cast off by the earl of Anjou. The king of France used him as an instrument to check the growing power of Henry. At length there was open war between France and Normandy, and in 1119 was fought the battle of Noyon, or Brenneville, a place on the road from Rouen to Paris. Louis was here defeated, and fled. The battle was not a sanguinary one, and was remarkable for the comparative safety with which the horsemen in complete harness encountered each other. Ordericus says, "In the battle between the two kings, in which nearly nine hundred knights were engaged, I have ascertained that three only were slain. This arose from their being entirely covered with steel armor, and mutually sparing each other for the fear of God, and out of regard for the fraternity of arms." The knights might spare each other, but the people were little spared. The chronicler adds, "The whole country was a desert in consequence of the wars which raged so furiously." And yet there was an influence counteracting the violence of these intestine wars of Normandy, which "the philosophical historian," writing in a spirit very different from that of philosophy, invariably calls "superstition." Ordericus records that after the battle of Noyon a certain knight, who was essentially a freebooter, was driving out the cattle and carrying away the booty of a village which he had plundered, when the peasants came out in a numerous body to attempt the recovery of their few worldly possessions. An armed band, of whose numbers they were unaware, turned round upon them, to slay and make captive. The peasants fled, and in their terror fell upon their knees before a wayside cross, and implored the succor of Heaven. The plunderers stopped in reverent pity, and the destitute people were spared. But piety and chivalry never failed to oppress by indirect power. Huntingdon, under the same date, records that "this year the English were grievously burdened with continual taxes and various exactions occasioned by the king's wants."

In 1118 "the good queen Maud" died. Henry was probably not inconsolable; for she had long retired to the monastery of Westminster, where she spent her revenues in the relief of the sick, and in acts of penitential piety. She had, in the early years of her marriage, when Anselm was an exile from England, in consequence of his dispute with Henry about the right of investiture, considerable influence over her husband, if we may judge from a passage in one of her letters to the prelate. In this letter she says, speaking of the king, "His mind is not so provoked against you as some men think; and by God's good will, with my suggestions, which shall not be wanting, he will be more disposed to concord." In a true Christian spirit she implores the archbishop to be "a kind intercessor with God both for him and me, and our little ones, and the prosperity of our kingdom." She had died, without enduring the sharpest pang that a mother can feel—the untimely death of one of those "little ones" now growing to manhood. Her daughter had been betrothed to the emperor of Germany in 1108, and was married in 1114; and the king, on the feudal principle, taxed every hide in England three shillings upon that occasion. The story of the son's death has presently to be related.

In 1119 William the Etheling—the Saxon title being still applied to the heir to the crown—was married to the daughter of Fulk, count of Anjou. The young prince remained in Normandy, and, peace having been restored between Henry and the king of France, did homage to that king, Louis le Gros, for the fief of Normandy. At this season there was a general amity, and the most horrible violations of the rights of humanity appear to have left no enduring remorse, and to have presented no impediment to such friendships as the strong may form with the weak. The king of England had many illegitimate daughters, and one was married to Eustace of Breteuil. There had been deadly enmity between the king and his son-in-law, in which his daughter partook with a passion which demands excuse and pity. In 1118 Eustace and the king had a dispute about the castle of Ivri; but Henry was desirous to retain the allegiance of Eustace, and it was agreed that hostages should be exchanged. Ralph Harenc, the commander of the fortress, gave his son to Eustace, and Eustace gave his two little daughters to the custody of Henry. The quarrel was not made up, and the Count of Breteuil, with a savageness which is even wonderful in that age of ferocity, put out the eyes of the innocent boy. Ralph de Harenc, in a transport of rage, presented himself to the king and demanded vengeance. Henry, without hesitation, gave up his two granddaughters. Was that stern heart torn with agony at the danger of these helpless little ones? or did the honor of chivalry extinguish all natural emotion? The children were sacrificed to the revenge of Ralph de Harenc. But the mother's injuries were too deep for a common indignation. She had undertaken the defence of Breteuil in the absence of her husband. The king pressed the siege. Juliana appeared on the walls, and demanded a conference with her father; and when he appeared she launched a bolt at him from a cross-bow. Henry, who was unhurt, broke down the drawbridge, so that escape was difficult. But Juliana dropped from the wall into the fosse, on a freezing night in February. In 1119, when Henry was everywhere victorious, Eustace and his wife knelt before the king in his tent; and there was reconciliation and forgiveness.

We have to relate another tragical history; but it is not one in which an age of chivalry is presented to us with abhorrent features. Henry was about to leave Normandy in the early part of the winter of 1120. On the 25th of November he was at Barfleur with his son William, and his natural son Richard, with many a noble in his train. There came to him a mariner, and said that Stephen, the son of Airard, was his father, and that Stephen was the owner of the ship that conveyed the Conqueror to make war on Harold; and he asked the king to sail with him in his ship, the Blanche Nef. Henry replied he had chosen his ship, but that his son might sail with the son of Airard. The king put to sea in the first watch of the night, and reached England in safety. The young prince and his companions went on board full of merriment and wine, and the rowers and the steersman were mad with drink. As they pulled out of the harbour incapable of directing the vessel, she struck upon a rock, filled, and went down. One man only out [of three hundred on board was saved—Berold, a butcher of Rouen. A writer—who knows well the episodes of history, in which we see the workings of the human heart amid the craft of policy and the ferocity of war, are among the most valuable of what old records have preserved to us—has said, "I should be sorry to lose faith in the account of the death of the eldest son of the first Henry, who, when the ship in which he had sailed for England went down, and he was safely within a boat, put back to save his favorite sister, and perished along with

ner."* We may trust the relation of Malmesbury, a contemporary writer, and need not lose faith in the affection of the ill-starred youth. His narrative is not so minute as that of Ordericus, but it is perfectly distinct and circumstantial. He says: "The water washed some of the crew overboard, and, entering the chinks, drowned others; when the boat, having been launched, the young prince was received into it, and might certainly have been saved by reaching the shore, had not his illegitimate sister, the countess of Perche, now struggling with death in the larger vessel, implored her brother's assistance, shrieking out that he should not abandon her so barbarously. Touched with pity, he ordered the boat to return to the ship, that he might rescue his sister; and thus the unhappy youth met his death through excess of affection; for the skiff, overcharged by the multitudes who leaped into her, sank, and buried all indiscriminately in the deep. One rustic alone escaped, who, floating all night upon the mast, related in the morning the dismal catastrophe of this tragedy." We are told by Ordericus how the stern king was made acquainted with the deepest sorrow of his life. The news reached England. The king was in great anxiety; but no one dared to tell him of the event. By a concerted plan, a boy threw himself at the king's feet, weeping bitterly, and told his tale. Henry instantly fell to the ground. That proud heart was stricken; and in the solitude of his chamber he might have thought of the agony of his daughter Juliana weeping for her children.

In 1121 King Henry married Adelaide, the daughter of the duke of Louvain. They had no issue. The unhappy death of Prince William excited renewed attention to the claims of his cousin, the son of Robert. He seemed destined to the throne of England. Fulk of Anjou affianced the Norman prince to his daughter. But Henry set in motion all his instruments of policy, and succeeded in preventing the marriage. His enemies in Normandy took up the cause of the son of Robert, and the king of France bestowed on him the hand of his sister-in-law. Finally he succeeded to the earldom of Flanders. He was now in a position of great power and prosperity, and stood in the way of the far-seeing designs of the king of England. Henry's only legitimate child, Matilda, was destined by him to inherit his greatness. The empress of Germany had become a widow in 1124; and at the Christmas of 1126, at a solemn assembly at Windsor, of nobles, and bishops, and the great tenants of the crown, it was declared that the ex-empress was the next heir, failing any future legitimate male issue to the king. They then all swore to maintain her succession; and among the nobles who took the oath was Stephen, Earl of Boulogne, the son of Adela, the daughter of the Conqueror; and Robert, earl of Gloucester, the illegitimate son of Henry. David, king of Scotland, who was present as an English earl, also swore to maintain the succession of his niece Matilda. That Christmas day of 1126 was to be fruitful of years of calamity for England.

Fulk, the earl of Anjou, had surrendered his European states to his eldest son Geoffrey, for he had accepted the higher dignity of King of Jerusalem. An alliance with the Plantagenets was one of the great objects of Henry's ambition; and he negotiated a marriage of Matilda with the young earl. Their nuptials were solemnized at Rouen at the Whitsuntide of 1127. This marriage of policy was not a happy one. The king had constantly to interfere between the husband and wife. Matilda had much of her father's imperious spirit; and Geoffrey made demands which Henry resisted. There was deep enmity between them. But in 1133 Matilda bore a son, Henry. The oaths to maintain the succession were renewed. Before this period, however, the king had been freed from much disquiet by the death of his nephew, William the earl of Flanders, who was wounded under the walls of Alost in 1128, in a revolt headed by the earl of Alsace, and fomented, no doubt, by the intrigues of the English king.

The hour at last came when the fine scholar was to feel that his learning had not taught him the highest wisdom, and his ambition had not conducted him on the path of happiness. The Castle of Lions, about six leagues from Rouen, was his favorite hunting-seat, and he arrived there on the 25th of November, 1135. He had not lost his active habits at the age of sixty five, and he gave orders for the chase on the next day. But the next day saw him sick. He had feasted upon a dish of lampreys, and after four days he died, beating his breast and lamenting his sins.*

Toward the end of the reign of Henry I., Geoffrey of Monmouth, at the desire of Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, made a Latin translation of the prophecies of Merlin, from the British tongue. To publish a book, at that period, was to set the transcribers to work in the European monasteries; and thus the knowledge of any remarkable performance very soon became general. These prophecies, which were afterward incorporated in Geoffrey's "Historia Britonum," were, like the semi-fabulous history of which they now form a portion, filled with the most startling images of dragons, white and red; wolves, lions, serpents, goats with golden horns and silver beards, and foxes with asses' heads; brazen horses and brazen men; Orion and the Pleiades; Saturn, Mars, Jupiter, and Venus; Gemini, that forget their embraces; and Libra with oblique scales.† How this "skimble-skamble stuff" would delight and terrify an ignorant and superstitious people is not difficult to imagine. It is only when Merlin comes into the immediate times in which Geoffrey produced the prophet, in a tongue which the monks could read and expound, that there is a distinctness and reality which contrasts with the vagueness with which he pretends to look at the distant future through this wonderful atmosphere. That portion of the prophecies which clearly relates to the time of Henry I. is extremely curious, as showing the popular estimate of some of the leading characteristics of the man and of his reign; and it will be at least amusing to compare the mystical allusions with the historical facts.

"A people shall come over, on timber, and in coats of iron, who shall execute vengeance for iniquity." Geoffrey, if of doubtful value as a prophet, is an excellent witness to the still enduring hatred of the British race to the Saxon. The ship-borne Normans, in their coats of mail, "shall restore the ancient inhabitants to their homes." The Saxon race, that of "the strangers," shall be "decimated," and "they shall bear the yoke of perpetual servitude, and shall tear their mother with ploughs and harrows." This is no untrue picture of the Saxon serfs, as they labored for the Normans seventy years after the Conquest. We come to two dragons, one of whom is clearly Rufus, who is "slain by the darts of malice;" the other, Robert of Normandy, "the shadow of a name." We are now in the midst of Geoffrey's contemporary history. "A lion of justice shall succeed." By this name was King Henry ever after popularly known. The "lion of justice" did indeed make wild work with thieves and other offenders. Upon his accession the country was ravaged by spoilers. In 1124 "the lion of justice" put to death forty-four robbers who had been tried and convicted at a court at Huncot, in Leciestershire. The coin was debased and worn, and those who counterfeited this miserable currency were to be found in every town. The evils were enormous, as they have always continued to be when no man could take a piece of silver with certainty that he had received value for his goods. The lion terrified the culprits into honesty, by mutilating them in such numbers that on one occasion out of fifty, only four escaped the loss of the right hand. Horrible barbarity of a barbarous age, we exclaim. And yet, after five hundred years of civilization, the Stuarts cut off the ears of libellers with as little remorse. The roar of the lion caused "the towns of France to tremble." We have seen something of the consequences of this roar. But "the dragons of the island" also trembled. The ravaging barons were these dragons. "In his days gold shall be extorted from the lily and the nettle." The submission of the lily (the Church) and the resistance of the nettle (the army) could not save their treasures from the king's gripe. "Silver," too, "shall be scattered abroad by the

* "Landmarks of the History of England," by the Rev. J. White.

* "The death of great men is not always proportioned to the lustre of their lives. Hannibal, says Juvenal, did not perish by a javelin or a sword; the slaughters of Cannæ were revenged by a ring. The death of Pope was imputed by some of his friends to a silver saucepan, in which it was his delight to heat potted lampreys."—Johnson's "Lives of the Poets."

† Shakespeare was well read in Merlin:

"Sometime he angers me,
With telling me of the moldwarp and the ant,
Of the dreamer Merlin, and his prophecies;
And of a dragon and a finless fish,
A clip-winged griffin, and a moulten raven,
A crouching lion, and a ramping cat,
And such a deal of skimble-skamble stuff
As puts me from my faith."—*Henry IV.*, Part i. act iii. sc. 1.

hoofs of lowing kine." The herdsman was as severely taxed as the priest and the soldier. There is a curious illustration of the mode in which the various classes of the nation bore the royal exactions. A legend is related by the chroniclers, that, in 1130, Henry dreamed a terrible dream, which had a warning influence upon his subsequent conduct. He first saw a great multitude of rustics, with spades, and forks, and scythes, who stood over him with threatening looks; and when they vanished, soldiers, with spears, and swords, and shields, were ready to destroy him; and these passing away, bishops, with crosier in hand, gazed on him with countenances in anger, as if their mission of peace were at an end. The legend, as told in an ancient manuscript, is illustrated with three drawings of the several stages of the dream, of which we give the one of the husbandmen. Eadmer relates that, in the merciless taxation of that reign, the very doors were taken off the houses when the people could no longer pay; and another contemporary writer says that a troop of unhappy cultivators came, on one occasion, to the king's palace, and threw down their ploughshares at his feet, for the capital was exhausted which alone could set the ploughs at work.

The prophecy goes on to speak of "the men with crisped locks," who wore "clothes of various textures and colors"—the abominations denounced by the churchmen, as we have seen. It then proceeds to a more serious evil. "The feet of lurchers shall be struck off. The beasts of chase shall be undisturbed." The historical facts are told by Ordericus: "Reserving for his own sport the beasts of chase in the forests of England, he even caused all dogs kept on the verge of the woods to be mutilated, by having one of their claws chopped off; and reluctantly licensed some few of the greater nobles and his particular friends to have the privilege of hunting in their own forests." Among those who had this privilege were the nobles, bishops, and burgesses of London—the citizens, according to Henry's charter,* being warranted to "have their hunting grounds for hunting, as was best and most fully enjoyed by their predecessors, that is, in Chiltern, in Middlesex, and in Surrey." This is a remarkable proof of the high position which London had attained in this reign. Merlin then prophesies about a circumstance which illustrates the importance which the government so properly attached to the establishment of a standard measure of value—"The tokens of commerce shall be cut in sunder." On the reverse of the silver penny was a cross. But smaller coins than the penny were required; and thus, by once dividing the penny, by either of the lines of the cross, it became two halfpennies; and by twice so dividing, it became four farthings. The small coins, thus rudely produced, were often refused, and their value disputed. The currency was thus insufficient for the needful interchanges. "The halves shall be round," says the prophecy. It appears somewhat doubtful whether these round halfpennies and farthings were coined till the time of Edward I. But Eadmer, a contemporary, records that the halves and quarters were made round in the time of Henry.† We shall leave Merlin with one last quotation. "The rapacious kites shall perish, and the teeth of wolves be blunted." The despotism of Henry was most effectual in putting down the petty despots who had domineered over England; and to this salutary exercise of his power we may attribute much of the undoubted advance of the country during this reign of thirty-five years.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Arrival of Stephen—Temporary confusion—Adherents of Matilda—Castles—Scottish invasion—Battle of the Standard—Ecclesiastical power—Religious foundations since the Conquest—Cistercian Abbeys—Cathedrals—Norman bishops—Arrest of bishops—Synod—Landing of Matilda—Partisan war—Battle of Lincoln—Stephen a prisoner—Bishop of Winchester swears fealty to Matilda—Revolt of the Londoners—The rout of Winchester—Leaders of the war—Matilda's flight from Oxford—Turmoil and desolation—Henry of Anjou—Death of Stephen.

Of the reign of Stephen, Sir James Mackintosh has said, "It perhaps contains the most perfect condensation of all the ills of feudality to be found in history." He adds, "The whole narrative would have been rejected, as devoid of all likeness to truth, if it had been hazarded in fiction."* As a picture of "all the ills of feudality," this narrative is a picture of the entire social state—the monarchy, the Church, the aristocracy, the people; and appears to us, therefore, to demand a more careful examination than if the historical interest were chiefly centred in the battles and adventures belonging to a disputed succession, and in the personal characters of a courageous princess and her knightly rival.

Stephen, earl of Boulogne, the nephew of King Henry I., was no stranger to the country which he aspired to rule. He had lived much in England, and was an universal favorite. "From his complacency of manners, and his readiness to joke, and sit and regale even with low people, he had gained so much on their affections as is hardly to be conceived."† This popular man was at the death-bed of his uncle; but before the royal body was borne on the shoulders of nobles from the Castle of Lions to Rouen, Stephen was on his road to England. He embarked at Whitsand, undeterred by boisterous weather; and landed during a winter storm of thunder and lightning. It was a more evil omen when Dover and Canterbury shut their gates against him. But he went boldly on to London. There can be no doubt that his proceedings were not the result of a sudden impulse; and that his usurpation of the crown was successful, through a very powerful organization. His brother Henry was bishop of Winchester; and his influence with the other dignitaries of the Church was mainly instrumental in the election of Stephen to be king, in open disregard of the oaths taken a few years before to recognize the succession of Matilda and of her son. Between the death of a king and the coronation of his successor there was usually a short interval, in which the form of election was gone through. But it is held that during that suspension of the royal functions there was usually a proclamation of "the king's peace," under which all violations of law were punished as if the head of the law were in the full exercise of his functions and dignities.‡ King Henry I. died on the 1st of December, 1135. Stephen was crowned on the 26th of December. The death of Henry would probably have been generally known in England in a week after the event. There is a sufficient proof that this succession was considered doubtful, and, consequently, that there was an unusual delay in the proclamation of "the king's peace." The forest laws were the great grievance of Henry's reign. His death was the signal for their violation by the whole body of the people. "It was wonderful how so many myriads of wild animals, which in large herds before plentifully stocked the country, suddenly disappeared, so that out of the vast number scarcely two now could be found together. They seemed to be entirely extirpated."§ According to the same authority, "the people also turned to plundering each other without mercy;" and "whatever the evil passions suggested in peaceable times, now that the opportunity of vengeance presented itself, was quickly executed. This is a remarkable condition of a country, which, having been governed by terror, suddenly passed out of the evils of despotism into the greater evils of anarchy. This temporary confusion must have contributed to urge on the election of Stephen. By the Londoners he was received with acclamations; and the witan chose him for king without hesitation, as one who could best fulfil the duties of the office, and put an end to the dangers of the kingdom.

Stephen succeeded to a vast amount of treasure. All the rents of Henry I. had been paid in money, instead of in necessaries; and he was rigid in enforcing the payment in coin of the best quality. With this possession of means, Stephen surrounded himself with troops from Flanders and Brittany. The objections to his want of hereditary right appear to have been altogether laid aside for a time, in the popularity which he derived from his personal qualities and his command of wealth. Strict hereditary claims to the choice of the nation had been disregarded since the time of the Confessor. The oath to Matilda, it was maintained, had been unwillingly given, and even extorted by force. It is easy to conceive that, both to Saxon and Norman, the notion of a female sovereign would be out of harmony with

* This charter will be more particularly noticed in a subsequent chapter.

† See note in Lingard, vol. ii. p. 193, octavo edition.

* "History of England," in "Lardner's Cyclopædia.

† Malmesbury.

‡ See Hallam's "Middle Ages," vol. ii. p. 427, ed. 1855.

§ "Acta Stephani." b. i., translated by Forester.

heir ancient traditions and their warlike habits. The king was the great military chief, as well as the supreme dispenser of justice and guardian of property. The time was far distant when the sovereign rule might be held to be most beneficially exercised by a wise choice of administrators, civil and military; and the power of the crown, being co-ordinate with other powers, strengthening as well as controlling its final authority, might be safely and happily exercised by a discreet, energetic, and just female. King Stephen vindicated the choice of the nation at the very outset of his reign. He went in person against the robbers who were ravaging the country. The daughter of "the lion of justice" would probably have done the same. But more than three hundred years had passed since the Lady of Mercia, the sister of Alfred, had asserted the courage of her race. Norman and Saxon wanted a king; for though ladies defended castles and showed that firmness and bravery were not the exclusive possession of one sex, no thane or baron had yet knelt before a queen, and sworn to be her "liege man of life and limb."

The unanimity which appeared to hail the accession of Stephen was soon interrupted. David, king of Scotland, had advanced to Carlisle and Newcastle, to assert the claim of Matilda, which he had sworn to uphold. But Stephen came against him with a great army, and for a time there was peace. Robert, earl of Gloucester, the illegitimate son of Henry I., had done homage to Stephen; but his allegiance was very doubtful; and the general belief that he would renounce his fealty engendered secret hostility or open resistance among other powerful barons. Robert of Gloucester very soon added the king's power. Within two years of his accession the throne of Stephen was evidently becoming an insecure seat. To counteract the power of the great nobles, he made a lavish distribution of crown lands to a large number of tenants in chief. Some of them were called earls; but they had no official charge, as the greater barons had, but were mere titular lords, made by the royal bounty. All those who held direct from the crown were called barons; and these new barons, who were scattered over the country, had permission from the king to build castles. Such permission was extended to many other lay barons. The accustomed manor-house of the landproprietor, in which he dwelt amid the churls and serfs of his demesne, was now replaced by a stone tower, surrounded by a moat and a wall. The wooden one-storied homestead, with its thatched roof, shaded by the "toft" of ash and elm and maple, was pulled down, and a square fortress with loopholes and battlement stood in solitary nakedness upon some bleak hill, ugly and defiant. There, with a band of armed men—sometimes with a wife and children, and not unfrequently with an unhappy victim of his licentiousness—the baron lived in gloom and gluttony, till the love of excitement, the approach of want, or the call to battle, drove him forth. His passion for hunting was not always free to be exercised. Venison was not everywhere to be obtained without danger even to the powerful and lawless. But within a ride of a few miles there was generally corn in the barns, and herds were in the pastures. The petty baron was almost invariably a robber—sometimes on his own account, often in some combined adventure of plunder. The spirit of rapine, always too prevalent under the strongest government of those times, was now universal when the government was fighting for its own existence. Bands of marauders sallied forth from the great towns, especially from Bristol; and of their proceedings the author of the "Gesta Stephani" speaks with the precision of an eye-witness. The Bristolians, under the instigation of the earl of Gloucester, were partisans of the ex-empress Matilda; and wherever the king or his adherents had estates they came to seize their oxen and sheep, and carried men of substance into Bristol as captives with bandaged eyes and bits in their mouths. From other towns as well as Bristol came forth plunderers with humble gait and courteous discourse, who, when they met with a lonely man having the appearance of being wealthy, would bear him off to starvation and torture, till they had mulcted him to the last farthing. These and other indications of an unsettled government took place before the landing of Matilda, to assert her claims. An invasion of England by the Scottish king, without regard to the previous pacification, was made in 1138. But this attempt, although grounded upon the oath which David had sworn to Henry, was regarded by the Northumbrians as a national hostility which demanded a national resistance. The course of this invasion has been minutely described by contemporary chroniclers.

The author of the "Gesta Stephani" says, "Scotland, also called Albany, is a country overspread by extensive moors, but containing flourishing woods and pastures, which feed large herds of cows and oxen." Of the mountainous regions he says nothing. Describing the natives as savage, swift of foot, and lightly armed, he adds, "A confused multitude of this people being assembled from the lowlands of Scotland, they were formed into an irregular army, and marched for England." From the period of the Conquest, a large number of Anglo-Saxons had been settled in the lowlands; and the border countries of Westmoreland and Cumberland were also occupied, to a considerable extent, by the same race. The people of Galloway were chiefly of the original British stock. The historians describe "the confused multitude" as exercising great cruelties in their advance through the country that lies between the Tweed and the Tees; and Matthew Paris uses a significant phrase which marks how completely they spread over the land. He calls them the "Scottish Ants." The archbishop of York, Thurstan, an aged but vigorous man, collected a large army to resist the invaders; and he made a politic appeal to the old English nationality, by calling out the population under the banners of their Saxons saints. The bishop of Durham was the leader of this army, composed of the Norman chivalry and the English archers. The opposing forces met at Northallerton, on the 22d of August, 1138. The Anglo-Norman army was gathered round a tall cross, raised on a car, and surrounded by the banners of Saint Cuthbert, and Saint Wilfred, and Saint John of Beverly. From this incident the bloody day of Northallerton was called "The Battle of the Standard." Hoveden has given an oration made by Ralph, bishop of Durham, in which he addresses the captains as "Brave nobles of England, Normans by birth;" and, pointing to the enemy who knew not the use of armor, exclaims, "Your head is covered with the helmet, your breast with a coat of mail, your legs with greaves, and your whole body with the shield." Of the Saxon yeomanry he says nothing. Whether the oration be genuine or not, it exhibits the mode in which the mass of the people were regarded at that time. Thierry appears to consider that the bold attempt of David of Scotland was made in reliance upon the support of the Anglo-Saxon race. But it is perfectly clear that they bore the brunt of the English battle; and, whatever might be their wrongs, were not disposed to yield their fields and houses to a fierce multitude who came for spoil and for possession. The Scotch fought with darts and long spears, and attacked the solid mass of Normans and English gathered round the standard. Prince Henry, the son of the king of Scotland, made a vigorous onslaught with a body of horse, composed of English and Normans attached to his father's household. These were, without doubt, especial partisans of the claim to the English crown of the ex-empress Matilda; and, as the king of Scotland himself is described, were "inflamed with zeal for a just cause." * The issue of the battle was the signal defeat of the Scottish army, with the loss of eleven thousand men upon the field. A peace was concluded with King Stephen in the following year.

The issue of the battle of the Standard might have given rest to England if Stephen had understood the spirit of his age. In 1139 he engaged in a contest more full of peril than the assaults of Scotland or the disturbances of Wales. He had been successful against some of the disaffected barons. He had besieged and taken Hereford Castle and Shrewsbury Castle. Dover Castle had surrendered to his queen. Robert, earl of Gloucester, kept possession of the castles of Bristol and Leeds, and other nobles held out against him in various strong places. London and some of the larger towns appear to have steadily clung to his government. The influence of the Church, by which he had been chiefly raised to sovereignty, had supported him during his four years of struggle. But that influence was now to be shaken.

The rapid and steady growth of the ecclesiastical power in England, from the period of the Conquest, is one of the most remarkable characteristics of that age. This progress we must steadily keep in

* Scott has given a picturesque account of the battle in his "Tales of a Grandfather." Writing, as he often did, from general impressions, in describing the gallant charge of Prince Henry, he states that he broke the English line, "as if it had been a spider's web." Hoveden, the historian to whom Scott alludes, applies this strong image to the scattering of the men of Lothian. "For the Almighty was offended at them, and their strength was rent like a cobweb"

view, if we would rightly understand the general condition of society. All the great offices of the Church, with scarcely an exception, were filled by Normans. The Conqueror sternly resisted any attempts of bishops or abbots to control his civil government. The Red King misappropriated their revenues in many cases. Henry I. quarrelled with Anselm about the right of investiture, which the pope declared should not be in the hands of any layman; but Henry compromised a difficult question with his usual prudence. Whatever difficulties the Church encountered, during seventy years, and especially during the whole course of Henry's reign, wealth flowed in upon the ecclesiastics, from king and noble, from burgess and socman; and every improvement of the country increased the value of Church possessions. It was not only from the lands of the crown and the manors of earls that bishoprics and monasteries derived their large endowments. Henry I. founded the Abbey of Reading, but the "mimus" of Henry I. built the priory and hospital of Saint Bartholomew. This "pleasant-witted gentleman," as Stow calls the royal "mimus" (which Percy interprets "minstrel"), having, according to the legend, "diverted the palaces of princes with courtly mockeries and triflings" for many years, bethought himself at last of more serious matters, and went to do penance at Rome. He returned to London; and, obtaining a grant of land in a part of the king's market of Smithfield, which was a filthy marsh, where the common gallows stood, there erected the priory, whose Norman arches as satisfactorily attest its date as Henry's charter. The piety of a court jester in the twelfth century, when the science of medicine was wholly empirical, founded one of the most valuable medical schools of the nineteenth century. The desire to raise up splendid churches, in the place of the dilapidated Saxon buildings, was a passion with Normans, whether clerks or laymen. Ralph Flambard, the bold and unscrupulous minister of William II., erected the great priory of Christchurch, in his capacity of bishop. But he raised the necessary funds with his usual financial vigor. He took the revenues of the canons into his hands, and put the canons upon a short allowance till the work was completed. The Cistercian order of monks was established in England late in the reign of Henry I. Their rule was one of the most severe mortification and of the strictest discipline. Their lives were spent in labor and in prayer, and their one frugal daily meal was eaten in silence. While other religious orders had their splendid abbeys amid large communities, the Cistercians humbly asked grants of land in the most solitary places, where the recluse could meditate without interruption by his fellow-men, amid desolate moors and in the uncultivated gorges of inaccessible mountains. In such a barren district, Walter L'Espée, who had fought at Northallerton, founded Rievaulx Abbey. It was "a solitary place in Blakemore," in the midst of hills. The Norman knight had lost his son; and here he derived a holy comfort in seeing the monastic buildings rise under his munificent care, and the waste lands become fertile under the incessant labors of the devoted monks. The ruins of Tintern Abbey and Melrose Abbey, whose solemn influences have inspired the poets of our own age with thoughts akin to the contemplations of their Cistercian founders, belong to a later period of ecclesiastical architecture; for the dwellings of the original monks have perished, and the broken "arches," and "shafted oriel," the "imagery," and "the scrolls that teach thee to live and die," speak of another century, when the Norman architecture, like the Norman character, was losing its distinctive features, and becoming "Early English." We dwell a little upon these Norman foundations, to show how completely the Church was spreading itself over the land, and asserting its influence in places where man had seldom trod, as well as in populous towns, where the great cathedral was crowded with earnest votaries, and the lessons of peace were proclaimed amid the distractions of unsettled government and the oppressions of lordly despotism. Whatever was the misery of the country, the ordinary family ties still bound the people to the universal Christian Church, whether the priest were Norman or English. The new-born infant was dipped in the great Norman font, as the children of the Confessor's time had been dipped in the ruder Saxon. The same Latin office, unintelligible in words but significant in its import, was said and sung when the bride stood at the altar and the father was laid in his grave. The vernacular tongue gradually melted into one dialect, and the penitent and the confessor were the first to lay aside the great distinction of race and country—that of language.

The Norman prelates were men of learning and ability, of taste and magnificence; and, whatever might have been the luxury and even vices of some among them, the vast revenues of the great sees were not wholly devoted to worldly pomp, but were applied to noble uses. After the lapse of seven centuries we still tread with reverence those portions of our cathedrals in which the early Norman architecture is manifest. There is no English cathedral in which we are so completely impressed with the massive grandeur of the round-arched style as by Durham. The lines of Congreve, which Johnson thought the finest piece of description in our language, especially apply to such architecture:

> "How reverend is the face of this tall pile;
> Whose ancient pillars rear their marble heads
> To bear aloft its arched and ponderous roof,
> By its own weight made steadfast and immovable,
> Looking tranquillity."

Durham Cathedral was commenced in the middle of the reign of Rufus, and the building went on through the reign of Henry I. Canterbury was commenced by archbishop Lanfranc, soon after the Conquest, and was enlarged and altered in various details, till it was burned in 1174. Some portions of the original building remain. Rochester was commenced eleven years after the Conquest; and its present nave is an unaltered part of the original building. Chichester has nearly the same date of its commencement; and the building of this church was continued till its dedication in 1148. Norwich was founded in 1094, and its erection was carried forward so rapidly that in seven years there were sixty monks here located. Winchester is one of the earliest of these noble cathedrals; but its Norman feature of the round arch is not the general characteristic of the edifice, the original piers having been recased in the pointed style, in the reign of Edward III. The dates of these buildings, so grand in their conception, so solid in their execution, would be sufficient of themselves to show the wealth and activity of the Church during the reigns of the Conqueror and his sons. But, during this period of seventy years, and in part of the reign of Stephen, the erection of monastic buildings was universal in England, as in continental Europe. The Crusades gave a most powerful impulse to the religious fervor. In the enthusiasm of chivalry, which covered many of its enormities with outward acts of piety, vows were frequently made by wealthy nobles that they would depart for the Holy Wars. But sometimes the vow was inconvenient. The lady of the castle wept at the almost certain perils of her lord; and his projects of ambition often kept the lord at home to look after his own especial interests. Then the vow to wear the cross might be commuted by the foundation of a religious house. Death-bed repentance for crimes of violence and a licentious life increased the number of these endowments. It has been computed that three hundred monastic establishments were founded in England during the reigns of Henry I. Stephen, and Henry II.*

We have briefly stated these few general facts regarding the outward manifestation of the power and the wealth of the Church at this period, to show how important an influence it must have exercised upon all questions of government. But its organization was of far greater importance than the aggregate wealth of the sees and abbeys. The English Church, during the troubled reign of Stephen, had become more completely under the papal dominion than at any previous period of its history. The king attempted, rashly perhaps, but honestly, to interpose some check to the ecclesiastical desire for supremacy; but from the hour when he entered into a contest with bishops and synods his reign became one of kingly trouble and national misery.

The Norman bishops not only combined in their own persons the functions of the priest and of the lawyer, but were often military leaders. As barons they had knight-service to perform; and this condition of their tenures naturally surrounded them with armed retainers. That this anomalous position should have corrupted the ambitious churchman into a proud and luxurious lord was almost inevitable. The authority of the crown might have been strong enough to repress the individual discontent, or to punish the individual treason, of these great prelates; but every one of them was doubly formidable as a member of a confederacy over which a foreign bi-

* Lyttelton's "Henry II.," vol. iii. p. 294, ed. 1769.

claimed to preside. There were three bishops whose intrigues King Stephen had especially to dread, at the time when an open war for the succession of Matilda was on the point of bursting forth. Roger, the bishop of Salisbury, had been promoted from the condition of a parish priest at Caen to be chaplain, secretary, chancellor, and chief justiciary of Henry I. He was instrumental in the election of Stephen to the throne; and he was rewarded with extravagant gifts, as he had been previously rewarded by Henry. Stephen appears to have fostered his rapacity, in the conviction that his pride would have a speedier fall; the king often saying, "I would give him half England if he asked for it; till the time be ripe, he shall tire of asking ere I tire of giving."* The time was ripe in 1139. The bishop had erected castles at Devizes, at Sherborne, and at Malmesbury. King Henry had given him the castle of Salisbury. This lord of four castles had powerful auxiliaries in his nephews, the bishop of Lincoln and the bishop of Ely. Alexander of Lincoln had built the castles of Newark and Sleaford, and was almost as powerful as his uncle. In July, 1139, a great council was held at Oxford; and thither came these three bishops with military and secular pomp, and with an escort that became "the wonder of all beholders." A quarrel ensued between the retainers of the bishops and those of Alain, earl of Brittany, about a right to quarters; and the quarrel went on to a battle, in which men were slain on both sides. The bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln were arrested, as breakers of the king's peace. The bishop of Ely fled to his uncle's castle of Devizes. The king, under the advice of the sagacious earl Millent, resolved to dispossess these dangerous prelates of their fortresses, which were all finally surrendered. "The bishops, humbled and mortified, and stripped of all pomp and vain-glory, were reduced to a simple ecclesiastical life, and to the possessions belonging to them as churchmen." The contemporary who writes this—the author of the "Gesta Stephani"—although a decided partisan of Stephen, speaks of this event as the result of mad counsels, and a grievous sin that resembled the wickedness of the sons of Korah and of Saul. The great body of the ecclesiastics were indignant at what they considered an offence to their order. The bishop of Winchester, the brother of Stephen, had become the pope's legate in England; and he summoned the king to attend a synod at Winchester. He there produced his authority as legate from Pope Innocent, and denounced the arrest of the bishops as a dreadful crime. The king had refused to attend the council, but he sent Alberic de Vere, "a man deeply versed in legal affairs," to represent him. This advocate urged that the bishop of Lincoln was the author of the tumult at Oxford; that whenever Bishop Roger came to court, his people, presuming on his power, excited tumults; that the bishop secretly favored the king's enemies, and was ready to join the party of the empress. The council was adjourned; but on a subsequent day came the archbishop of Rouen, as the champion of the king, and contended that it was against the canons that the bishops should possess castles; and that even if they had the right, they were bound to deliver them up to the will of the king, as the times were eventful, and the king was bound to make war for the common security. The archbishop of Rouen reasoned as a statesman; the bishop of Winchester as the Pope's legate. Some of the bishops threatened to proceed to Rome; and the king's advocate intimated that if they did so their return might not be so easy. Swords were at last unsheathed. The king and the earls were now in open hostility with the legate and the bishops. Excommunication of the king was hinted at; but persuasion was resorted to. Stephen, according to one authority, made humble submission, and thus "abated the rigor of ecclesiastical discipline."† If he did submit, his submission was too late. Within a month Earl Robert and the Empress Matilda were in England:

Matilda and the earl of Gloucester landed at Arundel, where the widow of Henry I. was dwelling. They had a very small force to support their pretensions. The earl crossed the country to Bristol. 'All England was struck with alarm, and men's minds were agitated in various ways. Those who secretly or openly favored the invaders were roused to more than usual activity against the king, while his own partisans were terrified as if a thunderbolt had fallen."‡ Stephen invested the castle of Arundel. But in the most romantic spirit of chivalry he permitted the empress to pass out, and to set forward to join her brother at Bristol, under a safe conduct. In 1140 the whole kingdom appears to have been subjected to the horrors of a partisan warfare. The barons in their castles were making a show of "defending their neighborhoods, but, more properly to speak, were laying them waste." The legate and the bishops were excommunicating the plunderers of churches, but the plunderers laughed at their anathemas. Freebooters came over from Flanders, not to practise the industrial arts as in the time of Henry I., but to take their part in the general pillage. There was frightful scarcity in the country, and the ordinary interchange of man with man was unsettled by the debasement of the coin. "All things," says Malmesbury, "became venal in England; and churches and abbeys were no longer secretly but even publicly exposed to sale." All things become venal, under a government too weak to repress plunder or to punish corruption. The strong aim to be rich by rapine, and the cunning by fraud, when the confusion of a kingdom is grown so great that, as is recorded of this period, "the neighbor could put no faith in his nearest neighbor, nor the friend in his friend, nor the brother in his own brother." The demoralization of anarchy is even more terrible than its bloodshed.

The marches and sieges, the revolts and treacheries of this evil time are occasionally varied by incidents which illustrate the state of society. Robert Fitz-Herbert, with a detachment of the earl of Gloucester's soldiers, surprised the castle of Devizes, which the king had taken from the bishop of Salisbury. Robert Fitz-Herbert varies the atrocities of his fellow-barons by rubbing his prisoners with honey and exposing them naked to the sun. But Robert, having obtained Devizes, refused to admit the earl of Gloucester to any advantage of its possession, and commenced the subjection of the neighborhood on his own account. Another crafty baron, John Fitz-Gilbert, held the castle of Marlborough; and Robert Fitz-Herbert, having an anxious desire to be lord of that castle also, endeavoring to cajole Fitz-Gilbert into the admission of his followers, went there as a guest but was detained as a prisoner. Upon this the earl of Gloucester came in force for revenge against his treacherous ally, Fitz-Herbert, and conducting him to Devizes there hanged him. The surprise of Lincoln Castle, upon which the events of 1141 mainly turned, is equally characteristic of the age. Ranulf, earl of Chester, and William de Roumare, his half brother, were avowed friends of King Stephen. But their ambition took a new direction for the support of Matilda. The garrison of Lincoln had no apprehension of a surprise, and were busy in those sports which hardy men enjoy even amid the rougher sport of war. The countess of Chester and her sister-in-law, with a politeness that the ladies of the court of Louis le Grand could not excel, paid a visit to the wife of the knight who had the defence of the castle. While there, at this pleasant morning call, "talking and joking" with the unsuspecting matron, as Ordericus relates, the earl of Chester came in, "without his armor or even his mantle," attended only by three soldiers. His courtesy was as flattering as that of his countess and her friend. But his men-at-arms suddenly mastered the unprepared guards, and the gates were thrown open to Earl William and his numerous followers. The earls, after this strategem, held the castle against the king, who speedily marched to Lincoln. But the earl of Chester contrived to leave the castle, and soon raised a powerful army of his own vassals. The earl of Gloucester joined him with a considerable force, and they together advanced to the relief of the besieged city. The battle of Lincoln was preceded by a trifling incident to which the chroniclers have attached importance. It was the feast of the Purification; and at the mass which was celebrated at the dawn of day, when the king was holding a lighted taper in his hand it was suddenly extinguished. "This was an omen of sorrow to the king," says Hoveden. But another chronicler, the author of the "Gesta Stephani," tells us in addition, that the wax-candle was as suddenly relighted; and he accordingly argues that this incident was "a token that for his sins he should be deprived of his crown, but on his repentance, through God's mercy, he should wonderfully and gloriously recover it." The king had been more than a month laying siege to the castle, and his army was encamped around the city of Lincoln. When it was ascertained that his enemies were at hand he was advised to raise the siege, and march out to strengthen his power by a general levy. He decided upon instant battle. He was then exhorted not to fight on the solemn festi-

* Malmesbury, Book II. of "Modern History."

† "Gesta Stephani."

‡ Malmesbury.

val of the Purification. But his courage was greater than his prudence or his piety. He set forth to meet the insurgent earls. The best knights were in his army; but the infantry of his rivals was far more numerous. Stephen detached a strong body of horse and foot to dispute the passage of a ford of the Trent. But Gloucester by an impetuous charge obtained possession of the ford, and the battle became general.* The king's horsemen fled. The desperate bravery of Stephen, and the issue of the battle, have been described by Henry of Huntingdon with singular animation: "King Stephen, therefore, with his infantry, stood alone in the midst of the enemy. These surrounded the royal troops, attacking the columns on all sides, as if they were assaulting a castle. Then the battle raged terribly round this circle; helmets and swords gleamed as they clashed, and the fearful cries and shouts re-echoed from the neighboring hills and city walls. The cavalry, furiously charging the royal column, slew some and trampled down others; some were made prisoners. No respite, no breathing time, was allowed, except in the quarter in which the king himself had taken his stand, where the assailants recoiled from the unmatched force of his terrible arm. The earl of Chester seeing this, and envious of the glory the king was gaining, threw himself upon him with the whole weight of his men-at-arms. Even then the king's courage did not fail, but his heavy battle-axe gleamed like lightning, striking down some, bearing back others. At length it was shattered by repeated blows. Then he drew his well-tried sword, with which he wrought wonders, until that, too, was broken. Perceiving which, William de Kaims, a brave soldier, rushed on him, and, seizing him by his helmet, shouted, 'Here, here, I have taken the king!' Others came to his aid, and the king was made prisoner."†

After the capture of King Stephen, at this brief but decisive battle, he was kept a close prisoner at Bristol Castle. Then commenced what might be called the reign of Queen Matilda, which lasted about eight months. The defeat of Stephen was the triumph of the greater ecclesiastics. On the third Sunday in Lent, 1141, there was a conference on the plain in the neighborhood of Winchester—a day dark and rainy, which portended disasters. The bishop of Winchester came forth from his city, with all the pomp of the pope's legate; and there Matilda swore that in all matters of importance, and especially in the bestowal of bishoprics and abbeys, she would submit to the Church; and the bishop and his supporters pledged their faith to the empress on these conditions. After Easter a great council was held at Winchester, which the bishop called as the pope's vicegerent. The unscrupulous churchman boldly came forward, and denounced his brother, inviting the assembly to elect a sovereign; and, with an amount of arrogance totally unprecedented, thus asserted the notorious untruth that the right of electing a king of England principally belonged to the clergy: "The case was yesterday agitated before a part of the higher clergy of England, to whose right it principally pertains to elect the sovereign, and also to crown him. First, then, as is fitting, invoking God's assistance, we elect the daughter of that peaceful, that glorious, that rich, that good, and in our times incomparable king, as sovereign of England and Normandy, and promise her fidelity and support."‡ The bishop then said to the applauding assembly, "We have dispatched messengers for the Londoners, who, from the importance of their city in England are almost nobles, as it were, to meet us on this business." The next day the Londoners came. They were sent, they said, by their fraternity to entreat that their lord the king might be liberated from captivity. The legate refused them, and repeated his oration against his brother. It was a work of great difficulty to soothe the minds of the Londoners; and Saint John's day had arrived before they would consent to acknowledge Matilda. Many parts of the kingdom had then submitted to her government, and she entered London with great state. Her nature seems to have been rash and imperious. Her first act was to demand subsidies of the citizens; and when they said that their wealth was greatly diminished by the troubled state of the kingdom, she broke forth into insufferable rage. The vigilant queen of Stephen, who kept possession of Kent, now approached the city with a numerous force, and by her envoys demanded her husband's freedom. Of course her demand was made in vain. She then put forth a front of battle. Instead of being crowned at Westminster, the daughter of Henry I. fled in terror; for "the whole city flew to arms at the ringing of the bells, which was the signal for war, and all with one accord rose upon the countess [of Anjou] and her adherents, as swarms of wasps issue from their hives."*

William Fitzstephen, the biographer of Thomas à Becket, in his "Description of London," supposed to be written about the middle of the reign of Henry II., says of this city, "ennobled by her men, graced by her arms, and peopled by a multitude of inhabitants," that "in the wars under King Stephen there went out to a muster of armed horsemen, esteemed fit for war, twenty thousand, and of infantry sixty thousand." In general, the "Description of London" appears trustworthy, and in some instances is supported by other authorities. But this vast number of fighting men must, unquestionably, be exaggerated, unless, as Lyttelton conjectures, such a muster included the militia of Middlesex, Kent, and other counties adjacent to London.† Peter of Blois, in the reign of Henry II., reckons the inhabitants of the city at forty thousand. That the citizens were trained to warlike exercises, and that their manly sports nurtured them in the hardihood of military habits, we may well conclude from Fitzstephen's account of this community at a little later period than that of which we are writing. To the north of the city were pasture lands, with streams on whose banks the clack of many mills was pleasing to the ear; and beyond was an immense forest, with densely wooded thickets, where stags, fallow-deer, boars, and wild bulls had their coverts. We have seen that in the charter of Henry I. the citizens had liberty to hunt through a very extensive district, and hawking was also among their free recreations. Foot-ball was the favorite game; and the boys of the schools, and the various guilds of craftmen, had each their ball. The elder citizens came on horseback to see these contests of the young men. Every Sunday in Lent a company with lances and shields went out to joust. In the Easter holidays they had river tournaments. During the summer the youths exercised themselves in leaping, archery, wrestling, stone-throwing, slinging javelins, and fighting with bucklers. When the great marsh which washed the walls of the city on the north was frozen over, sliding, sledging, and skating were the sports of crowds. They had sham fights on the ice, and legs and arms were sometimes broken. "But," says Fitzstephen, "youth is an age eager for glory and desirous of victory, and so young men engage in counterfeit battles, that they may conduct themselves more valiantly in real ones." That universal love of hardy sports which is one of the greatest characteristics of England, and from which we derive no little of that spirit which keeps our island safe, is not of modern growth. It was one of the most important portions of the education of the people seven centuries ago.

It was this community, then, so brave, so energetic, so enriched by commerce above all the other cities of England, that resolutely abided by the fortunes of King Stephen. They had little to dread from any hostile assaults of the rival faction; for the city was strongly fortified on all sides except to the river; but on that side it was secure, after the Tower was built. The palace of Westminster had also a breastwork and bastions. After Matilda had taken her hasty departure, the indignant Londoners marched out, and they sustained a principal part in what has been called "the rout of Winchester," in which Robert, earl of Gloucester, was taken prisoner. The empress escaped to Devizes. The capture of the earl of Gloucester led to important results. A convention was agreed to between the adherents of each party that the king should be exchanged for the earl. Stephen was once more "every inch a king." But still there was no peace in the land.

The bishop of Winchester had again changed his side. In the hour of success the Empress Matilda had refused the reasonable request that Prince Eustace, the son of Stephen, should be put in possession of his father's earldom of Boulogne. Malmesbury says, "misunderstanding arose between the legate and the empress whi-

* Malmesbury's statement, that the earl and his followers swam across the rapid Trent, swollen by rains, seems apocryphal.

† These incidents have been dramatized by Keats, in a spirited fragment, printed in Mr. Monckton Milnes' "Life of Keats."

‡ "Ventilata est causa, coram majori parte cleri Angliæ, ad cujus jus potissimùm spectat principem eligere, simulque, ordinare."—Malmesbury (who appears to have been present at this council), "Modern History," book III.

* "Acta Stephani." † "Life of Henry II." vol. iii. p. 27

may be justly considered as the melancholy cause of every subsequent evil in England." The chief actors in this extraordinary drama present a curious study of human character. Matilda, resting her claim to the throne upon her legitimate descent from Henry I., who had himself usurped the throne—possessing her father's courage and daring, with some of his cruelty—haughty, vindictive—furnishes one of the most striking portraits of the proud lady of the feudal period, who shrank from no danger by reason of her sex, but made the homage of chivalry to woman a powerful instrument for enforcing her absolute will. The earl of Gloucester, the illegitimate brother of Matilda, brave, steadfast, of a free and generous nature, a sagacious counsellor, a lover of literature, appears to have had few of the vices of that age, and most of its elevating qualities. Of Stephen it has been said, "He deserves no other reproach than that of having embraced the occupation of a captain of banditti." This appears rather a harsh judgment from a philosophical writer.* Bearing in mind that the principle of election prevailed in the choice of a king, whatever was the hereditary claim, and seeing how welcome was the advent of Stephen when he came, in 1135, to avert the dangers of the kingdom, he merits the title of "a captain of banditti" no more than Harold, or William the Conqueror. After the contests of six years —the victories, the defeats, the hostility of the Church, his capture and imprisonment—the attachment of the people of the great towns to his person and government appears to have been unshaken. When he was defeated at Lincoln, and led captive through the city, "the surrounding multitude were moved with pity, shedding tears, and uttering cries of grief."† Ordericus says, "The king's disaster filled with grief the clergy and monks and the common people; because he was condescending and courteous to those who were good and quiet; and if his treacherous nobles had allowed it, he would have put an end to their rapacious enterprises, and been a generous protector and benevolent friend of the country." The fourth, and not least remarkable personage of this history, is Henry, the bishop of Winchester, and the pope's legate. At that period, when the functions of churchman and statesman were united, we find this man the chief instrument for securing the crown for his brother. He subsequently becomes the vicegerent of the papal see. Stephen, with more justice than discretion, is of opinion that bishops are not doing their duty when they build castles, ride about in armor with crowds of retainers, and are not at all scrupulous in appropriating some of the booty of a lawless time. From the day when he exhibited his hostility to fighting bishops, the pope's legate was his brother's deadly enemy. But he found that the rival whom he had set up was by no means a pliant tool in his hands, and he then turned against Matilda. When Stephen had shaken off the chains with which he was loaded in Bristol Castle, the bishop summoned a council at Westminster, on his legatine authority; and there, "by great powers of eloquence, endeavored to extenuate the odium of his own conduct;" affirming that he had supported the empress, "not from inclination but necessity." He then "commanded, on the part of God and of the pope, that they should strenuously assist the king, appointed by the will of the people, and by the approbation of the Holy See." Malmesbury, who records these doings, adds that a layman sent from the empress affirmed that "her coming to England had been effected by the legate's frequent letters;" and that "her taking the king, and holding him in captivity, had been done principally by his connivance." The reign of Stephen is not only "the most perfect condensation of all the ills of feudality," but affords a striking picture of the ills which befall a people when an ambitious hierarchy, swayed to and fro at the will of a foreign power, regards the supremacy of the Church as the one great object to be attained, at whatever expense of treachery and falsehood, of national degradation and general suffering.

In 1142 the civil war is raging more fiercely than ever. Matilda is at Oxford, a fortified city, protected by the Thames, by a wall, and by an impregnable castle. Stephen, with a body of veterans, wades across the river, and enters the city. Matilda and her followers take refuge in the keep. For three months the king presses the siege, surrounding the fortress on all sides. Famine is approaching to the helpless garrison. It is the Christmas season. The country is covered with a deep snow. The Thames and the tributary rivers are frozen over. With a small escort Matilda contrives to escape, and passes undiscovered through the royal posts, on a dark and silent night, when no sound is heard but the clang of a trumpet or the challenge of a sentinel. In the course of the night she went to Abingdon on foot, and afterward reached Wallingford on horseback. The author of the "Gesta Stephani" expresses his wonder at the marvellous escapes of this courageous woman. The changes of her fortune are equally remarkable. After the flight from Oxford the arms of the earl of Gloucester are again successful. Stephen is beaten at Wilton, and retreats precipitately with his military brother, the bishop of Winchester. There is now in the autumn of 1142 universal turmoil and desolation. Many people emigrate. Others crowd round the sanctuary of the churches, and dwell there in mean hovels. Famine is general. Fields are white with ripened corn, but the cultivators have fled, and there are none to gather the harvest. Cities are deserted and depopulated. Fierce foreign mercenaries, for whom the barons have no pay, pillage the farms and the monasteries. The bishops, for the most part, rest supine amid all this storm of tyranny. When they rouse themselves they increase rather than mitigate the miseries of the people. Milo, earl of Hereford, has demanded money of the bishop of Hereford to pay his troops. The bishop refuses, and Milo seizes his lands and goods. The bishop then pronounces sentence of excommunication against Milo and his adherents, and lays an interdict upon the whole country subject to the earl's authority. We might hastily think that the solemn curse pronounced against a nation, or a district, was an unmeaning ceremony, with its "bell, book, and candle," to terrify only the weak-minded. It was one of the most outrageous of the numerous ecclesiastical tyrannies. The consolations of religion were eagerly sought for and justly prized by the great body of the people, who earnestly believed that a happy future would be a reward for the patient endurance of a miserable present. As they were admitted to the Holy Communion, they recognized an acknowledgment of the equality of men before the great Father of all. Their marriages were blessed and their funerals were hallowed. Under an interdict all the churches were shut. No knell was tolled for the dead, for the dead remained unburied. No merry peals welcomed the bridal procession, for no couple could be joined in wedlock. The awe-stricken mother might have her infant baptized, and the dying might receive extreme unction. But all public offices of the Church were suspended. If we imagine such a condition of society in a village devastated by fire and sword, we may wonder how a free government and a Christian Church have ever grown up among us.

If Stephen had quietly possessed the throne, and his heir had succeeded him, the crowns of England and Normandy would have been disconnected before the thirteenth century. Geoffrey of Anjou, while his duchess was in England, had become master of Normandy, and its nobles had acknowledged his son Henry as their rightful duke. The boy was in England, under the protection of the earl of Gloucester, who attended to his education. The great earl died in 1147. For a few years there had been no decided contest between the forces of the king and the empress. After eight years of terrible hostility and of desperate adventure, Matilda left the country. Stephen made many efforts to control the license of the barons, but with little effect. He was now engaged in another quarrel with the Church. His brother had been superseded as legate by Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, in consequence of the death of the pope who had supported the Bishop of Winchester. Theobald was Stephen's enemy, and his hostility was rendered formidable by his alliance with Bigod, the Earl of Norfolk. The archbishop excommunicated Stephen and his adherents, and the king was enforced to submission. In 1150 Stephen, having been again reconciled to the Church, sought the recognition of his son Eustace as the heir to the kingdom. This recognition was absolutely refused by the archbishop, who said that Stephen was regarded by the papal see as an usurper. But time was preparing a solution of the difficulties of the kingdom. Henry of Anjou was grown into manhood. Born in 1133, he had been knighted by his uncle, David of Scotland, in 1149. His father died in 1151, and he became not only duke of Normandy, but earl of Anjou, Touraine, and Maine. In 1152 he contracted a marriage of ambition with Eleanor, the divorced wife of Louis of France, and thus became lord of Aquitaine and Poitou, which Eleanor possessed in her own right. Master of all the western coast of

* Sir James Mackintosh. † "Acta Stephani."

France, from the Somme to the Pyrenees, with the exception of Brittany, his ambition, thus strengthened by his power, prepared to dispute the sovereignty of England with better hopes than ever waited on his mother's career. He landed with a well-appointed band of followers in 1153, and besieged various castles. But no general encounter took place. The king and the duke had a conference, without witnesses, across a rivulet, and this meeting prepared the way for a final pacification. The negotiators were Henry, the bishop, on the one part, and Theobald, the archbishop, on the other. Finally, Stephen led the prince in solemn procession through the streets of Winchester, "and all the great men of the realm, by the king's command, did homage, and pronounced the fealty due to their liege lord, to the duke of Normandy, saving only their allegiance to King Stephen during his life." * Stephen's son Eustace had died during the negotiations. The troublesome reign of Stephen was soon after brought to a close. He died on the 25th of October, 1154. His constant and heroic queen had died three years before him.

CHAPTER XIX.

Henry II. crowned—Establishment of order—Parentage of Becket—Becket chancellor—Character of Henry—Becket ambassador to France—Malcolm of Scotland—Invasion of Wales—Description of the Welsh—Wars on the Continent—Becket Archbishop of Canterbury—Character of Becket.

After the long troubles of the reign of Stephen, it was not without hope of a quiet future that the people of England saw a young man enter upon the kingly office with an undisputed title. In those days, when history, for the great mass of the community, was little more than imperfect tradition, it would still be handed down to the Anglo-Saxon people that for nearly two hundred years, since the days of King Ethelred, the succession to the throne had been ever doubtful. The Danish power had snatched the crown from the race of Alfred for a third of a century. It was restored to the ancient line for a short period; and then came another conquest, which had extinguished all chance of any other than a foreign rule, till time should confound the distinctions of birth and language. But of three successors of the Conqueror who had ruled England for sixty-seven years, no one had worn the crown by a clear hereditary right. At last one had arisen whose claim none could dare to controvert. The daughter of Henry I., indeed, was alive, and had the same title to the throne which she had so strenuously asserted in the reign of Stephen. But the convention with that king established the right of her son Henry II. beyond the possibility of any new contention. Henry was in Normandy when Stephen died; and it was six weeks after that death before he arrived in England. He was crowned at Westminster, on the 19th of December, 1154—the first king of the Plantagenet race, which ruled England for more than three centuries.

At the time of his accession Henry II. was twenty-one years of age. His reign extended over thirty-five years. It was a memorable period, in which, although the government was essentially despotic, there was a decided advance in the equal administration of justice, and in the subjection of a cruel and turbulent aristocracy to the consolidated power of an energetic and intellectual king. The personal character of Henry gives a distinctive color to the events of his reign, and especially in his great contest to maintain the supremacy of the civil power over the ecclesiastical. The brilliant morning of his life, compared with its dark and stormy evening, lends, also, a dramatic interest to this portion of our history. There is a remarkable unity in the whole story; and in following it out in its exhibition of individual passions and aspirations, we shall best evolve the characteristics of the age.

To repair the evils of the reign of Stephen required in the new government the rare union of vigor and moderation. Though a young man of strong passions, Henry held over them the control of a firm will and a commanding intellect. He went steadily to his great work of substituting law and order for violence and confusion. He expelled the foreign mercenaries by whom the people had been grievously plundered. He demolished the castles which had been the hiding-places of privileged robbers. He recovered those lands of the crown which had been improvidently alienated by Stephen. He abolished the private mints which had been as numerous as the castles, and claimed the exclusive sovereign right of issuing a new coinage. Much of this counter-revolution required to be effected by military force; but the arduous labor appears to have been carried through with little injustice and less cruelty. He had an able grand justiciary in the earl of Leicester; and the counsels of Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, were those of conciliation and peace. In his own person he attended vigilantly to the administration of justice. "He did not sit still in his palace, as most other kings do, but going over the provinces examined into the actions of his subjects, chiefly forming his judgment of those whom he had appointed the judges of others." * The chancellor of Henry, who became the most influential of his advisers, was Thomas à Becket.

Gilbert Becket was a citizen of London in the reign of Henry I. His son Thomas was born there in 1119. Romantic as are the vicissitudes of the career of this extraordinary man, there is also a romance attached to the lives of his father and mother, which monkish legend has embodied and sober history has not rejected.† Gilbert Becket was in the Holy Land after the First Crusade, when the pilgrim might journey to Jerusalem without restraint. But Gilbert in his wanderings fell into the hands of a Saracen, and was held by him in long captivity. The misbeliever took a pleasure in the society of the Englishman; and the emir's daughter bore toward him a tenderer regard. Gilbert by her aid escaped, and returned to London. A few years after, in that commercial city, to whose quays ships came from the East laden with silks and spices and frankincense, a lady was wandering through its streets and markets, who could utter no intelligible words but "London" and "Gilbert;" and so she moved on, a desolate stranger, with those sounds of fond remembrance only on her lips. Gilbert and the beautiful Oriental at last met. She became Becket's wife, and the mother of his famous son. The story is found in Brompton, one of our early chroniclers. The character of Thomas à Becket is not inconsistent with the belief that he came of parents from whom he might derive that union of enthusiastic impulse which belonged to a Syrian mother, and of unbending obstinacy which was the characteristic of an Anglo-Saxon father.

Thomas à Becket received his early education at the Abbey of Merton. In the schools of London he was trained in that intellectual gladiatorship which was as remarkable as the military sports of the citizens. The disputations of these schools have been amusingly described by Fitz-Stephen. On festival days the scholars assembled in the churches, and there contended, with logical precision or rhetorical sophistry. Like many modern orators, they were "deemed clever according to their fluency of speech." They wrangled about mood and tense; assailed each other with bitter epigram and Socratic wit; and spared not even great personages in their scoffs and sarcasms. To complete his accomplishments, young Becket went to Paris, and there he acquired, what was as important to his advancement as philosophy and divinity, a perfect mastery of the French language, and a thorough conquest of the unhappy English accent which marked the still despised Saxon race. He returned to England with more chivalric accomplishments than entirely befitted his clerical vocation. His abilities soon commanded attention, and he received valuable benefices from Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, and became archdeacon of that diocese. By him he was employed in two difficult negotiations at Rome, one of which was to obtain a papal bull against any bishop officiating at the coronation of Eustace, the son of Stephen. When Henry II. became king this service brought Becket into favor. He had all the qualifications of a courtier—a fine person, a cultivated mind, a pleasing address, a dis-

* Henry of Huntingdon.

* Peter of Blois.

† Lord Campbell, in his "Lives of the Chancellors," is indignant with Turner and Thierry telling the story of "Gilbert," which he calls "deluding their readers." He should have included Macintosh among the deluders. Are all Lord Campbell's stories "evidence?" May we ask where Lord Campbell finds that "racing, hunting, and hawking were amusements forbidden to the Saxons?" The forest laws limited the chase to certain classes, whether Norman or Saxon: but the citizens of London had their especial privilege of hunting-grounds, and, therefore, Becket need not have earned the good graces of a Norman baron to be allowed to hunt, as Lord Campbell intimates.

position to engage in the revelry and sports in which nobles delighted, and which ecclesiastics were not severe to shun. That he was the companion of the king, when he went forth with his hounds and hawks, we may believe without attributing to him any disposition to partake the licentiousness in which the Norman kings too frequently indulged. After a short period he was appointed chancellor. This position placed him about the king's person as the sealer of his writs, and as his secretary and adviser. Hoveden, writing under the date of 1157, says, "The said king, by the advice and entreaty of Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, conferred the chancellorship upon Thomas, archdeacon of Canterbury, and bestowed upon him many revenues, both ecclesiastical and of a secular nature, and received him so much into his esteem and familiarity that throughout the kingdom there was no one his equal, save the king alone." Lord Campbell, with a too ready acquiescence in the belief that all the Saxons were still aliens and serfs, says, "We may imagine the joy of the Saxon race in witnessing his elevation." The biographer of the chancellors, who has carefully looked at Lyttelton for his account of Becket, passes over the remarkable quotation which Lyttleton gives from a contemporary author, Ailredus, who says that England had now, in the middle of the twelfth century, "not only a king, but many bishops and abbots, many great earls and noble knights, who, being descended both from the Norman and English blood, were an honor to the one and a comfort to the other." Had it been otherwise—had the Saxon race been as jealous of the Norman as if ninety years had made no change in their position and their feelings—we may imagine that the elevation of a Saxon who had adopted the Norman language, wore the Norman dress, eagerly sought all the Norman privileges, as an inmate of great houses, when he was young, and now indulged in all the Norman luxuries of delicate meats and rich wines, and displayed his gold and silver vessels in the eyes of earls and barons—we may imagine that his countrymen and fellow-citizens would regard him as an alien and an upstart, rather than as a representative of their race and an advocate of their rights. The ostentation of this favorite of the young king, if we are to believe Fitz-Stephen, was as remarkable as that of Wolsey in a later age. His rooms, after the homely fashion which lasted for centuries, were covered with clean straw and hay in winter, and with clean rushes and boughs in summer. But they glittered with the rude magnificence of rich furniture, amid which the chancellor and his retainers moved in sumptuous apparel, and sate at costly banquets. These demonstrations of wealth and hospitality were common to many of the privileged classes. But when we are told that "many nobles and knights paid homage to the chancellor, which he received with a saving of their allegiance to the king," and "he then maintained and supported them as their patron," we may suspect Fitz-Stephen of a little of that exaggeration which tempted him to assign eighty thousand fighting men to London. There is a little inconsistency, too, about the relation of Becket's excessive familiarity with Henry: "Serious business being finished, the king and he consorted as young comrades of the same station—whether in the palace, in church, in private society, or in excursions on horseback." Young comrades they certainly were not. Hoveden gives the date 1157 as that of Becket's elevation to the chancellorship. Becket was then thirty-eight years of age; Henry twenty-four. Henry is recorded by Fitz-Stephen to have pulled Becket's scarlet cloak from his back to give to a beggar in the public streets. But Becket was neither a young comrade nor of the same station as the author of the practical joke. The incident is related to show the excessive favor with which Becket was regarded, and how he and the king stood in the relation of equal friends. Kings, even to very recent times, have indulged in this horse-play with their table companions. But Henry was not a man to encourage such dangerous familiarity. We have a very minute picture of this king at a later period of his life, but before he had lost the alacrity of spirit which was as much a portion of his nature as his solid understanding and inflexible will. The portrait which we subjoin is a reduced copy from that of Peter of Blois. He is of middle size, inclined to corpulency, if he had not subdued the tendency by constant exercise. His head is spherical. His hair, slightly red, is not scant, but it is closely cut, and is now touched with gray. His face is lion-like, and almost square. His round eyes are gentle in his moods of calm, but when he is angry they flash fire. His broad chest and brawny arms proclaim his strength and activity. His feet are arched, and his shins like a horse's. His ungloved hands are coarse from constant exposure, and his legs are bruised by the kicks of the wild steeds that he rides. He stands on his feet from morning to night, when engaged in business; but if his plans require his presence he will make in one day a journey that would usually occupy four or five days, and tires out the strongest man by his excursions. His dress is of the plainest character—no peaked boots or flowing mantles, but all tight and serviceable. No one is shrewder in council, readier in speaking, more self-possessed in danger, more careful in prosperity, more firm in adversity. His court is a daily school, where he constantly discusses hard questions, and obtains knowledge from learned men. His moderation in eating and drinking is habitual. No one is more gentle and affable to the poor and distressed; but no one is more overbearing to the proud. By the carriage of himself like a deity, it has always been his study to put down the insolent, to encourage the oppressed, and to repress the swellings of pride by continual and deadly persecution. If this portrait be true to the life, we can scarcely reconcile the character of the Plantagenet with the indulgence of those undignified freedoms toward Becket, which assume that the king had no self-respect, and had no desire to make the ministers of his power respected by his subjects. Still less can we reconcile that character with the accredited stories of his disposition to pamper the "unbounded stomach" of his chancellor. Henry sent Becket to the court of France to contract an alliance of marriage with his eldest son and the daughter of the French king. We can understand how Becket would naturally have been accompanied by a splendid retinue, and have the means of making lavish gifts. But, according to Fitz-Stephen, he took with him two hundred knights and nobles, forming his body-guard, with a train amounting altogether to a thousand persons—marching through the towns of France with laden wagons and sumpter horses, bearing coffers of money and plate, and holy vessels of his chapel, with the strange accompaniments of a monkey on each horse; while two hundred and fifty pages sang verses, and standards waved, and esquires bore the shields of the knights, and soldiers and priests rode two and two. All this pomp appears to be rather more for the honor of the sovereign's representative, than a sovereign who studied to put down the insolent and repress the swellings of pride would be willing to encourage. Henry himself was a hater of pomp and ceremony; and we doubt whether he would readily have borne the expense of this display for the barren gratification of hearing that the French people exclaimed, "How wonderful must be the king of England himself, whose chancellor travels in such state." A little later in Becket's history we find that he raised a force of seven hundred knights at his own expense, and marched at their head to the siege of Toulouse; and in a subsequent campaign we learn that the chancellor, beside seven hundred knights of his own family, had under his command twelve hundred cavalry, whom he had taken into pay, and four thousand infantry, for the space of forty days. In five years, then, we see an adventurer, a deacon only in the Church, and therefore an ecclesiastic who might, without offence, be a courtier and a soldier, and indulge in the license of courts and camps—we see this London citizen having earls to do him homage, and knights to follow in his train. Exaggerated as all this may be, a love of display was a part of his character. He did everything for effect, at every period of his life. Of unbounded ambition, of overbearing pride, and we will venture to believe of very doubtful honesty, he followed for eight years the path of secular greatness, having the confidence of the king in his undoubted ability, and securing that confidence by his agreeable qualities. His predilections were not in the least toward that Church of which he received the revenues almost in the capacity of lay-impropriator. When the bishops and abbots, who had declined the old personal service in the field as barons, refused to pay a commutation-tax, Becket, as chancellor, enforced their submission. He then laughed at the threat of excommunication. He had the profits of his Church preferments, and he cared for little more. Archdeacon of Canterbury, dean of Hastings, provost of Beverley, prebendary of many stalls, he had an interest in the Church; but he had little love for the essentials of religion. Undazzled with the power and ambition of this man, we as yet see only the unscrupulous favorite of a king who was too wise long to trust himself to favorites.

The first seven years of Henry's reign were not without the vicissi-

tudes of policy and the difficulties of war. His continental dominions made him a dangerous rival to his feudal superior, the king of France; and he aimed at the extension of his power rather than its concentration. Normandy was his, by the same right as England. He derived the sovereignty of Aquitaine from his marriage. His father was count of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine; and he would have lawfully inherited these possessions had he not sworn that he would perform every article of his father's will. One article was that he should resign these territories to his younger brother, Geoffrey, should Henry obtain possession of England. Henry applied to the Roman see to give him a dispensation from his oath, which he said he had blindly taken; and the obsequious pontiff granted the formidable king's desire. Geoffrey was not so easily satisfied, and assembled an army; but his brother quickly subjected him, and gave him a pension to compensate for the loss of his coronet. Henry did homage to Louis, of France, for all these vast possessions; and Louis "had reason to tremble" while he received Henry's fealty.*

On his return to England in 1157, the king, not unnaturally, sought to recover that power which England had lost to Scotland during the reign of Stephen. The counties of Cumberland and Northumberland had passed into the possession of the Scottish crown, either as fiefs or by especial grant. There was an oath in the way of their resumption, which had been imposed upon Henry when a youth under the protection of his great-uncle, the Scottish king. But the surrender of the northern counties, which Henry demanded, could not be resisted; and the young King Malcolm also did homage to Henry for Lothian. This homage, according to Sir Walter Scott, "was done by the Scottish kings for Lothian, simply because it had been a part or moiety of Northumberland, ceded by Eadulf Cudel, a Saxon earl of Northumberland, to Malcolm II., on condition of amity and support in war, for which, as feudal institutions gained ground, feudal homage was the natural substitute and emblem." †

But there was a part of the British dominions which did not promise so easy a settlement of ancient rivalries as in the case of Scotland. Wales, during the contest between Stephen and Matilda, had, under brave chieftains, recovered much of its ancient territory from the English. It was the policy of Henry's government to obliterate the remembrance of the evil time that had interposed between the reign of his grandfather and his own accession. To assert the authority of England over the Welsh princes was a part of this policy. In 1157 the king led a powerful army into Flintshire. He had previously strengthened the Flemish colony of sturdy artisans in Pembrokeshire, who had maintained their ground against the Welsh till the end of the reign of Stephen. When Henry marched into North Wales to encounter the chief Owen Gwynneth, Owen was encamped at Basingwerk. Henry, somewhat rashly, entered a narrow and woody defile, called Eulo, near Coleshill, in the parish of Holywell. The Welsh, with all the advantage of local knowledge, routed the king's forces. Henry then marched along the coast, but gained no advantage, because "he was principally advised by people remote from the marches, and ignorant of the manners and customs of the natives." Thus writes Giraldus de Barri, called Giraldus Cambrensis, who accompanied archbishop Baldwin to preach the Crusade in Wales in 1188, and has given us a description of the country and its inhabitants. Very unimportant changes would have been effected in the social condition of the people in thirty years after Henry II. went upon his first expedition; and we may therefore, with this authority, here take a general view of these interesting descendants of the early Britons.

Giraldus, in his journey from Radnor through the district between the Wye and the Usk, sees lands abounding with grain, and well stored with pastures and woods. There are salmon and trout in the rivers, and there are wild and domestic animals. The people are perpetually engaged in bloody conflicts; though churches are numerous. The ploughman sings to his oxen as they work, and the maidens spin the thread and throw the shuttle. At Lanthoni Abbey the monks, sitting in their cloisters, look upon the mountains, with herds of wild deer feeding on their summits. At Caerleon, near Newport, he saw the vestiges of Roman architectural magnificence—temples and theatres, vaults and aqueducts, and stoves contrived with wonderful art. Keeping near the coast from Llandaff, the cavalcade crossed the sands by the estuary of the Nith, which Giraldus calls the most dangerous and inaccessible river in South Wales; and here his packhorse sank in the quicksands, but was happily extricated, without the loss of the books which he bore. Swansea then had its castle, at which the pilgrims slept; but there was no sound of industry, and the mineral riches of that region lay hidden. At Haverford Giraldus takes occasion to speak of the Flemings—a people well versed in commerce and woollen manufactures—a hardy race, equally fitted for the plough or the sword—who inhabited this province of Ros. Menorbeer, a small village on the coast between Tenbigh and Pembroke, the birthplace of Giraldus, is affectionately described by him as the pleasantest spot in Wales. Journeying from St. David's to Cardigan, he records the marvels of the Teivi, where the salmon leap up a river cataract, falling from a height equal to the longest spear. But the Teivi has a greater curiosity in natural history. It is the only river in Wales, or even in England, which has beavers. In Scotland they are said to be found, he remarks, in one river only. His description of the beaver's habits differs little from the observations of more accurate naturalists. Merionethshire is the rudest and roughest district of all Wales; and here the people display the military attribute of North Wales, in throwing a long lance with prodigious power, while those of the South excel in the use of the bow. As he journeys on to Caernarvon he hears the woodpecker, but the nightingale is never heard. Mona (Anglesea) contains three hundred and forty-three villages; and, though a dry and stony land, is so fertile in corn as to be called "the mother of Wales." Crossing the Dee below Chester, he proceeds into Powys. In this district there is a breed of horses of remarkable fleetness, deriving their origin from Spanish horses brought into these parts by Robert de Belèsme, earl of Shrewsbury. The archbishop and his train, having thus made the circuit of the country by the coast and border lands, with little observation of the interior, reach the point from which they set out, having signed three thousand men with the cross, well skilled in the use of arrows and lances. Let us glean a few particulars of these people from the "Description of Wales," by the same writer.

Light and active, hardy rather than strong, the nation universally is trained to arms. Flesh is consumed by the people more than bread, with milk, cheese, and butter. With this pastoral character, having little agriculture, they are always ready for war; and they have neither commerce nor manufactures. They fish with the little wicker boats which they carry to their rivers. Lightly armed with small breastplates, helmets, and shields, they attack their mailed foes with lance and arrow. They have some cavalry, but the marshy nature of the soil compels the greater number to fight on foot. Abstemious both in food and drink, frugal, and capable of bearing great privations, they watch their enemies through the cold and stormy nights, always bent upon defence or plunder. Their hospitality is universal; for the houses of all are common to all. The conversation of the young women, and the music of the harp, give a charm to their humble fare; and no jealousy interferes with the freedom with which a stranger is welcomed by the females of the household. When the evening meal is finished, a bed of rushes is placed in the side of the room, and all without distinction lie down to sleep. The men and women cut their hair close round to the ears and eyes; and the men shave all their beard except the whiskers. Of their white teeth they are particularly careful. They are of an acute intellect, and excel in whatever studies they pursue. They have three musical instruments, the harp, the pipe, and the crowd; and their performances are executed with such celerity and delicacy of modulation that they produce a perfect consonance from the rapidity of seemingly discordant touches. Their bards, in their rhymed songs, and their orators, in their set speeches, make use of alliteration in preference to all other ornament. In their musical concerts they do not sing in unison, but in many different parts; and it is unusual to hear a simple melody well sung. The heads of families think it their duty to amuse their guests by their facetiousness. The highest, as well as the lowest of the people, have a remarkable boldness and confidence in speaking and answering; and their natural warmth of temper is distinguished from the English coldness of disposition. They have many soothsayers among them. Noble birth and generous descent they esteem above all things. Even the common people retain gen-

* Daniel, quoted in Lyttelton, vol. ii. p. 316.
† "History of Scotland," in "Lardner's Cyclopædia," vol. i. p. 36.

eulogy. They revenge with vehemence any injuries which may tend to the disgrace of their blood, whether an ancient or a recent affront. They are universally devout, and they show a greater respect than other nations to churches and ecclesiastical persons, and especially revere relics of saints. Giraldus, having described at much length the particulars which redound to the credit of the British nation (for so he calls the Welsh), then proceeds to those things which pass the line of encomium. The people, he says, are inconstant, and regardless of any covenant. They commit acts of plunder, not only against foreigners and hostile nations, but against their own countrymen. Bold in their warlike onsets, they cannot bear a repulse, and trust to flight for safety; but defeated one day, they are ready to resume the conflict on the next. Their ancient national custom of dividing property among all the brothers of a house leads to perpetual contests for possessions, and frequent fratricides. They constantly intermarry within the forbidden degrees, uniting themselves to their own people, presuming on their own superiority of blood and family; and they rarely marry without previous cohabitation. Their churches have almost as many parties and parsons as there are principal men in the parish; the sons, after the decease of the father, succeed to the ecclesiastical benefices, not by election, but by assumed hereditary right. Finally, in setting forth how this people is to be subdued, and preserved to the English crown, Giraldus says that from the pride and obstinacy of their dispositions they will not, like other nations, subject themselves to the dominion of one lord and king. How long a time it was before that subjection was even imperfectly accomplished, will be seen as we proceed in our narrative.*

It is not within the scope of this history, nor would it add greatly to its interest, to follow out the negotiations and wars in which the Norman princes were engaged with regard to their continental dominions. Henry II., having a larger extent of territory to defend, and a stronger disposition to acquire more, than any of his predecessors, had at this period abundant need of his talent and energy. His pretensions to Toulouse roused the hostility of Louis of France. Becket was his boldest adviser in this war; for he counselled Henry to take Toulouse by assault, and secure Louis as his prisoner. Henry had scruples about a direct attack on his feudal superior, and resisted the dangerous counsel. He went to Normandy, and then Becket, in company with Henry, Earl of Essex, stormed castles and fought battles, with his own hundreds of knights and thousands of mercenaries. It would be difficult to say how the people of England were governed in the absence of the king and his favorite chancellor, if we placed implicit credit in the common opinion that Becket, in England, presided in the Aula Regis, superintended the domestic administration of the kingdom, was preceptor to the king's sons, and altogether the great master-spirit of the government. We believe that he was a most convenient instrument in the hands of the sagacious king—having one heart, and one mind, as Peter of Blois writes—because the chancellor was wholly moulded by the inflexible regal will, as long as he stood in a position of dependence. Whether he partook Henry's pleasures, assumed his port and state as an ambassador, or fought his battles as a military chief, the ambitious deacon was still a servant, and, in all probability, subject to the passionate outbursts of a lord who is described as "a lamb when in good-humor, but a lion, or worse than a lion, when seriously angry."† The capricious energy of the king was often most harassing to his courtiers. He would announce his intention to take a journey in three days, and would start the next morning at daybreak, when every one must start with him; and therefore the good Peter of Blois thus prays: "Make him know that he is a man, and let him have and practise the grace of royal bounty and kindness to those who are compelled to follow him, not from ambition but from necessity." It is not difficult to understand how the haughty spirit of Becket would silently rebel under this servile yoke. But wealth flowed in upon him. In addition to his vast pluralities in the Church, he was warden of the Tower, and had other lay offices. But the time of his life was come when the desire of power is a stronger motive than the excitement of acquiring riches or the seduction of luxurious gratifications. Becket, in 1162, was forty-three years of age. Henry, upon the death of Theobald, the archbishop of Canterbury, had offered his chancellor the primacy. He, known only in the Church as a deacon, never having discharged any clerical office—a soldier more than a priest—one who had devoted himself rather to hunting and falconry than to the study of the Scriptures—(for so runs a protest against Becket's appointment)—was not exactly the man to raise the honor of a Church against whose corruptions that spirit of satire which is most dangerous under repression had already burst forth. There was a certain Walter Mapes living in those times, who is popularly known as the writer of a drinking-song, but who was one of many who from the days of Henry II. poured out his scholarly invective in bitter rhymes against the corruptions of the monastic orders and the encroachments of the ecclesiastical power. A Latin poem ascribed to Walter Mapes, entitled "Apocalypsis Goliæ," describes the pope as a lion that thirsts after gold—the bishop as a calf that feeds on other men's pastures—the archdeacon as an eagle that sees afar off his prey—the dean with the shape of a man, but full of fraud and deceit. The satires of the days of the Reformation were thus preceded by those of the twelfth century.* Did Becket cast off the sleeved cloak of the gay courtier, to put on the hair-shirt of the penitent archbishop, that he might effect that change in the Church which in moderating her worldly pretensions would have increased her spiritual power over the hearts and consciences of men? The dignity of the primacy was forced upon him, it is said. Henry knew that he had a great battle to fight against an authority out of his realm which claimed to hold in subjection the mightiest order within his realm. The civil power, too, had been gradually encroached upon by the ecclesiastical, for nearly a century. The first William, in separating the civil and ecclesiastical tribunals, had made a political mistake. In the abuse of that separation, those who belonged to the priesthood were not subject to the laws of the state for the punishment of crime. They claimed to be tried by their own courts, and those courts were partial. The inequality required adjustment; and Becket was chosen as Henry's reliable agent, to bring the Church within the bounds of its lawful authority and influence.

There is nothing more difficult than to form an impartial judgment of the men of a past age, if we do not wholly lay aside the tests which we apply to the motives and principles of the men of our own age. Lord Campbell, in speaking of the sincerity of Becket's devotion to the Church, says: "Let us consider the sudden effect of the touch of the mitre on men of honor in our own time." How can such a comparison in the least enable us to understand the case of Becket? A newly-created bishop may give a vote against the minister who raised him, with perfect satisfaction to his own conscience. But Becket, in accepting the primacy, must have thoroughly known that he must take one of two courses—either to be a moderator between the State and the Church, or to precipitate the Church into a contest with the State. His biographer, Fitz-Stephen, relates that Becket thought he should be driven, if he accepted the primacy, to lose the king's favor, or to sacrifice the service of God. It is said that the king's mother warned her son that Becket would become a rival, and disturb the peace of the kingdom. Becket paused a year before he accepted the archbishopric. What struggles must that mind have undergone before he resolved to enter upon that dangerous course which his enthusiasm saw before him! After his election and consecration, he resigned his office of chancellor, to the great offence of the king. Through that common mistake of judging extraordinary men and actions by a familiar standard, an acute historian writes, "By continuing to flatter the king's wishes, and by uniting in himself the offices of chancellor and archbishop, he might, in all probability, have ruled without control both in Church and State."† What would such a rule have been to Becket? There were two thrones to be filled in England, as we venture to interpret the views of the archbishop—the throne of Canterbury and the throne of Westminster. It was not with him a question of revenue, a question of self-gratification, a question of the best management of a mixed and subordinate power. He well knew the character of the man with whom he should have to contend. He had a just estimate of the strength of the nobles who would be banded against him. But the authority of

* We have condensed this view of Wales and the Welsh of the twelfth century from the two volumes of Giraldus, translated by Sir Richard Colt Hoare.

† Peter of Blois.

* See the "Latin Poems attributed to Walter Mapes," published by the Camden Society.

† Lingard, "History of England," vol. ii. chap. 5.

the universal Church had already made kings hold the pope's stirrup; and Gregory VII. had excommunicated an emperor of Germany, and compelled him to wait his pleasure, for three winter days, in his outer courts, with all the humiliation of naked feet and the penitent's woollen shirt. What Pope Gregory was in the eleventh century, Pope Alexander would be in the twelfth, if Henry were contumacious. It was no vulgar ambition that precipitated a contest in which the Saxon priest should defy the Norman king, and make all Christendom look on with wonder at his courage and unequalled self-reliance. Coleridge calls this contest "the struggle between the men of arms and of letters, in the persons of Henry and Becket."* The poetical critic suggests this as the subject of a drama. But a true historical play would not marshal a fiery king and an ignorant nobility on one side, and a mild prelate and a learned clergy on the other. It would show an almost unprecedented battle between a wise and accomplished statesman, strong in the possession of powers almost despotic, and a most fearless and proud ecclesiastic, confident in his own intellectual strength, and fortified by the support of his spiritual superior. The two great principles upon which the world was to be governed had come into mortal conflict, instead of each moderating the other, and harmonizing for the common good. The men of arms and the men of letters looked on with fear and wonder.

CHAPTER XX.

Deportment of Becket as Archbishop—State of the secular law—Clerical exemption from secular law—Council of Clarendon—Constitutions of Clarendon—Becket arraigned at Northampton—Becket's flight from England—Excommunication—Punishment of heretics—Henry and Becket meet at Touraine—Becket returns to England—His murder at Canterbury—Consequences of Becket's murder—The shrine of Becket.

In the June of 1162 Becket was elected archbishop of Canterbury by the suffragan bishops and the prior and monks of Canterbury, assembled at Westminster. In this proceeding there was nothing beyond the pretence of election; for Henry had sent his justiciary from Normandy, to bear his royal mandate for the elevation of his chancellor to the primacy. No churchman dared to raise an objection to this arbitrary command. One only, the bishop of Hereford, ventured to express his opinion, in saying that the king had worked a miracle, for he had turned a layman and a soldier into an archbishop. Becket was then, at Canterbury, ordained a priest; and afterward consecrated with extraordinary magnificence. But the mandate of Henry had worked a more miraculous transformation than that described by the bishop of Hereford—a metamorphosis as unexpected by the king as by the Church. The man who had displayed before the astonished people the most extravagant luxury, with nobles in his train and belted knights for his body-guard, now wears a monk's frock and a hair cloth next his skin; feeds the poor daily in his private chambers, waiting on them, and washing their feet; entertains the great in his hospitable halls, but allows no one to sit at his own table except monks and other ecclesiastics; hears a Latin book read aloud, instead of listening, as was his wont, to the music of the banquet; and when, in the holiest office of the cathedral, he kneels before the altar, weeps and groans as the most afflicted of penitents. The king is astonished that Becket should have resigned the chancellorship. He comes to England, and is met by the primate at Southampton. Henry now knows that the predictions of his mother were not altogether vain. He calls up that lightning of his eyes which Peter de Blois describes, and requires the archbishop to give up his archdeaconry, which he had continued, illegally, to retain. Becket is obliged to yield. The old friendship is gone.

The next year the archbishop, with most of the other dignitaries of the Church, proceeded to a great council at Tours, to meet Pope Alexander and his cardinals. It was here determined that a severe canon should be made against all who usurped the goods of the Church. Upon his return to England the archbishop demanded from several barons, and even from the crown, the restoration of manors and castles which had belonged to the see of Canterbury. The claim of resumption went back to the time of William I., Becket maintaining that no length of possession could establish the property of the church as a lay fee. Henry was not deterred, by this spirit in him who had been the creature of his bounty, and upon whom he had reckoned as the most effective minister of his will, from proceeding in a course which he knew was essential to the well-being of his people.

The separation of the secular and the ecclesiastical jurisdictions, which had been effected in the reign of William I., had made an important revolution in the administration of justice. That great innovation was announced by William as having been made in the common council with the advice of the archbishops, bishops, and abbots, and of all the chief men of the kingdom.* From the period of this separation, the administration of civil justice had been gradually becoming more essentially connected with the kingly office; while under the Saxons no man was to apply to the king in any suit, unless he at home might not be law-worthy, or could not obtain law. By "at home" was meant the local courts, whether of the manor or the county. The Curia Regis—the Court of King's Bench—is held to have been "confirmed and fully established by Henry II., if not originally instituted by that prince."† There were itinerant justices of assize, with occasional commissions, in the reign of Henry I.; but in the 22d year of Henry II. they regularly went their circuits. When this active and sagacious king had been on the throne ten years, he had, in a great degree, brought all his lay subjects under the equal rule of the laws. The country was rapidly recovering from the miseries of the time of Stephen, and the people were increasing in numbers as their profitable industry also increased. The old Saxon principle of "bot," or pecuniary compensation for crime, had, for the most part, been superseded by criminal laws, administered with stern severity. At this period, Trial by Jury—although the duties of a juror were, in many respects, different from those of modern times—was coming into general use; and in 1176 a precise enactment established the jury as the usual mode of trial: "The justices, who represented the king's person, were to make inquiry by the oaths of twelve knights, or other lawful men, of each hundred, together with the four men from each township, of all murders, robberies, and thefts, and of all who had harbored such offenders, since the king's accession to the throne."‡ But these twelve knights, or other lawful men, were not before the king's justices to decide upon the credibility of evidence, or to hear questions of law and fact discussed and argued. They were often called "recognitors." They were essentially witnesses. Mr. Hallam, speaking of the learned investigations of Sir F. Palgrave on this question, says, "This theory is sustained by a great display of erudition, which fully establishes that the jurors had such a knowledge, however acquired, of the facts, as enabled them to render a verdict without hearing any other testimony in open court than that of the parties themselves, fortified, if it might be, by written documents adduced."§ Mr. Hallam points out that several instances of recognition—that is, of jurors finding facts of their own knowledge—occur in the "Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond." We give one instance, in 1191, upon a question whether certain lands were the frank fee of the Church or not: "And when there was summoned an inquest of twelve knights to make inquest in the king's court, the inquest was taken in the court of the abbot of Harlow, by the license of Ranulf de Glanville; and the recognitors swore that they never knew that land at any time to be separated from the Church."‖ It is unnecessary to pursue this subject to show, at this point of our history, how the administration of justice, criminal and civil, was undergoing many important changes connected with the changes of society, and was approaching, by gradual steps, to that state in which the "inquest by the country" became the great safeguard of life and property. Mr. Hallam has truly said, "In its rudest and most imperfect form, the trial by a sworn inquest was far superior to the impious superstition of ordeals, the hardly less preposterous and unequal duel, the unjust deference to power in compurgation, when the oath of one thane counterbalanced those of six ceorls, and even to the free-spirited

* "Literary Remains," vol. ii. p. 162. 8vo.

* Allen, in *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xxxv. p. 15. † Ibid., p. 8.
‡ Sir F. Palgrave, "English Commonwealth."
§ "Middle Ages," vol. ii. p. 393, ed. 1855.
‖ The original of this Latin Chronicle of the Monk of Bury was published by the Camden Society, and is translated by T. E. Tomlins, Esq.

but tumultuous and unenlightened decisions of the hundred or the county." * That the recognitors were generally very ignorant, and too frequently corrupt, was unavoidable, in an age when knowledge was chiefly confined to the clergy, and oaths, as we have often seen, were held of light account. Jocelin de Brakelond gives a curious instance. Five knights came to the abbot of Bury, having been summoned upon an inquest respecting an advowson, and "tempting the abbot," asked what it was they ought to swear. But the abbot would neither give nor promise them anything, but said, "When the oath shall be administered, declare the right according to your consciences." The honest abbot of course lost his suit.

We have thus indicated, without attempting to enter upon any elaborate examination of controverted points, the general state of the English secular law in the time of Henry II. We have done so to show that, however imperfect were the securities against the escape of the guilty or the oppression of the innocent, justice was systematically administered under the royal authority; and that the barbarous violence of the early days of feudal tenures was passing rapidly away. The position of the Church presented an insuperable obstacle to the equal administration of the laws. The clergy claimed an exemption from all secular judicature. While the murderer and the robber were punished with death if tried in the courts of the crown, the vilest offender, if a clerk, escaped the extreme penalty of his offence, and was often freed from all consequences except that of pecuniary compensation. The number of persons in holy orders was enormous. The vast extension of religious houses, and the general increase of the revenues of the ecclesiastics, had opened the doors of the Church even to the Saxon serf; and to many the profession of a clerk, if it brought no endowment or regular provision, offered a security against want in the alms of the pious, and a protection against the oppressions of the lay-barons. Called upon for night-service, the bishops and abbots had men in their retinues who were half priest and half soldier, and whose habits of life had little of the purity and peacefulness that belonged to the more educated and better principled of the order. It has been stated that in the first years of Henry II. there were reckoned nearly one hundred homicides that had been perpetrated by priests then living. After the appointment of Becket to the primacy, a priest of Worcestershire committed the infamous crime of murdering a father, that he might be undisturbed in a guilty intercourse with his daughter. Even such a crime would not, under any circumstances of atrocity, have been punished with death in the Church tribunals. This offender was required to be delivered up for trial in the king's courts. Becket interposed the shield of the Church between the criminal and the outraged laws; and passed upon him a sentence of degradation only, contending that the degraded priest could not be a second time brought to trial for the same offence. Henry called an assembly of prelates at Westminster, and earnestly asserted the public necessity of putting an end to such hideous compromises as the archbishop had maintained. He asked them "whether they were willing to submit to the ancient laws and customs of the kingdom?" The reply, framed by Becket, was that they would observe them "saving the privileges of their order." The king was indignant, and immediately deprived the archbishop of the temporal appointments which he held at the pleasure of the crown. Some of the friends of Becket counselled his submission; but he said that if an angel should come from heaven, and advise him to abandon the saving clause, he would anathematize him. Yet the passionate man, at the instance, it is stated, of the pope's almoner, ultimately went to the king and gave his unconditional assent to the demand. But Henry required a more formal assertion of the principle which he maintained, of the equality of the clergy and the laity before the law, than he could obtain from the personal submission of the dangerous archbishop. He called a great council at Clarendon, near Salisbury; and thither came the eminent men of the realm, whether lay or ecclesiastic, who ordinarily sat with the king in this incipient parliament. A series of resolutions were proposed which have since been known as "The Constitutions of Clarendon." These, when passed, were essentially a statute, and had the force of law. They were earnestly debated for three days; and were ultimately carried, even with the consent of Becket. That some force was used to compel his submission is unquestionable. We are scarcely, in our times, in a temper to judge of the exact nature of the particular clauses to which the archbishop, feeling himself in the position of the asserter of the rights of the Church, might honestly object. Taken altogether, they were a formidable attack upon the power of the clergy at home, as well as upon the interference of the papal see with the affairs of the English Church. The preamble to the "Constitutions" declares that they were a record and recognition of the ancient laws and customs which ought to be observed in the kingdom. By this statute, the great point of contest—that of clerical exemption from the secular arm—was thus decided: "Ecclesiastics arraigned and accused of any matter, being summoned by the king's justiciary, shall come into his court, to answer there, concerning that which it shall appear to the king's court is cognizable there; and shall answer in the ecclesiastical court, concerning that which it shall appear is cognizable there; so that the king's justiciary shall send to the court of Holy Church, to see in what manner the cause shall be tried there; and if an ecclesiastic shall be convicted, or confess his crime, the Church ought not any longer to give him protection."* Pleas of debt, also, whether they were due by faith solemnly pledged, or without faith so pledged, were to belong to the king's judicature. Rights of advowson, and questions of the tenure of property between ecclesiastic and layman, were to be heard before the king's justice and twelve lawful men. These were the most important conditions that related to the great questions in which the body of the people were interested. It would be difficult to understand the opposition of a strong and cultivated mind like that of Becket to such reasonable propositions, if we did not consider how zealously men, in times of more established principles, will battle for points in which the interests of their order, as well as their personal pride, are involved. Equally reasonable appears the clause that no dignified ecclesiastic should leave the realm without license of the king, who might demand security that he would not procure any evil to the crown or kingdom. Nor are those unreasonable which regulate the excommunication of the king's chief tenants or officers. The clauses which enabled the king to send for the principal clergy of a church, upon the vacancy of a bishopric or abbacy, and, with the advice of such prelates as he should choose, should give his assent or otherwise to the election, and receive homage, was a distinct assertion of the principle for which Henry I. had contended against Anselm; and we may believe that the prelates who regarded the pope as their spiritual head would be indignant at such a claim. Yet, in spite of Henry's subsequent abandonment of some of the enactments of the Council of Clarendon, we have distinct evidence that his consent to the election of the great ecclesiastics was no idle assertion of authority. We turn to the "Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond," and read how the prior of Saint Edmundsbury, with twelve of his brethren, stood before Henry II. at Waltham, in 1182, who commanded that they should nominate three members of the convent, as candidates for the election; and afterward that they should nominate three members of other convents; as well as three more of their own. Then the lists were gradually reduced to two of Saint Edmund's, the prior and Sampson. After much hesitation, the bishop of Winchester saw that the good fathers preferred the active and clever subsacrist to the somewhat indolent prior. "Sampson was then named to the king, and, after a brief consult with those about him, we all of us were called in; then the king said, 'Ye present to me Sampson—I know him not; had ye presented to me your prior, I should have accepted him, because I have known and am well acquainted with him; but now I will do as you desire. Take heed to yourselves: by the very eye of God, if ye act unworthily, I shall call you to severe account.' And he inquired of the prior, whether he assented to this choice, and agreed thereto; who replied, that he was well content it should be so, and that Sampson was much more worthy of the dignity. Sampson being thus chosen, and falling down at the king's feet, and kissing him, hastily arose, and forthwith went toward the altar, singing 'Miserere mei Dominus,' together with his brethren, erect in gait, and with unmoved countenance. The king observing this, said to the bystanders, 'By

* "Middle Ages," vol. ii. p. 405.

* It is singular that Lord Campbell should misstate this well-known clause—which, as Mr. Hallam truly says, "is gently expressed"—by vaguely saying of the Constitutions, "they provide that clerks accused of any crime should be tried in the king's courts."

the eyes of God, this one that is chosen seems to himself worthy of keeping the abbacy.' "*

The great questions at issue in the memorable controversy connected with the Constitutions of Clarendon must be steadily kept in view, however absorbing may be our interest in the personal conflict between Henry and Becket. On one side was an energetic, determined, and sagacious king, bent upon establishing the regal authority without respect of persons, and enforcing this authority by an assertion of absolute power, founded, in reality, upon physical force. On the other side was a primate, endued with surpassing ability, of a temper as unbending as that of the king, and resolved to establish the domination of the Church over the secular power. The contest was not so unequal as it at first appears. Becket ran the risk of being struck down by some outbreak of rage on the part of the king, or by some tumultuous assault of the men at arms, who were leagued against him. The vacillation which first induced him to accept the Constitutions of Clarendon, and then to withhold his seal from them, was a natural result of the alternations of confidence and alarm. So was his subsequent oath to observe them, and then his self-imposed penance for having taken that oath. The Constitutions were sent to the pope for confirmation, and Alexander refused his consent to ratify them. Then began a course of determined hostility on the part of the archbishop that appeared to shut out all hope of a compromise. He twice endeavored to leave the kingdom, but was intercepted. Henry saw him after this attempt, and quietly asked him if he thought the same land could not contain them both. Becket, returning to his see, then boldly set about acting in defiance of the statute he had consented to pass. He was arraigned as a traitor, at Northampton, and being held as guilty, his possessions were decreed to be at the king's mercy, which means that the king had absolute power over them. Henry appears to have acted with little magnanimity, and to have resolved upon his ruin, by raising extravagant demands upon him connected with his period of favor as chancellor. The heroic attitude of this extraordinary man now claims our wonder and almost our admiration. Having preached at the morning service from the text, "Princes sat and spake against me," he went in solemn procession to the king's palace, bearing the archiepiscopal cross in his own hands. As the primate entered the king's hall in this unusual pomp, the king retired; and there he sat, with a few of the humbler clergy only around him, while the bishops and nobles had followed the sovereign. Henry was in great anger; and the bishop of Exeter came out, and throwing himself on his knees before Becket, besought him to have pity on himself, and upon his brethren. His answer was, "Fly, then; thou canst not understand the things that are of God." The bishops then came out, and renounced their obedience to him, on the score that he had sworn falsely to observe the Constitutions, and had then resisted them, and broken his fealty. "I hear what ye say," was his only reply. The barons then pronounced a sentence of imprisonment against him, and the earl of Leicester came into the hall to read the sentence. The archbishop interrupted him with, "Sir earl, hear you first;" and then, after a defence of himself, concluded by disclaiming the king's judgment, and that of the peers, "being only to be judged, under God, by our lord the pope." He then cited the bishops, who, he said, had chosen to obey men rather than God, to appear before the presence of the pope. As he rose to depart, some called him traitor. The ancient spirit of the warrior was roused, and he exclaimed, "If my holy office did not forbid it, I would make answer with my sword." And so Becket went out of the king's hall into the outer court; but the gates were closed. His servants then thought that he was in the hands of his enemies, and that he would be held a prisoner. The minute chronicler, having told us that the Almighty delivered him, adds, "For Peter de Munctorio, one of his servants, espied a number of keys hanging on a nail near the gate, and taking them down, opened it, the king's porters standing by, and uttering not a word."† He then mounted his horse, with crowds following him; and, to close this extraordinary day, he sent out his people to gather the paupers and wayfarers to come into the house where he abode, there to feast and make merry. But in the dead of the night he left the town, in the garb of a monk, with only two attendants. One of them, Herbert de Boseham, left an account of this flight. They rode to Lincoln, and then went by water to a hermitage in the fens. Onward they travelled on foot to Estrey, near Canterbury, where Becket was concealed by a priest. At the end of fifteen days they embarked in a small fishing-boat at Sandwich, and were set on shore near Gravelines. His escape was a very doubtful issue of his flight, for Henry had given orders that all the seaports should be watched. After some adventures, under the name of Friar Christian, he finally passed from the territories of the court of Flanders into France; and was at length luxuriously established, by the influence of the pope, in the abbey of Pontigny, in Burgundy, after an interview with the pontiff at Sens. Henry pursued his ancient friend with a miserable revenge, by banishing all those who were connected with him by any ties, either of blood or affection. The expatriated prelate was less subdued than even in the early days of this great contest. In 1166 he proceeded from Pontigny to Vezelay, near Auxerre; and, on the festival of the Ascension, mounting the pulpit, denounced all those whom he called the enemies of the Church. Then the bells tolled, the crosses were inverted, the priests stood around with lighted torches; and the horrible form of excommunication was pronounced against John of Oxford, and certain dignitaries of the Church; against Jocelin de Baliol, the chief justiciary; and against all who should abet, enforce, or obey the Constitutions of Clarendon. The sentence was not pronounced by Becket against Henry himself; but the king was called upon, by name, to repent, and atone for the usage he had offered to the Church, for otherwise the same malediction should fall upon him, and he should be cursed, as those already denounced as evil-doers, to whom the heavens should be as brass and the earth as iron—whose goings-out and comings-in, whose sleeping and waking, should be equally accursed—who should be visited with hunger and cold, with sickness and blindness—whom none should compassionate, and for whom even prayers should be turned into curses. At the conclusion of this miserable scene of a blasphemous superstition, the torches were extinguished, even as the souls of those delivered to perdition should be quenched in eternal darkness. Such denunciations look like the ravings of madness, as impotent as they are wicked. They were dreadful realities. The offender so threatened was pursued as unrelentingly by public opinion as the wretched victim of the old Druidical laws—

"cut off by sacerdotal ire
From every sympathy that man bestow'd."

We should totally mistake the character of that age if we were to conclude that the great battle between Henry and Becket was carried on by the civil power in the spirit which we understand as an assertion of religious liberty. The ecclesiastical and secular authorities were equally ready to repress and punish what were called heretical opinions. In 1166 a synod was convened by Henry at Oxford, to inquire into the proceedings of some families who had come over from Germany, in all about thirty men and women, who had settled at Oxford, having a sort of leader in temporal and spiritual affairs of the name of Gerard. Their lives were perfectly blameless; and their opinions, whatever they might be, were not very attractive, for they had obtained only one English proselyte, a woman of humble station. These inoffensive people were brought before the synod, and were required to make a solemn profession of their faith. They replied, by their leader, that they were Christians, and venerated the doctrines of the apostles. But, upon minute questions as to the articles of their belief, "they answered perversely and erroneously concerning the sacraments."* In these poor foreigners we recognize the precursors of the Albigenses, the Waldenses, and other sects, who gradually spread through Europe, and were persecuted by imprisonment and death, under inquisitions, and by terrible massacres by bigoted princes. The Germans of Oxford were condemned as obstinate heretics, and were delivered over to the king for punishment. They appear to have had one advocate in John of Oxford, whom Becket excommunicated on that account. This was the first ebullition of heresy in England since the differences of the days of Augustin. An example was to be made; and the wretched exiles were branded, whipped, and turned out naked and bleeding into the fields, in the depth of winter. None dared to succor them, none to pity, and they all miserably perished.

* "Jocelin de Brakelond," translated by Tomlins, p. 7.
† Hoveden.

* William of Newbury.

The personal contention between the king of England and the archbishop of Canterbury had proceeded for five years with unabated virulence. Becket, coming forth from his retreat at Pontigny to denounce the vengeance of the Church against the supporters of the Constitutions of Clarendon, offers a no less pitiable example of unchristian anger than Henry, threatening that he would confiscate all the estates of the Cistercians in England if Becket were still harbored in a Cistercian monastery. The threat had its effect; and the fugitive archbishop, not to bring trouble upon his friends, repaired to Sens, where Louis of France appointed him another asylum. A petty war was proceeding between this king and Henry, sometimes ending in a hollow reconciliation, and again breaking out into new jealousies and revenges. When the two kings were hostile, Louis made Becket an instrument of annoyance to Henry; and Becket himself, whether at Pontigny or Sens, was indefatigable in the unvarying assertion of the justice of his cause, by the most elaborate addresses to the sovereign pontiff, to the king of England, and to various English prelates. Henry lived in constant terror of an interdict, by which the allegiance of his subjects might have been shaken; and the greatest watchfulness was exercised to prevent such an instrument arriving in England. But Henry, also, managed to conciliate the court of Rome by unanswerable arguments, more potent than the bitter letters of Becket to the pontiff, in which the king was called a malicious tyrant. The mortified archbishop implied that he had been deserted for gold, when the pope withdrew the commission by which he had been appointed legate, and prohibited him from excommunicating any person in England, or of using letters of interdict against the kingdom. At last it was settled that Henry and Becket should meet in a solemn conference, in which the king of France should be present. Terms of agreement were proposed, to which the king assented, with this reservation, "saving the honor of my kingdom." The archbishop assented, "saving the honor of God and the Church." Henry maintained that under this reservation, Becket would interpret everything that was offensive to himself as therein included; and added, "What the greatest and holiest of his predecessors did unto the least of mine, that let him do unto me, and I am contented." The haughty churchman held to his point, and there was an end, for a time, to any prospect of adjustment. At last, in 1170, on the 22d of July, a solemn meeting took place near Touraine. Under a bright summer sky, in a pleasant meadow, the king of England waited for the archbishop; and as the prelate advanced to the royal tent, Henry rode forward to meet him with veiled bonnet. They long discoursed apart; and to all appearance they were reconciled. But the king withheld "the kiss of peace"—that token of amity, which, orginating in the pledges by the early Christians of their common affection, had a peculiar solemnity when given by the lips of a king in the feudal times.* Henry held Becket's stirrups when he mounted his horse, but he would not give him the kiss of peace. The archbishop was to be restored to his see, with all his lands, livings, and privileges; and Henry was content with Becket's agreement to love, honor, and serve him, "in as far as an archbishop could render in the Lord service to his sovereign." But they parted without the kiss of peace. Becket anticipated danger, and he was repeatedly warned against going to England. This remarkable man, in the promptings of his enthusiasm, was lifted not only above all fear, but above all common discretion. Although Henry, it is alleged, had not sent him money for his journey, as was promised, he had certainly kept faith with him in essential matters. The eldest son of the king had been crowned, and acted in England with royal authority. To his son prince Henry, the king sent a brief letter, dated from Chinon, to this effect: "Know you that Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, has made my peace, agreeably to my desire; and, therefore, I require that he and all of his following should have peace; and you will take care that the said archbishop, and that all of his people who on his account went out of England, should have their possessions truly, and in peace, and honorably, as they had them three months before the said archbishop went out of England."* Becket landed at Dover on the 1st of December, 1170. He had previously sent before him letters of excommunication against the archbishop of York and the bishops of London and Salisbury. The offence of these prelates was, that they had performed the ceremony of consecrating prince Henry, and had thus usurped an office pertaining to the see of Canterbury. This proceeding was a sufficient indication that there was to be no oblivion of the past, and no peace for the future. He proceeded to Canterbury, where he was received with acclamations by the burgesses and the poor. But none of the nobles or dignified ecclesiastics came to meet him. He attempted to see prince Henry, his former pupil, at Woodstock; but was directed to remain within his own diocese. How far Becket had brought this treatment upon himself by his own violation of the amnesty of the meeting of Touraine, or to what extent the king himself was insincere in the reconciliation, is a question which those only need argue who regard this passage of history as zealous partisans. Becket certainly rushed upon his fate. He was a man of such ardent temperament that he preferred death to indignity. Amid an escort of poor people he returned to Canterbury, and on Christmas day preached in the cathedral, from the text, "I come to die among you;" and afterward resorted to his old weapon of excommunication. He had been, no doubt, treated with rudeness; and, "after delivering a sermon to the people, excommunicated Robert de Broc, who, the day before, had cut off the tail of one of his sumpter-horses."† The prelates, against whom Becket had borne letters of excommunication, had crossed to Normandy, to represent their grievances to the king. It was not likely he would hear them patiently, and quietly submit to the domination of the imperious man who had thus reopened the old quarrel. There is no evidence that Henry gave his sanction to assassination, but it is clear that in his passion he exclaimed, "Is there no one to deliver me from this turbulent priest?" Four knights of Henry's court, "whose names were as follows: William de Tracy, Hugh de Morville, Richard Brito, and Reginald Fitz-Urse, men of family, conspicuous for eminence,"‡ crossed the sea, and arrived at Canterbury on the fifth day of the Nativity. They made their way into the archbishop's chambers, and addressed him insolently. Threats were exchanged, and mutual revilings. The knights required the prelate to withdraw the excommunication of the bishops, and to do fealty to the king for his barony. John of Salisbury, his secretary, counselled peace. But Becket was unmoved by terror or by entreaty. He was ready to meet the death which appeared to be impending. He took no precautions against outrage, but resolved to go to vespers in the cathedral. As he came from the conventual buildings into the cloister—perhaps descending from that beautiful staircase upon which the eye of the tasteful antiquary still gazes with delight—there was heard the tramp of armed men mingling with the slow tread of the monks. Quietly he proceeded into the church, and stood before the altar of St. Bennet. "Where is the traitor? Where is the archbishop?" exclaimed Tracy. The courageous prelate answered, "Here am I, the archbishop, but no traitor." "Thou art a prisoner," said Tracy, and took him by the sleeve; but the old martial temper was roused, and the archbishop threw him off with violence. There are various accounts of Becket's deportment, some imputing to him the use of offensive language to his assailants, and others representing him as an angel of meekness. He refused to fly, or to make any submission. He was then struck at, and as the sword of Fitz-Urse was descending upon his head, his faithful cross-bearer, Edward Gryme, received the blow upon his arm. Becket was slightly wounded and fell. Another and another blow completed the murder.

The cause for which Becket had contended, with such uncompromising zeal, was never so near its complete triumph as when his skull had been shattered upon the stone pavement of Canterbury cathedral. After that atrocious deed came the miraculous relations which, however we may now refer them to priestly imposture, were implicitly believed by the great body of the people. Then came the canonization; the pilgrimages to the shrine of Saint Thomas; the humiliation of the king himself before the tomb of his enemy, terrible even in death. But had Becket been permitted to live, his fanat-

* The significance of the royal kiss lasted to our own days. At the period when the ministry of 1829 had resolved upon bringing forward the measure of Catholic Emancipation, and George IV. withheld his consent, the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel, upon leaving the royal closet, stating that they must resign, received each the kiss of the king.

* This letter, and many of the curious documents connected with this eventful story, are given in "Rymer's Fœdera," p. 26, ed. 1816.

† Hoveden. ‡ Ibid.

icism would have been displayed in forms of more offensive violence, until the learning, the moderation, and the genuine religion of the Church would have been wholly arrayed against him. As it was, several of the most able of Becket's fellow-prelates took part with the king in their great quarrel, particularly Gilbert Foliot, bishop of Hereford, and afterward of London—one of the most accomplished scholars of his time. The more it became a personal contest between Henry and Becket, the more would the great statesman have subdued the passionate churchman to his will. For Henry was, unquestionably, one of those few men in the history of the world who have vindicated their claims to be the natural rulers of mankind. Becket, by his adroitness, his activity, his courage, was invaluable to Henry as his lay-minister; but, thrown upon his own resources, and tempted by his archiepiscopal elevation to challenge the regal power to a conflict for supremacy with the ecclesiastical, he became the fanatical upholder of one dominant idea. He must have been crushed in the contest, if it had been a mere intellectual battle between two men of ordinary ambition. Henry was in every mental quality of greatness the superior of Becket. He was not a man of shows, but of realities. Becket wore "coarse sackcloth made of goat's-hair, from the arms to the knees, but his outer garments were remarkable for their splendor and extreme costliness, to the end that, thus deceiving human eyes, he might please the sight of God." Thus writes his panegyrist, Hoveden. Henry was utterly regardless of mere appearances. Though his passions were violent, and his private life open to reproach, he won the admiration of all who came in contact with him, by his talent and energy, by his affability and modesty, by his unremitting power of labor, by his knowledge of languages and of all graceful and useful learning, by his discernment in the enactment and administration of laws.* With many of the faults of his age, he had a sense of duty which raised him far above the mere selfish temptations of his position. Had Becket not been so wickedly and rashly slain by the rude knights who saw but one way of terminating so violent a contention, the king must have triumphed, and the claims of ecclesiastical tyranny must have been reduced to moderate dimensions at an earlier period of our history. But the victory of the crown might, at this time, have also retarded, for a long season, that enfranchisement of the Commons from the feudal oppressions which was slowly but steadily advancing. In such a contest as this, the claims of the lowly make some progress; and thus every humble pilgrim, whose knees wore the stones on which he knelt at the shrine of Saint Thomas, entered his protest against the reign of brute violence, and prepared the way for a time when piety might be separated from superstition, and freedom from disorder.

CHAPTER XXI.

First landing of Anglo-Normans in Ireland—The Irish nation—Strongbow—Henry in Ireland—Rebellion of Henry's sons—Insurrection in England—Henry at the tomb of Becket—Reforms in the administration of justice—Mission from Jerusalem—Rebellion of Richard—Death of King Henry—Coronation of Richard—Massacre of the Jews—Richard the Crusader—Progress of the Crusaders—Siege of Acre—Massacre of hostages—March toward Jerusalem.

In the reign of Henry II. commenced that direct connection of Ireland with the government of England which has lasted nearly seven hundred years—a connection which has involved as much oppression and misrule, revolt and misery, as ever belonged to a struggle between races and creeds, of which the natural evils were always heightened and perpetuated by selfishness and ignorance on every side. In May, 1169, the first landing in Ireland of the Anglo-Normans took place. For several centuries the inhabitants of Ireland had made hostile descents on England, to take part in the various contests between Saxon and Briton. The Norman kings appear to have occasionally contemplated the subjection of Ireland; and William Rufus is stated to have looked from a high rock in Wales upon the green island in the distance, and to have said, "With my ships I will make a bridge to invade that land." Early in the reign of Henry, Pope Adrian had given him a pretended authority to subdue Ireland, and to reform its barbarous people. Before the ninth century the Irish had schools of learning which were celebrated throughout Europe, and the Celtic tribes were gradually acquiring a taste for the advantages of civilized life. But the incursions of the fierce Northmen drove the great bulk of the people into a condition of semi-barbarism, living apart from the settlements on the coasts in wild forests and dreary morasses. Giraldus Cambrensis has left a description of the nation, among whom he travelled in the train of prince John, which, with some allowance for the partiality of the Welshman for his own race, does not place the Irish much lower than the people of Wales which he described. They had the same internal contests under separate chiefs; the same preference of pasturage to agriculture; the same dislike of sedentary pursuits; the same excitable natures; the same impetuous bravery; and the same universal love of music. The rulers of this people were called-kings, and there was a chief monarch who claimed the sovereignty over the whole island. There was no hereditary claim to a regular succession among the sons of these kings; but the "tanist," or heir-apparent, was elected by the voices of the "sept" during the life of the chieftain, who had also been so chosen. It was held that the choice should fall upon the worthiest; but sometimes there was none found worthy in the reigning family, and another branch was selected to supply the coming king. Perpetual battle and assassination, open violence or more dangerous treachery, were the inevitable results of "tanistry." The same contests prevailed as to inheritance. Lands descended to all the sons of a family in equal shares, whether these sons were legitimate or of spurious birth. But there was not only this division upon the death of the father, but upon the death of each possessor the lands were thrown into the common stock, and a new division was made. Under such a system no improvement could take place in the cultivation of the soil. There could be no accumulation of capital, and no profitable industry. The system, in all its deformity, lasted to the days of James I., and wherever it prevailed, the country "seemed to be all one wilderness."* Whether under this old system of "gavelkind," or under the cottier-system of later times, the minute subdivision of land, and the ferocious conflicts for its possession, have perpetuated evils though many generations of whose cure we are scarcely now beginning to have an assured hope.

In the middle of the twelfth century, there were several independent provinces of Ireland, of which the MacCarthys, O'Briens, Mahons, O'Malachlins, O'Neills, O'Donnals, O'Connors, and others less famous, were kings. The nominal sovereignty was then claimed by the O'Connors, the kings of Connaught. There had been great agitation in the country since the time when Dermot, king of Leinster, had carried off the wife of O'Ruarc, prince of Leitrim; and after years of battle and vicissitudes of power, Dermot was driven out of the island in 1167. He went to Aquitaine, did homage to Henry, and obtained permission to enlist adventurers to recover his dominions. He obtained the aid of Richard de Clare, earl of Pembroke, surnamed Strongbow, and of two Welsh brothers, Robert and Maurice Fitzgerald. The Welshmen landed first with a large company of knights and archers. Dermot joined them with his native adherents; and they gained victories and perpetrated atrocious cruelties. The next year Strongbow came with large forces; and Dublin and Waterford were taken. Strongbow married Eva, the daughter of Dermot; but the native king died the same year, and the ambitious adventurer from England assumed the royal authority. Henry was not disposed to have an energetic rival quite so near his own dominions; and he forbade any more English to engage in the invasion, and commanded Strongbow and his adherents to return. The adventurer was alarmed, and hastened to lay his authority and acquired possessions at the feet of Henry, as his liege lord. The king of England proceeded himself to Ireland, with a disciplined and numerous band. He landed at Waterford and marched to Dublin, receiving the homage of native princes as he went forward. He committed no excesses, and received the chieftains with his politic cordiality. The prince of Ulster alone refused to bow to the authority of the English king.

* See the character of Henry in the interesting Latin work "Gualteri Mapes de Nugis Curialum," published by the Camden Society, p. 227.

* Sir John Davies, who wrote a political treatise on Ireland in the reign.

Henry returned to England in the spring of 1172. He had made no conquests; and his possession of the island, even as a feudal superior, was exceedingly precarious. But in 1175 Henry produced the bull of Pope Adrian, and claimed to be monarch of Ireland. He then granted to Roderic, king of Connaught, that he should be king under the English crown, over the other chieftains, tribute being paid by all to Henry. Strongbow, the king of Leinster, died in 1177. The same year the king obtained a papal bull, giving him power to enfeoff either of his sons with Ireland, as its lord; and he conferred that authority on prince John, then twelve years of age. The king, however, chose a sagacious lord-deputy, Hugh de Lacy; who labored sucessfully to reconcile the people to the authority of the English strangers. He was recalled in 1185, and prince John, with a numerous force, proceeded to Ireland. As was his course through life, he disgusted those whom he should have conciliated; and his wanton insolence was even more hateful than his studied tyranny. His wise father placed the native chiefs at his own table, and propitiated them by the attentions of a chivalrous and elevated courtesy. The chiefs of Leinster came to acknowledge John as their lord, and he encouraged his silk-clad attendants to ridicule their homely dresses and to pluck their bushy beards. Instead of loyalty the English now found revenge. The oppressions which this impolitic boy encouraged raised up enemies on every side; and after a perilous and contemptible rule of less than a year his father recalled him.

During his expedition to Ireland Henry appears to have devoted himself entirely to the concerns of that new accession to his authority. He spent the Christmas of 1171 in Dublin. At the end of March, 1172, vessels arrived from England and Aquitaine; and he immediately resolved to leave the island. It is remarkable that for five months there had been no maritime communication from England or the continent. It is held that this suspension of intercourse was not accidental; and that the king prevented any vessel coming to disturb him with the announcement that the spiritual arm was uplifted against him on account of the murder of Becket. When the news of that catastrophe reached him in Normandy, he gave way to the most passionate grief, and sent envoys to Rome to declare his innocence, and to moderate the anger of Pope Alexander. After excommunicating the assassins, with all the advisers and abettors of Becket's death, Alexander sent two legates into France to investigate the whole circumstances of the unhappy affair. Henry immediately withdrew from Normandy, and in Ireland he waited the result. He went there, according to contemporary writers, to avoid a visit from the papal legates. At length an encouraging issue of five months' debate was announced to him; and then his characteristic vigor was displayed by his immediate presence in Normandy. "The king of England neither rides nor sails; he flies with the rapidity of a bird," said the king of France. Henry met the legates; solemnly swore in the cathedral of Avranches that he was innocent in word or deed of the murder of the archbishop; and was as solemnly absolved of all censure, upon agreeing to certain concessions in favor of the Church, which had the effect of suspending the operations of the Constitutions of Clarendon. Henry was now in his fortieth year, perhaps with that touch of gray in his hair which Peter of Blois has described, but in the most perfect vigor of his powerful understanding and energetic will. He had four sons living—Henry, in his eighteenth year; Richard, in his fifteenth; Geoffrey, in his fourteenth; and John, in his sixth. These were the children of Queen Eleanor. At this period Henry, it may be concluded, lived unhappily with the queen; for the romantic stories of Rosamund Clifford, and of the secret bower of Woodstock, where the enamored king concealed his beautiful mistress from the revenge of his wife, have this much of fact in them, that William Longsword, earl of Salisbury, and Geoffrey, who became archbishop of York, were the sons of fair Rosamund, and Henry was their father. In 1172, some influence had been at work to produce a powerful confederacy against the great king of England, and in this confederacy Queen Eleanor and her sons, Henry, Richard, and Geoffrey, were involved. The young Henry had been a second time crowned at Westminster, with his wife, the daughter of the king of France, and he was termed king from this circumstance. It was not unusual, according to a custom of the French monarchy, to crown the heir-apparent. But prince Henry, at the instigation, it is believed, of his father-in-law, set up a pretension to divide the royal power with his father, and demanded that the king should resign to him either England or Normandy. In the same spirit, Richard, the boy of fifteen, claimed Aquitaine, because he had performed homage to Louis for that duchy; and the other boy of fourteen, Geoffrey, claimed the immediate possession of Brittany. The rebellious sons fled from the court of their father to the French king; and their mother soon followed. The bishops of Normandy exhorted her, under pain of ecclesiastical censure, to return with her sons. King Henry took a more effectual mode—he secured her person, and kept her in close durance for many years. This was something more than a domestic quarrel. Louis of France dreaded the great extent of Henry's possessions, and stood in awe of his talents. The people of Normandy, and Aquitaine, and Brittany—and especially those of Aquitaine, of whom Eleanor was the duchess—were desirous of independence. By the people, we of course only mean those who had wealth and power. To the villains and the slaves it was of little consequence who governed them. To the young rebellious princes it appeared, as it has appeared to historians, that the struggle for inheritance was a mere personal question. Richard used to say that it was the birthright of their race to be at variance. But there was something more than this curse fated to rest upon the line of Plantagenet, as the old chroniclers believed. The power which the second Henry had acquired was too enormous to be long upheld. It would have fallen to pieces at once in the hands of a weak king. It was broken up, in less than a quarter of a century after his death, when a king came who was neither a warrior nor a statesman. To avert the severance of his vast dominions, Henry had need of all his great qualities. Louis of France bound himself, with the usual oaths, to aid the young Henry in his attempt to possess England; and the young Henry vowed never to make peace with his father, unless France should give consent. There were two other princes who became parties to this league—William, king of Scotland, and Philip, earl of Flanders. In England there were discontented barons, whose oppressions were checked by a sovereign who had strenuously asserted the very disagreeable principle of legal justice. Henry collected an army of twenty thousand adventurers, soldiers of fortune, who were ready to support any cause that afforded pay and plunder. The allied enemies of the king entered Normandy; but they were repulsed. The Scots made incursions upon the north of England, but they were driven back by Richard de Lacy, the justiciary, and Humphrey de Bohun, the lord constable, who ravaged Lothian and burned Berwick. Meanwhile the earl of Leicester, who had taken part against the king, had brought over a large body of Flemings; and the force was joined by the earl of Norfolk, at Framlingham Castle. Near Saint Edmundsbury they were met by the army which had returned triumphantly from Scotland. The banner of Saint Edmund was carried in front of the royal army; and, at a marshy place called Fornham, on the bank of the river, the rebel forces were entirely defeated, and the earl of Leicester and his countess were taken prisoners. In 1826, at this place, beneath a pollard ash, a heap of skeletons was discovered, with marks of violence on several of the skulls. Jocelin de Brakelond begins his chronicle from the year 1173, "when the Flemings were taken, without the town."* The rebellious barons being thus defeated, many captives were sent to Henry in Normandy. In 1174 the rebellion became even more formidable. The Scots again entered England in great force. The insurrectionary standard was raised in the northern, the midland, and the eastern counties. A fleet was ready at Gravelines to bring over the young Henry. But there was one who, while all around him seemed to be crumbling into ruin, stood as unshaken as in the days of his most joyous security. On the 8th of July the king took ship, and crossed the Channel in a heavy storm. He was more than usually solemn during the long and difficult passage. His ordinary gayety of heart was overclouded by deep thought. The man who had fallen dead at the shrine of Saint Bennet at Canterbury was now a canonized saint, at whose tomb miracles were wrought which noble and churl equally believed. On the 10th of July Henry rode from Southampton during the night, and as he saw the cathedral towers of Canterbury looming in the gray dawn, he alighted, and walked in penitential garb barefoot to the city. He knelt at the tomb of Becket in deep humiliation. The bishop of London preached, and maintained that Henry had thus appealed to Heaven in avowal of his in-

* See the notes to Mr. Tomlins' translation, p. 41

nocence of the guilt of blood. Then the great king, before the assembled monks and chapter, poured forth his contrition for the passionate exclamation which had been so rashly interpreted; and he was scourged with a knotted cord. He spent the night in the dark crypt, and the next day rode fasting to London. There he fell ill. But on the fifth night of his fever a messenger came from Ranulf de Glanville. "Is Glanville well?" said the king. "He is well, and has now in his custody your enemy, the king of the Scots." On the morning when Henry was humiliating himself before the tomb of Becket, the Norman barons in the interest of the English king had ridden from Newcastle to Alnwick, and there surprised the king of Scotland, tilting in a meadow with sixty companions. He bravely set lance in rest to meet assailants who were in earnest; but at the first encounter his horse was killed, and he became a captive. The Scottish lords threw down their arms, and a long train of English knights and their prisoners marched the same evening into Newcastle. The insurrection was at an end in England. The army which Henry had sent to oppose the rebel lords was now turned against his rebel sons and Louis of France. In another month Henry had scattered or terrified all his enemies; and at the end of September there was peace.

The king of Scotland was confined for several months in the Castle of Falaise. A deputation of Scottish nobles and prelates assembled in Normandy to advise their king; and he was finally liberated, after doing homage to Henry as liege lord, it being stipulated that the Scottish clergy and barons should also take an oath of fealty to the English king, and that certain castles in Scotland should be garrisoned by English. This treaty was ratified at York, in the succeeding year. Sir Walter Scott terms this acknowledgment of the king of England as lord paramount of the whole kingdom of Scotland—homage never before having been claimed except for Lothian—as "a miserable example of that impatience which too often characterized the Scottish counsels."* It was some time before Henry would receive the reconciling homage of his eldest son; but in 1175 they sailed to England in company, and lived in apparent cordiality together. Relieved of these pressing anxieties, the king again directed his mind to the better administration of his English dominions. In 1176, at a council at Northampton, he divided the kingdom into six districts, each having three itinerant justices. The circuits of modern times do not greatly vary from these ancient divisions. It has been imputed to Henry that he established these courts of assize chiefly to bring money into his own exchequer.† That the revenues of the crown would be increased by the power which these justices possessed of inquiring into wardships, lapsed lands, fines received from defaulters, and other matters connected with sovereign rights, cannot be doubted. The pleas of the crown and of the forest afforded royal profit. The common pleas between subject and subject were also a source of pecuniary advantage to the treasury. But that the king and his chief-justiciary were desirous to judge righteously, and to compel others so to judge, we have some evidence. Peter of Blois, who always writes to the king with honest freedom, in one of his letters says, "If causes are tried in your highness's presence, or before your chief-justice, there is no place for bribery or favor; all goes on equitably, and your sentences do not exceed, in the least degree, the bounds of moderation. But if a poor man's cause goes to the petty judges, the wicked is justified for his gifts, snares are laid for the poor, quibbles on syllables are practised, and word-catching." In the same letter he says, "Your justices in eyre, who are sent to check other men's faults, have a great many of their own. They hide men's crimes, from favor, or fear, or relationship, or for money." Henry did not allow these practices to remain unchecked. In three years after their appointment he removed all the justices in eyre, except Ranulf de Glanville, who, with five others, held assizes north of the Trent. He was subsequently appointed chief-justiciary. One of the most ancient treatises on English law bears the name of this judge, and contains some notices of trials held before him. In his preface he maintains that at the period at which he writes there was not in the king's court a judge who dared to swerve from the course of justice.

During the peace which Henry enjoyed for eight years after the suppression of the revolts of 1174, he devoted himself to the unremitting discharge of his civil duties. That tranquillity was not disturbed till 1183. In that year the unquiet Plantagenet blood was again asserting "the birthright of their race to be at variance." Henry, the eldest son, had been the foremost in every tournament; and Richard and Geoffrey were equally emulous of the fame of accomplished knights. In 1183 the king commanded Richard to do homage to his elder brother for Aquitaine. He refused; and Henry entered Richard's territory with an army. The father interposed, and apparently reconciled the sons. But new causes of quarrel arose; and then Henry and Geoffrey rebelled against the king. Into these quarrels, as obscure in their details as they are hateful in their principle, we have no desire to enter. Being about to give battle to his father, the young Henry fell ill; and then he became penitent. The king, always forgiving, sent him a ring as a token of his love, and the unhappy man died pressing that token to his lips. Geoffrey was pardoned; but he then made new demands, and repaired to the court of Philip, now king of France, to excite new troubles. In 1186 he was thrown from his horse at a tournament, and died in a few days. Richard and John only remained, to show "how sharper than a serpent's tooth" is filial ingratitude.

Since the conquest of Jerusalem by the Crusaders in 1099, the Christian kingdom had been upheld under six successors of the illustrious Godfrey. But a man had arisen who was destined to set a limit to the Latin dominion in the East, and to fill the chivalry of Europe with indignation at his triumphs. Saladin, undoubtedly entitled to the name of the great, was a humble soldier of the pastoral tribe of the Curds. He was born in 1137; but he became lord of Egypt, and "at the hour of his death his empire was spread from the African Tripoli to the Tigris, and from the Indian Ocean to the mountains of Armenia."* The decay of the kingdom of Jerusalem, amid quarrels and treacheries, weakness and crime, at last became so full of peril to what was considered the cause of Christendom, that the kings of England and France were instigated solemnly to enrol themselves as defenders of Jerusalem. Louis of France died in 1180, and Henry of England was then released from their mutual obligation to visit the Holy Land. In England there were two powerful bodies especially sworn as defenders of the cross—the Knights Hospitallers, and the Knights Templars. In 1185, during a suspension of hostilities with Saladin, the patriarch of Jerusalem, Heraclius, arrived in England; and the church of the new house of the Templars in London was consecrated by him. In those quiet courts, now so changed, but looking out upon the same broad river, dwelt the prior, the knights, and the serving brethren of the great order of the Templars; and in that round church, which in late years has been restored to its primitive beauty, the chaplains of the community prayed for the fall of the infidel; and the knights who had fought against him were buried with monumental honor—as they were in other churches—distinguished by that singular attitude of the crossed legs which denoted that the Holy Land had witnessed the performance of their sacred vows. Heraclius had a special mission in England. It was to urge King Henry, as the representative of Fulk of Anjou, whose descendants had been kings of Jerusalem for half a century, to rescue the sacred city from the dangers by which she was threatened. Henry referred the question to his great council—whether he should go to the East, for the defence of Palestine, or remain to govern the nations of which Heaven had given him the charge. The council decided wisely. The king remained; but he promised a large sum to assist those who were engaged in the sacred warfare. In 1187 Jerusalem was surrendered to Saladin. Then went forth deep lamentation throughout Europe. A pope died of grief. A king wore sackcloth. Other sovereigns trembled for the safety of their own possessions, under a possible invasion of the triumphant Mussulmans. In 1188 Henry proceeded to France, and he and Philip Augustus resolved to take the cross. He returned to England, and obtained an enormous tribute, of which nearly one half was extorted from the Jews. Henry was bent upon a new field of enterprise. He was yet vigorous, though past the prime of life. But a suspicious friendship had arisen between Philip and Henry's son Richard. The real causes of the troubles that ensued are not very manifest; but the disputes ended in Richard joining the French king in a war against his father. The projected crusade was neces-

* "History of Scotland," vol. i. p. 38. † Lingard, vol. ii. p. 404.

* Gibbon, vol. vii. p. 255.

sarily suspended. Philip and Richard took his castles, while Henry remained in a condition of unusual supineness. He was now broken in spirit. He met the king of France in a plain near Tours, during a violent thunder-storm. His agitation was great. In his weakened health he yielded, almost without a struggle, to the demands which were made upon him. They were exorbitant, and put that proud heart wholly under subjection to the will of Philip, and that of his rebellious son Richard. Throughout these unnatural conflicts he had rested his hopes upon his beloved John, to whom he had required his seneschal to deliver his castles in the event of his death, and who he had hoped might possess Normandy. On a sick-bed he signed the treaty. He had asked for the names of those barons who had joined the French king. The first name he saw was John. He read no more. The world and all its troubles and hopes faded from his view. He turned his face to the wall, and exclaimed, "Let everything go as it will." He was then carried in a litter to his pleasant palace of Chinon, and there laid himself down to die. One only watched over him with real affection—his illegitimate son Geoffrey. His great heart was broken. On the 6th of July, 1189, Henry II. was no more.

Roger de Hoveden, who writes of these events as a contemporary authority, thus speaks of the demeanor of Richard at the burial of his father: "On the day after his death, when he was being carried out for burial in the Church of the Nuns at Fontevraud, Earl Richard, his son and heir, came to meet him, and, smitten with compunction, wept bitterly." He adds—in the belief of that age that the body of the murdered bled at the presence of the murderer—"immediately on which the blood flowed in streams from the nostrils of the body, at the approach of his son." This is at least an indication of the common opinion as to the conduct of Richard. His remorse, or his deference to that opinion, produced an unexpected result: "All the persons, clergy as well as laity, who, leaving his father, had adhered to himself, he held in abhorrence, and banished from his acquaintanceship; while those who had faithfully served his father he retained with him, and enriched with numerous benefits."

Richard was crowned king of England, at Westminster, on the 3d of September, 1189. During the interval of two months from his father's death, his mother, Eleanor, had exercised some administrative powers, and had ordered the liberation of all prisoners, "for the good of the soul of Henry, her lord, inasmuch as, in her own person, she had learned by experience that confinement is distasteful to mankind."* At the coronation of Richard there was more than usual magnificence. The golden spurs, the sceptre, the rod with the dove, the great and massive crown decorated with precious stones, were carried by earls; and then Richard, duke of Normandy, walked between the bishop of Durham and the bishop of Bath, four barons holding over them a canopy of silk. With a great company of earls, barons, and knights, proceeding to the altar, Richard swore to observe peace, honor, and reverence toward the Holy Church, and to exercise true justice and equity toward the people committed to his charge. After the gorgeous ceremonies of the coronation, the crowned king went to dine, with archbishops and bishops at his table, and earls and barons waiting on him, and citizens of London serving in his cellar, and those of Winchester in his kitchen. Then the chief men of the Jews came to offer presents to the king. They had been forbidden to come, but they came with gifts, and they were therefore bold. The common people, according to the chronicler, rushed upon the Jews, stripped them, and cast them forth out of the king's hall, with wounds and blows. The citizens of London, following the example, attacked and murdered the Jews in the city, and burned their houses. Some of the offenders were hanged, by the king's command. But, not altogether in that spirit of justice in which he had sworn to govern, he punished the rioters, "not for the sake of the Jews, but on account of the houses and property of the Christians which they had burned and plundered."† Under Henry II. the Jews had only been robbed. They were the great accumulators of property, as lenders of money; and all the general hatred against those who took interest, or use, for money, was increased by the vulgar prejudices against this unhappy people, to whom all hateful opinions were ascribed, and who were universally believed to be cruel murderers of innocent children, as well as rapacious plunderers of insolvent barons. After the riot of London the spirit of persecution went through the kingdom, and the Jews were barbarously treated and atrociously massacred in many a town. The crusade was resolved upon. Richard, and Philip of France, had agreed to proceed to the Holy Land, after the Easter of 1190. Large bodies of crusaders were gathering in England; and, as they marched to the coast for embarkation, they exhibited the Christian spirit in which they proceeded upon their adventures, by inciting the people to plunder and murder the Israelites. At York this persecuted race exhibited a sublime heroism, which could only have been inspired by the solemn remembrance of the faith and courage of the ancient children of Zion. A body of armed men entered the city, and commenced their work of plunder and massacre by attacking the house of a Jew who had perished in the riot of London. All the Jews of York then claimed shelter in the castle. They were admitted, to the number of five hundred. The governor went away; and, upon his return, the Jews, alarmed for their safety, refused him readmission. The fortress was attacked on all sides, and ransoms were refused. Then the desperate race, all except a few, put their wives and children to death, and stabbed each other, that they might not fall into the hands of their cruel enemies. The few who shrank from this terrible self-sacrifice were murdered. The Jews had deposited their bonds with the officers of the cathedral; but the authors of this catastrophe obtained possession of these documents, and burned them in the nave of the church. One great object of the persecution was accomplished. A load of debt was wiped off the estates of many a servant of the cross, by the destruction of his victims, and, with them, the evidence of his own obligations was destroyed. Dr. Lingard writes, "In narrating so many horrors, it is a consolation to find them uniformly reprobated by the historians of the time."* Has Dr. Lingard overlooked Richard of Devizes, who, in a few sentences, exhibits the horrible fanaticism with which the monkish chroniclers too often spoke of the remnant of the Israelites? This Carthusian says, "A sacrifice of the Jews to their father the devil was commenced in the city of London, and so long was the duration of this famous mystery that the holocaust could scarcely be accomplished the ensuing day. The other cities and towns emulated the faith of the Londoners." In the blasphemous words which follow, he calls the murdered people "blood-suckers."

Under such auspices was the third crusade commenced. Richard, whom the monk of Devizes calls "a king worthy of the name of king," exhibited his royal spirit in one universal swoop of extortion and corruption, to raise money for his great adventure in the East. In his father's treasury he found a hundred thousand marks; but this sum was a trifle for his extravagant purposes. He put up the crown demesnes for sale. He sold the public offices. He sold earldoms. He sold the claim which Henry had asserted to the right of homage for the crown of Scotland. He had no shame in thus degrading the king for the ambition of the crusader. "I would sell London, if I could find a chapman," he exclaimed. "Richard's presence-chamber was a market overt, in which all that the king could bestow—all that could be derived from the bounty of the crown, or imparted by the royal prerogative—was disposed of to the best chapman."† When this wholesale dealer returned, after an absence of four years, he forcibly resumed the lands which he had sold, and turned out the officers who had purchased their places. "His generosity and his virtuous endowments," says an enthusiastic chronicler of the crusades, "the ruler of the world should have given to ancient times."‡ From the hour when William I. set his foot on the shores of Pevensey, there was not one of the Norman race who manifested so much indifference for the real duties of a king, knew so little of England, regarded it so wholly as a country to plunder, was so entirely absorbed by personal motives, as this "lion-hearted" Richard. He had one large, passionate idea, which he carried out with surpassing bravery, and with the loftiest contempt of danger and privation. But in this rash and proud warrior we see little of a wise ruler, and nothing of a patriotic ruler of England. He was Richard of Normandy. In the enterprise of the crusades he could not lead his island soldiers without making their prowess, as well as his own,

* Hoveden. † Ibid.

* History, vol. ii., 8vo. p. 447.
† Sir F. Palgrave, "Introduction to Rotuli Curiæ Regis."
‡ "Geoffrey de Vinsauf's Itinerary of Richard I. to the Holy Land," p. 155. Bohn's edit.

famous. But he was the unconscious instrument of a more lasting good. By his prodigal expenditure, and his destruction of life, in objects that were in very small degree national, he advanced the time when England would become a nation, without sympathy for Norman dukes; and, self-reliant, without the incumbered dominion of the jarring feudatories of France.

Geoffrey de Vinsauf has described Richard as tall of stature; in figure graceful; his hair between red and auburn; his arms and legs long; his strength exceeding all men. The same interesting chronicler records a discourse, in 1192, between the bishop of Salisbury and Saladin, in which the bishop extols Richard's valor and liberality. The discreet Saladin, in acknowledging Richard's chivalric honor and bravery, said that he would rather have wealth, with wisdom and moderation, than display immoderate valor and rashness. Taking "wealth" in the sense in which Saladin used it, Saladin is the civilized statesman in his views, and Richard the fighting barbarian. By the aid of the troubadours, Richard has been installed in ancient romance as the great hero of chivalry. In later times we have been compelled to sympathize with the "black knight" of "Ivanhoe," and the "lion-heart" of "The Talisman." But we must read history with other eyes; and, with all love and veneration for the great novelist, we must presume to doubt whether the name of Richard is, or ought to be, "so dear to Englishmen" as Scott implies.* It will be convenient rapidly to follow the narratives of the third crusade for a little while, without interrupting the story by reference to the internal condition of England.

It was midsummer in 1190, before Richard and Philip set out on their great expedition. Richard proceeded from Tours, Philip from Paris. They met at Vezelay, and thence marched to Lyons. The arrowy Rhone was with difficulty crossed. The pavilions of the associated armies were at length pitched in the meadows on its bank. The leaders and their followers here separated. Richard took the road to Marseilles. His fleet had not appeared. His impatience drove him onward; and he left his army, coasting along the Italian shores, till he reached Messina. His fleet was there before him. At Messina he engaged in a quarrel with the prince and the people. The king of France, who had arrived before Richard, wisely kept aloof from these differences. It was Richard's personal quarrel about the dower of his sister; and it was at last ended by the payment of forty thousand ounces of gold by Tancred, the king of Sicily, and by the betrothal of Arthur of Bretagne, the nephew of Richard, to the daughter of the Sicilian king. From this period Philip Augustus saw in Richard the haughty asserter of his private interests; and he devoted himself to the advancement of his own rival interests, which finally expelled the kings of England from Normandy.

Richard, the crusader, has been, as yet, a long while absent from the scenes of the crusades. He waits at Messina, in company with the French king. The followers of both leaders complain of the individual cost of this strange delay. Richard offers to advance money to all who are in want. He gives Philip a half of the large sum that he had raised from the king of Sicily. But they have a quarrel about matrimonial projects. Adelais, sister to the king of France, was in some manner betrothed to Richard; but Richard now refuses her, and proffers his hand to Berengaria, daughter of the king of Navarre. The difference is reconciled by money, and Philip departs for Syria. Richard's mother and bride arrive at Messina. The Holy Land was within a few days' sail; but, after he leaves Sicily, he is engaged in another episode of war, before he reaches his destination. Some of his vessels had been stranded at Cyprus, and had been subjected to that barbarous inhospitality which was not uncommon in those times. Richard is ardent for revenge. He engages in a contest with Isaac, emperor of Cyprus; subjects him to a heavy tribute; binds him in "silver chains," and keeps him in captivity till he is released by death. The conquest of Cyprus was useful to the crusaders; and Richard exhibited, perhaps unconsciously, some of the policy of a wise commander in his attack upon it. At Lymasol, in Cyprus, Richard married Berengaria.

Richard at length set sail from Cyprus on the 5th of June, 1191. A year had nearly passed since he and Philip had met on the plains of Vezelay. During that period, and for a year previous, Acre had been in vain besieged by the Christian host. On his voyage Richard fell in with an enormous galley, bearing ammunition and stores for the relief of Acre. As his smaller vessels attacked the great Saracen dromond, as it was called, the Greek fire, that terrible liquid flame which was unknown to Richard's men, was poured down upon them from the high deck; and they would have been beaten off but for Richard's threat—"I will crucify all my soldiers if she is not taken." The vessel, with many hundred men, was at length sunk. As the English fleet approached Acre, Richard gazed upon the high tower of the city, and then the smaller fortresses showed him their formidable fronts. There he saw the Christian hosts encamped in the plain; but on the distant hills, beyond the besiegers, was the mighty army of Saladin, whose standard waved among innumerable tents, the bright colors of his pavilions glittering in that summer sun. As Richard landed, a shout of joy went up from the crusaders' camp, with the clang of trumpets, and the loud chorus of national songs, and the night was passed in dance and revelry, amid an illumination of waxen torches which lighted up the whole valley. The English king having heard that the king of France had made liberal donations to his soldiers, proclaimed a higher rate of pay for every one in his service, of whatever nation. But an intermitting fever checked his activity, and he waited for the arrival of some more men from England. Philip led his troops to an assault of the city, and was repulsed. As Richard regained his strength the attacks were more vigorous. The battering-ram was brought up to shake the massive walls, and amid its heavy strokes, the Turks shouted, and filled the air with the noise of their gongs, so that Saladin, on the distant hills, should hear the signal, and come to their relief. The crusaders had to assail the city, and to defend themselves. Day by day there were desperate battles in the trenches. But still the siege went on. The Greek fire was rained from the walls of Acre on the besiegers, and the besiegers cast large stones among the besieged from their cumbrous machines. It is amusing in these our days of the mightiest artillery, to read in the chronicles of those times of the feeble operations of the petraria, the balista, and the mangonel. The king of France had a petraria, for casting large stones, which the Turks called "Bad Neighbor;" and with one which they called "Bad Kinsman," they often broke "Bad Neighbor" to pieces. There was another engine called "the petraria of God," by which a priest constantly preached, and exhorted the bringers of stone and the engineers, to persevere in their holy labors. All the various machines were plied night and day. But more formidable than the mangonels of Richard, which hurled stones even to the inner rows of the city market-place, or his scorpions, which sent their long arrows to the distant battlements, was the approach of famine. Saladin could not penetrate the lines of the crusaders to supply the brave defenders of Acre with new stores. After long negotiation it was agreed that the city should be surrendered, a certain portion of the garrison being left as hostages for the performance of the conditions of capitulation, the most important in the eyes of the crusaders being that Saladin should restore the Holy Cross. The Turks were also to pay a large sum of money, and set at liberty fifteen hundred Christian captives. During the siege the loss of human life was enormous. Geoffrey de Vinsauf estimates that three hundred thousand Christians perished from the time of its commencement to the surrender of the city.

Philip of France, after the capture of Acre, resolved to return home. A furious bigot, who had, in the beginning of his reign, banished every one from his dominions who dared to gainsay the laws of the Church, he was yet the craftiest of politicians. He had measured himself with Richard, and had found that the subtlety of the fox might be as effectual as the rage of the lion. He had borne in dignities from him. He was jealous that among all the host of the crusaders, "there was not of him a word, but all of Richard the king."* He had his own schemes to pursue in the absence of Richard from his continental dominions. The duke of Normandy bound his feudal superior by the customary oaths, not to make war upon his territories while he was not there to defend them; and the king of France left ten thousand soldiers under the command of Richard. But they parted in anger and mutual hatred. The crusaders regarded Philip as a deserter. If he had remained, perhaps his policy, if not his religion, might have saved the Christian character from the ete

* Preface to "The Talisman."

* Robert of Gloucester.

nal disgrace of one of the atrocities of the "lion-hearted." We shall not trust ourselves to narrate this crowning horror of the siege of Acre, in any other words than in those of the chronicler, Geoffrey de Vinsauf, who was himself a crusader. Saladin had delayed to restore the cross, within the time agreed; and he had asked further time. "When it became clearly evident to King Richard that a longer period had elapsed than had been fixed, and that Saladin was obdurate, and would not give himself trouble to ransom the hostages, he called together a council of the chiefs of the people, by whom it was resolved that the hostages should all be hanged, except a few nobles of the higher class, who might ransom themselves, or be exchanged for some Christian captives. King Richard, aspiring to destroy the Turks root and branch, and to punish their wanton arrogance, as well as to abolish the law of Mahomet and to vindicate the Christian religion, on the Friday after the Assumption of the blessed Virgin Mary ordered 270 of the Turkish hostages to be led forth from the city and hanged; his soldiers marched forward with delight to fulfil his commands, and to retaliate, with the assent of the Divine Grace, by taking revenge upon those who had destroyed so many of the Christians with missiles from bows and arbalasts."

In the guilt of Richard, the duke of Burgundy participated, by massacring the prisoners which had been taken under the banner of France. Saladin retaliated by the decapitation of his Christian prisoners. After this mutual slaughter, Richard led his army, now reduced to thirty thousand men, by the line of the coast to Jaffa. They marched, as in the time of King Stephen, with a high standard on a wagon. Pack-horses and loaded wains went slowly on by this difficult path on the side of the sea; and the Saracens, who hovered round their march, often attacked the troops and plundered the baggage. The crusaders were moving on amid sacred localities, and Capernaum and Cæsarea were familiar names, at least to the priests who marched with them. At nightfall, before the soldiers lay down to rest, a voice was heard in the middle of the camp, crying, "Help! help! for the holy sepulchre!" Then the whole army took up the words; and the herald again and again repeated them, and the men again and again cried, "Help! help! for the holy sepulchre!" During the night they were stung by venomous reptiles; and when again on their march, the troops of the indefatigable Saladin hovered around them—Turks and Bedouins—darkening the air with their showers of arrows. "The strength of all paganism," says Vinsauf, "had gathered together from Damascus to Persia, from the Mediterranean to the East."

CHAPTER XXII.

Victory of Richard over Saladin—News from England—Deposition of the Chancellor Longchamp—Folk-mote in London—Assassination of the Marquis of Montferrat—Last campaign for the recovery of Jerusalem—Richard retreats—Battle of Jaffa—Truce; and death of Saladin—Captivity of Richard—Prince John's proceedings in England—Release of the King—Condition of the English people—William Fitz-Osbert—Oppression of the poor by the civic authorities of London—The cities and great towns—The outlaws of the forests—The troubadours and the ballad-singers—The industrious classes—Sports—Richard, the King, leaves England—His wars in Normandy—Richard's last fight—His death.

A most signal victory was obtained by Richard over Saladin, on the 7th of September, 1191, which is briefly described in a letter of the king to the abbot of Clairval: "Our vanguard having gone before and pitched their tents at Assur, Saladin with a mighty host of Saracens made an attack upon our rear-guard; on which, by the favoring grace of the divine mercy, he was put to flight by only four battalions who faced about against him, and for a whole league was pursued in his flight by the entire troop of the Christians; in consequence of which, such a slaughter took place of the more noble Saracens whom Saladin had with him, namely, in the vicinity of Assur, on the vigil of the Nativity of Saint Mary the Virgin, being Saturday, that Saladin had experienced none like thereto on any one day in the preceding forty years."* Vinsauf is rapturous in admiration of the prowess of "the king, the fierce, the extraordinary king," who, on this day, "wherever he turned, brandishing his sword, carved a wide path for himself." In pitched fight or in sudden skirmish Richard was always foremost.

The "Melech Ric," as the Turks called him, was as rash as he was dauntless. He goes hawking, leaving the line of his march, with a small escort; falls asleep on the ground, and is only saved from captivity by one of his companions, with the true heart of a noble soldier, calling out, "I am the Melech," and so surrendered himself.* Richard was constantly exhorted to be more careful; but, says Vinsauf, "the king's nature still broke out." Jaffa was reached, and its walls were rebuilt. Again the Christian host marched forward, in the hope of reaching Jerusalem. They had halted long at Jaffa. They were within thirty miles of the Holy City, and Richard was eager for advance. The Templars and Hospitallers, who knew the country, endeavored to dissuade him from the perilous enterprise; for the armies of Saladin were in every pass of the mountains. But the king went on. The rains set in; provisions failed; sickness daily thinned the reduced ranks; the Christians lost heart. Richard had the prudence to return, retreating rapidly to Ascalon. This strong place had been dismantled by the Saracens, and the crusaders found its walls and gates but a heap of stones. They vigorously applied themselves to the labor of rebuilding the fortress. "All engaged in the work—princes, nobles, knights, esquires, clerks, and laymen," says Vinsauf. Richard's strong arm, and more influential purse, were always ready. But there was disunion and jealousy in the crusading ranks. Richard is indifferent to the anger of the duke of Austria, or the desertion of the duke of Burgundy. Saphadin, the brother of Saladin, has interviews with him; and Richard "girds with the belt of knighthood the son of Saphadin." The courtesies of chivalry are exchanged between Christian and Pagan. As warriors, Richard and Saladin have learned to appreciate each other. But the wise unbeliever knows that all the courage and all the magnificence of the "Melech Ric" will fail him in the end, and that the Christian alliance is harmless, when set against his own concentrated power. The great leader of the crusade is even shaken in his determination to recover Jerusalem. In that spring of 1192 Richard is degressed and irresolute. The prior of Hereford has brought news from England.

The news which Richard receives is not of an exhilarating nature. He has some interest in England, although he was never but once in the country, and then stayed only four months. But it is a great treasure-house of money, and a great hive of men. His brother John is playing him false. He perambulated the kingdom, courting popularity, as soon as Richard was fairly on his way to Palestine. His followers called him the king's heir. He had received homage for the royal castle of Lincoln. Richard had intrusted him with no authority, but had placed the government of the country in the hands of William de Longchamp, the chancellor—who was also bishop of Ely—in association with the bishop of Durham. Longchamp, a native of Beauvais, is represented under very different aspects by two of his contemporaries. Hugh, bishop of Coventry, describes him as a grasping priest, who, "slighting the English nation on all occasions, attended by a troop of Franks and Flemings, moved pompously along, bearing a sneer in his nostrils, a grin in his features, derision in his eyes, and superciliousness on his brow." This prelate adds that "Longchamp and his revellers had so exhausted the whole kingdom that they did not leave a man his belt, a woman her necklace, a nobleman his ring, or anything of value even to a Jew." On the other hand Peter of Blois describes Longchamp as "a man amiable, wise, generous, kind, and meek; bounteous and liberal to the highest degree."† There were evidently two parties in the kingdom, one of which clung to the chancellor, and the other to Prince John. At last a solemn meeting was held in London, which is of more historical importance than the characters or actions of these ambitious rivals. At that meeting a sentence of removal and banishment was passed upon the chancellor; and his high powers of regent and justiciary, conferred upon him by the king, were revoked. "It was a remarkable assumption of power by that assembly, and the earliest authority for a leading principle of

* This letter is given by Hoveden.

* Richard did common justice to his faithful follower, by redeeming him at the price of the ransom of ten noble Turks, before he left Palestine.

† The curious letters in which these conflicting descriptions occur are given by Hoveden.

our constitution, the responsibility of ministers to parliament." * The most striking account of these proceedings is given by Richard of Devizes. On the 8th of October, 1191, Prince John had arrived in London at night, and was joyfully received by the citizens with lanterns and torches. On the 9th there was a great assembly of nobles and prelates in St. Paul's Church, at which Geoffrey, archbishop of York, whose landing in England had been resisted by the chancellor, preferred heavy complaints against him. Prince John warmly espoused the quarrel of his illegitimate brother; and the assembly finally deposed the chancellor, saying, "We will not have this man to reign over us." John was then elected chief-justiciary of the whole kingdom. There was another meeting on the 10th, which offers a curious picture of the participation of a large body of the people in state deliberations: "The sun having now appeared, the earl (John), with his noble troop, withdrew to the open field which is without London, toward the east; the chancellor went thither also, but less early than his adversaries. The nobles took the centre, around whom was next a circle of citizens, and beyond an attentive populace, estimated at ten thousand men." There was much speaking. The chancellor was overthrown; and the citizens of London swore fealty to John, against all men, saving always their fealty to King Richard. This meeting of the great body of the citizens, in co-operation with the nobles and prelates who had assembled on the previous day in St. Paul's Church, was, we may believe, what before the Conquest was called a folk-mote—a people-meeting. In the struggle between Henry III. and the barons there was a great folk-mote at Paul's Cross; and that people-meeting is not spoken of as if it had been new to that time. The popular voice had, however feebly, contrived to make itself heard, from the Saxon days; and out of these rude beginnings arose, in gradual development, the perfect idea of a representative system of government, in which the body of the people should assert their rights to consideration, without the partialities of a mere privileged assembly, or the tumultuous impulses of an indiscriminate gathering of excited masses.

We leave Prince John to pursue his political triumph. There are some curious pictures of society in the bishop of Coventry's sarcastic narrative of the escape of William de Longchamp from the popular fury at Dover. The deposed chancellor, who it appears was lame, walked down from the heights of the castle to the beach, disguised in a woman's green gown of inconvenient length, having some brown cloth in his hand, as if for sale, and carrying a measuring rod. He sits upon a rock on the shore, and a fisherman is rude to the supposed lady. A woman comes up, and asks the price of an ell of cloth, to which the unhappy chancellor can give no answer, for he understands not a word of English. Other women gather about him, and having pulled off his hood, beheld a swarthy man, recently shaved. He is then rabbled, and dragged through the town, the men and women crying, "Come, let us stone this monster, who is a disgrace to either sex." Thrown into prison, the chancellor is at length liberated by an order from Prince John, takes ship, and lands in Flanders. From King Richard he demands redress, to whom he writes that his brother John had taken possession of the kingdom, and would place the crown on his own head, unless the king should return with all speed. The pope espoused the cause of Longchamp; and John, having had offers of bribes from him, made efforts for his recall. But the papal bull and the ex-chancellor's purse were equally ineffectual; and the fallen man sat down in Normandy to wait for the time when Richard should take thought of the people whom he had left to the misgovernment of faction, or the no-government of anarchy.

Richard, who, whatever were his faults, was too brave to resort to the cowardly guilt of conspiring to put to death one whom he disliked, had at this time his honor blackened by an imputation that he was concerned in the murder of Conrad, Marquis of Montferrat. The king of England had opposed his claim to the sovereignty of Jerusalem, and had supported Guy of Lusignan. Some of the fatal dissensions among the Christian leaders arose out of these rival ambitions. The marquis was at length chosen king of Jerusalem, Richard having abandoned his opposition. Shortly after, Conrad was murdered in the streets of Tyre. One of the two young men who had stabbed him confessed that they were sent to do this deed by the chief commonly known as The Old Man of the Mountain. The history of the sects called The Assassins—from whose fanatical crimes the word assassin has found a place in European languages—would appear to belong to the wildest romance, if modern times had not exhibited something of the same character in the Thugs of India. These assassins had possession of many hill-forts in Syria; and from their colony of Mount Libanus went forth the secret ministers of the revenge or the avarice of their scheik, to whom his followers vowed a blind obedience. From their earliest youth, the chosen instruments of this scheik were trained to believe that his commands were those of a divinity; and that if they fell in the discharge of the duties assigned them, all the joys of paradise would be their reward. In every variety of disguise these missionaries of the dagger found their way to the courts of princes, in the East and in the West; and Christian and Mussulman equally dreaded the danger against which no vigilance could guard. Richard was accused of having bribed the scheik to the murder of Conrad; and the scheik, in two letters, vindicated the king from any participation in what the fanatic avowed as his just revenge for an injury sustained by one of his people: "He justly perished, by our will and command, by our satellites, for that act in which he transgressed against us, and which, when admonished, he had neglectly to amend." These letters were produced in Richard's behalf, when he was solemnly accused as the instigator of the crime. He was also accused of having endeavored to procure a similar murder of Philip of France, which is also denied in this evidence of the scheik. The historian of the Assassins, Von Hammer, doubts the genuineness of these letters. But the account given in them of the reasons for the murder of Conrad is, we agree, "the least objectionable, the most consonant to Eastern manners, and, as the most simple, the most unlikely to have been invented." *

The spring of 1192 had set in, "after the cold winter months, and King Richard began again to attack the Turks with indefatigable ardor." Thus Vinsauf begins his narrative of the last eastern campaign of Cœur de Lion. Single-handed he destroys innumerable Saracens. Single-handed, with his lance for a hunting-spear, he attacks and kills an enormous boar. The crusaders are marching a second time upon Jerusalem. Richard is disturbed in spirit about England; and the report goes through the armies that he is about to leave the scene of so many of his gallant exploits. But all the leaders agree to advance, with or without Richard. The king sits alone in his tent, in sullen meditation. His chaplain, William of Poitou approaches him with tears; and, being commanded to speak, exhorts him to continue to be the chief in the great enterprise. "The king's heart," says Vinsauf, "was changed by this address;" and his herald proclaimed to the army "that the king would not depart from the Holy Land before Easter." They march on; but there is a long rest again in a valley, from whose surrounding hills Richard gazes upon Jerusalem. But he does not advance. He has become prudent, and will not take the responsibility of a hazardous attempt. Saladin, he says, "is aware of our precise strength, and that we are so distant from the sea-coast that if the enemy were to come down with force from the mountains to the plain of Ramula, to watch the roads and block up the passage against those who convey our provisions, the consequence would be most disastrous." † The matter was now referred to twenty discreet men, who agreed that it was the most eligible plan to proceed direct to the siege of Babylon. The French were violently against this proposal. The army was put into good-humor by the capture of an enormous caravan by Richard and a select band of his own soldiers, and of the French. This prize was not obtained without a severe battle. But the luxuries of the East were poured into the laps of the captors—gold and silver, silks, spices, robes, cushions, pavilions, sugar, wax; besides the most useful necessaries of bread, meat, and grain. Vinsauf records that four thousand seven hundred camels and dromedaries, besides mules out of number, were left by the slaughtered or fugitive Turks.

But, however Richard might be delighted with the battle and the spoil, the avowed objects of the crusade were advancing slowly. The people began to murmur. The "twenty discreet men" now said that the enterprise of besieging Jerusalem was become more difficult; for, except the stream of Siloah, not a drop of water fit for

* Hallam, "Middle Ages," vol. ii. p. 325.

* Mackintosh, History, vol. i. p. 187. See the letters in "Secret Societies of the Middle Ages."

† Vinsauf.

drink could be found within two miles of the city. To the indecision of Richard the French imputed these delays. Even seven hundred years ago, commanders who failed to satisfy the popular impatience had to bear those keen assaults of ridicule which are more easily borne now when they are universal. There were minstrels in the French camp; and, at the instance of the duke of Burgundy, men and women went about singing a scurrilous ballad against the king of England. "On this composition becoming current among the soldiers," says Vinsauf, "King Richard was much annoyed." But King Richard here acted with more real heroism than when he brought back the heads of a dozen Turks who had fallen in his way. "King Richard was much annoyed; but he thought that a similar effusion would be the best mode of revenging himself on the authors, and he had not much difficulty in composing it, as there were abundance of materials." He was grown wiser since he kicked the duke of Austria, when he refused to work on the walls of Ascalon. At last, Saladin, knowing the distracted state of the Christian councils, refused to agree to a truce, and Richard retreated in the direction of Jaffa, and thence proceeded to Acre, with a part of his forces. Saladin now assaulted Jaffa with petraria and mangonel, and captured the town after a great slaughter. Richard was preparing to embark at Acre, when the news arrived of the siege of Jaffa. At the first words of messengers from the besieged, Richard determined to go to the relief of the Christians in the citadel. The French refused to be again under his command; but the Templars and Hospitallers, with soldiers of all nations, retraced their steps; and Richard embarked with many knights in his fleet of galleys, and arrived after some delay in the harbor of Jaffa. He found the citadel surrendered to the Turks. But the king, without waiting for the land forces, threw himself into the water, and with a small band of followers recovered the castle. He then boldly encamped outside the gates, having among his two thousand men only ten who were mounted. A great body of Turkish cavalry attacked this small force of bowmen and spearmen. Their ranks were unbroken by the clouds of horse; for the spearmen fixed the butts of their lances in the sandy earth, and with the pointed shafts made a fence of steel against the light-armed Turks; while the archers discharged their arrows from the arbalasts. Richard and his ten knights scattered the Saracens wherever they rushed. The large-hearted courtesies of chivalry had extended to the Mussulman leaders, among the other refinements of the eastern races. Saphadin, the brother of Saladin, sent Richard during the fight two noble horses, requesting him to accept them. From the morning sun to the setting sun Richard had fought against great odds. That day's terrible toil was followed by fever. His true friend, Saphadin, was at hand, to arrange an armistice. A truce for three years was finally determined on; by which the pilgrims were to have free access to Jerusalem. Some of the Turkish chiefs proposed to take vengeance on the Christians who were in their power. Saladin preferred honor to revenge. The great Curdish soldier, the magnanimous and wise Saladin, died within six months of this truce. He had a higher notion of the duties of a sovereign than the Richard whose courage he admired. "Spill no blood," he said to his son, "for it will one day reach thy head. Preserve the hearts of thy subjects by loving care, for they are intrusted to thee by God."

Richard sailed from Acre on the 9th of October. The solitary ship in which he had embarked was detained a month by contrary winds before he reached Corfu. Here he hired three coasting-vessels to take him and twenty companions to Ragusa. They landed in the guise of pilgrims; but the lavishness of the king was so little in keeping with his assumed character that his real rank was soon suspected. The impatient adventurer, with a single attendant, rode day and night till he arrived in the neighborhood of Vienna. He rested at a little village, while his companion went out to buy food. The person of this attendant was known to one who had been with the duke of Austria in Palestine; and this knowledge led to the captivity of Richard. Leopold of Austria had been scorned by Richard at Acre; and he was also brother-in-law to Isaac of Cyprus. His mean soul had the gratification of a cowardly revenge; and he sent Richard a prisoner to the castle of Tyernsteign. The terrible Richard was now in worse hands than those of Saracens. The duke of Austria sold his captive to the emperor of Germany, and the emperor was ready to sell him again to the highest bidder. He kept Richard safely chained in a castle in the Tyrol. His imprisonment was made known to Europe by a letter from the emperor to the king of France. In England, the people were faithful to their captive king. Prince John was in open hostility to his brother. He surrendered to Philip some portions of the continental dominions of Richard, and did homage to him for the rest. He returned to England with a band of mercenaries, and proclaimed that the king had died in prison. But the prelates and barons were firm, and the schemes of John were overthrown. Philip invaded Normandy, but with very partial success. Longchamp, the deposed chancellor, was the first to make any active exertions for the deliverance of Richard; and he succeeded in bringing him before the diet of the empire at Hagenau. An investigation of the charges against the king took place; but he defended himself with such spirit that his chains were struck off, and the amount of ransom was the only question in dispute. It was some months before a sufficient instalment of the amount required—a hundred thousand marks—could be raised by taxation in England; and even then the emperor negotiated with John for a bribe to detain his brother. The treaty was finally accomplished. When the king of France knew that this game of statecraft and treachery was at an end, he wrote to John, "Take care of yourself, for the devil is let loose." After a captivity which, Hoveden says, lasted one year, six weeks, and three days, the king of England was delivered to his mother, Eleanor. He hastened on his way to Antwerp; and after a long delay in navigating the river, and by contrary winds, reached England for a short sojourn.

Richard had been absent more than four years from the land of which he was king. According to a letter of Pope Celestine to the prelates of England, "Richard, the illustrious king of the English, having assumed the cross, and prepared himself for avenging the injuries done to the Redeemer, has therein, like a prudent man, and one who fears the Lord, considered that the cares of governing his kingdom ought to be postponed to the performance of his duty, and has left the same under the apostolic protection."* The duty of governing his subjects being thus held by such high authority as a very inferior part of his office, it is not likely that Richard felt much compunction when he came back to an impoverished, discontented, and distracted people. The churches had been stripped of their sacred vessels; the traders had been taxed to the utmost extent of their small ability; the agriculturists had sold their scanty stocks to gather the large amount required for the king's ransom. There is a curious piece of evidence of the impatience of some of the people of London, as it showed itself in the year when Richard was set free. It is connected with the story of William Fitz-Osbert, or William with the Long Beard; and is derived from the roll of the king's justiciars. William Fitz-Osbert, on the 21st of November, 1194, preferred an appeal before the justices at Westminster against Richard Fitz-Osbert, his brother, which appeal he supported by his own testimony. He made oath that, at a meeting held at the stone house of Richard Fitz-Osbert, a discussion arose concerning the aids granted to the king for his ransom, when Richard exclaimed, "In recompense for the money taken from me by the chancellor within the Tower of London, I would lay out forty marks to purchase a chain in which the king and his chancellor might be hanged." Jordan, the tanner, and Robert Brand, heard this speech; and wished that the king might always remain where he then was—meaning in prison; and they all exclaimed, "Come what will, in London we never will have any other king except our mayor, Henry Fitz-Ailwin, of London Stone." The story of William with the Long Beard has been told by historians without this preliminary incident, the knowledge of which we owe to one of the most judicious of antiquaries.† The causes of the insurrection which this William headed in 1196, and in which he lost his life, are rendered clearer by this curious illustration of popular feeling in 1194. Henry Fitz-Ailwin was the first mayor of London, the city, prior to 1189, having been governed by a portreeve, who was an officer of the crown. But the popular magistrate appears to have been as unjust in his exactions as the chancellor whom Richard Fitz-Osbert and his friends desired to hang. Hoveden's account is very distinct of the oppressions which

* Hoveden.

† Sir F. Palgrave, in his official publication of the Rolls, from which we learn that the unbrotherly denunciation of Richard Fitz-Osbert by William was not successful.

were exercised in the great trading city, governed by its own magistrates and guilds. "More frequently than usual, in consequence of the king's captivity and other accidents, aids of no small amount were imposed upon the citizens; and the rich men, sparing their own purses, wanted the poor to pay everything." For this reason, William Fitz-Osbert, in 1196, "went over the sea to the king in Normandy, and demanded his protection for himself and the people." It was not of royal cupidity but of civic corruption that he went to complain to King Richard. "He informed the king," says our good old chronicler Holinshed, "of certain great oppressions and excessive outrages used by rich men against the poor (namely, the worshipful of the city, the mayor and aldermen), who in their hustings, when any tallage was to be gathered, burthened the poor further than was thought reason, to ease themselves; whereupon the said William, being a seditious person, and of a busy nature, ceased not to make complaints." This very troublesome lawyer, for lawyer he was, "sharp of wit and some deal lettered; a bold man of speech, and sad of countenance," * was a type of many a bold man of speech who from time to time, even to this day, has asserted the equal laws of justice against "rights and privileges." Such men are generally persecuted in their generation. William of the Long Beard had a hard fate, though fifty thousand of the "common people" stood at his back. He was seized in the church of Saint Mary Bow, of Cheap, and, being first stabbed, was then hanged. He was long reverenced as "a holy man and martyr." His quarrel with the civic functionaries might have been disregarded by the nobles and prelates as a mere quarrel among obscure burgesses, had not Fitz-Osbert gone across the sea to appeal to Richard. For this reason Hubert Fitz-Walter, archbishop of Canterbury, who was the king's justiciary, interfered with the free movements of "the common people," who were to be arrested wherever they were found outside the city; and accordingly some humble London merchants were seized at Mid Lent at the fair at Stamford.

We can only obtain such glimpses as this story of William of the Long Beard affords, of the condition of the cities and great towns of England at this period. In all of the trading communities there were stringent regulations for buying and selling, enforced by the universal machinery of guilds. This organization was as complete as that of the military system of feudality; and as the lord controlled his tenant and received his fealty, and the tenant commanded his socman, and the socman his serf, so the chief of a guild ruled over his company, and his company over their apprentices, and their apprentices over their servants. There was perpetual watchfulness and command in every branch of industry. No one could pursue a trade to which he had not been duly trained. No one could make an article except of a prescribed size and quality. No one could fix his own price upon what he made or sold. Such a system was adapted to the times in which it grew, and in which it continued, either for protection or oppression, for many centuries. That all these laws impeded production there can be no doubt. How far they promoted the welfare of the humblest classes, defending them against extortion, adulteration, and the other manifold evils and disgraces of modern trade, is a question not so easily determined. The story, however, of William Fitz-Osbert shows that municipal rapacity may be as tyrannous as regal; and that there could be no real safety against injustice till the force of public opinion should hold all authority in its proper position of responsibility as well as power.

There is a curious, though exaggerated representation of the condition of the cities and towns of England, in the chronicle of Richard of Devizes. It occurs incidentally in a popular story of a Christian boy of France, who through the artifices of a French Jew is sent to Winchester, to be there offered as a sacrifice by the Jews. The story is altogether worthless; but the exhibition of manners has an historical interest. Go not to London, says the Jew. Every race of every nation abides there, and have there brought their vices. It is full of gamblers and panders, of braggadocios and flatterers, of buffoons and fortune-tellers, of extortioners and magicians. At Canterbury people die in open day in the streets for want of bread and employment. Rochester and Chichester, mere villages, are cities only in name. Oxford barely sustains its clerks. Exeter supports men and beasts with the same grain. Bath is buried in a low valley full of sulphury vapor. Worcester, Chester, and Hereford are infested by the desperate Welshmen. York abounds in rascally Scots. Ely is putrefied by the surrounding marshes. At Durham, Norwich, and Lincoln there are none who can speak French. At Bristol everybody is, or has been, a soap-maker, and every Frenchman esteems soap-makers as he does night-men. But Winchester is the best of all cities, and the people have only one fault—they tell lies like watchmen. All this belongs to the region of fiction; but, like many other of the products of that fertile empire there are riches to be found among the rubbish. It is in legend and ballad, rather than in chronicle, that we must look for the traces of the remarkable condition of large numbers of men who frequented the royal forests of England as organized plunderers, defying the just legal enactments against robbers, as well as utterly disregarding the fearful punishments denounced against those who carried bows and arrows in these forests, or "offended against the king relative to his venison."

Richard landed at Sandwich on the 12th of March, 1194. On the 28th of March, the castle of Nottingham, which was held by men at arms in the interest of John, surrendered to the king. He is now ready for a short holiday. "On the 29th day of March, Richard, king of England, went to see Clipstone and the forests of Sherwood, which he had never seen before, and they pleased him greatly; after which, on the same day, he returned to Nottingham." * Thierry intimates that it was something beyond the charm of woodland scenery that took Richard to Sherwood, in this early spring of 1194. The fame of the forest outlaws had, he imagines, presented an object of attraction to Richard's adventurous spirit. If the king of the crusades and the greenwood king had met, either as friends or foes, the chroniclers would not, in all likelihood, have been silent on the matter. The first distinct mention of Robin Hood is by Fordun, the Scottish historian, who wrote in the fourteenth century. He says, "Then arose among the disinherited the famous brigand Robert Hode, with his accomplices, whom the common people are so fond of celebrating in their games and stage-plays; and whose exploits, chanted by strolling ballad-singers, delight them above all things." Upon these ballads, adapting themselves, generation by generation, to the changes of language, rests the only historical evidence of the individuality of Robin Hood, beyond this mention by Fordun. A theory has been set up by some enthusiastic interpreters of song and legend, that Robin Hood, and Little John, and many a nameless outlaw, were great heroes who had been defeated, with Simon de Montfort, at the battle of Evesham in 1265. Others make Robin Hood to have been an earl of Huntingdon. He is the Saxon yeoman, Locksley, of Sir Walter Scott. According to Thierry, the whole of the band that ranged the vast woodland districts of Derby, Nottingham, and Yorkshire, were the remnants of the old Saxon race, who had lived in this condition of defiance to Norman oppression, from the time of Hereward—the same type of generous robbers and redressers of wrongs as the famous Cumberland bandits, Adam Bell, Clym of the Clough, and William of Cloudesley. Without entering upon these controversial theories, we accept Robin Hood as a real personage. There may have been a succession of Robin Hoods during the long term of Norman tyranny; but whoever he was, and in whatever reign he lived, Robin Hood is the representative of the never-ending protest of the people against misrule—a practical protest which set up a rude kind of democratic justice against the manifold atrocities of aristocratic tyranny. It was a contest, no doubt, of robber against robber; but the popular admiration of the hero of the forests was based upon a more enduring principle than the knightly admiration of the hero of the crusades. The ballad-singers have outlived the troubadours. The "blind harpers, or such-like tavern minstrels, that give a fit of mirth for a groat, their matters being for the most part stories of the old time, made purposely for the recreation of the common people," †—these touched the largest sympathies of yeoman and laborer, even when recitals of heavy wrongs and terrible redress were "stories of the old time." For they sang of one who took the goods of the rich baron to bestow them upon the lowly serf, and defied the horrible penalties of the forest laws, while he killed his venison in spite of earl and sheriff. The great body of the people were a suffering race long after the difference in suffering between Saxon and Norman had passed away. The Normans, indeed,

* Fabyan.

* Hoveden. † Puttenham, "Art of English Poesie," 1589.

brought into England a contempt for the laboring people, the serfs and villains (by whatever special name called), which did not exist in any such degree before the Conquest. The peasant was under the Norman rulers, in every respect in bondage. His foreign master plundered him and held him in contempt. His foreign king taxed him by the most odious tallage, whenever a penny was put by after the necessities of life and the exactions of the lord were supplied. The humblest cabin and the coarsest fare were thought almost too good for the villain. "Why should villains eat beef or any dainty food?" asks one of the Norman jongleurs.* These charitable poets give us a pithy proverb:

"Il fait à Dieu honte
Qui villain haut monte."

(He shames God who raises a villain). Thus the privations of the peasantry and the insults, still harder to endure, went on amid a smouldering hatred, till the great outbreak of the time of Richard II. In such compositions as the Robin Hood ballads, the detestation of the oppressors was long kept alive. How thoroughly artificial and extravagant are the lyrics and romances of chivalry compared with these songs of the rustics! Of Richard the Crusader, the least extraordinary feat is that he tore out the heart of a hungry lion which the emperor of Germany introduced into the royal prisoner's dungeon. But when these minstrels record, not at all implying anything to Richard's disadvantage, that he gayly supped upon the flesh of a young and fat Saracen, having a longing for pork which could not be gratified, and that he caused a Saracen's head to be served up to the ambassadors of Saladin, we feel how this "specimen of what crusaders were supposed capable of performing, although totally fabulous, shows the idea which the minstrels conceived of such a character, when carried to the highest and most laudable degree of perfection."† On the other hand, having put aside the exaggerations of the Robin Hood ballads, we feel that we are in the natural regions of poetry, surrounded by adventures that might have been real, and by men that have human hearts in their bosoms, when we read the stories of "the gentlest thief that ever was."‡ Fuller, who places Robin among his "Worthies," says: "Know, reader, he is entered in our catalogue, not for his thievery, but for his gentleness." In the most popular poetry of what we call the rude ages, the outlaw had the same attributes of bravery and generosity with which the character of Richard the Lion-hearted has been invested; without exhibiting those ferocious traits which belonged to the chivalric worship of mere brute courage and blind fanaticism. The popular notion of a hero is the more refined one, although Robin be merely a good yeoman."

"So curteyse an outlawe as he was one,
Was never none yfounde."

In spite of the tyrannous laws which banded men together in the guilds, and the oppressions which invested robbers with the character of redressers of wrong, the evils of society had some mitigations. The small agricultural tenants of the feudal lord; the socmen, who were allowed allotments for defined contributions of labor; and even the serfs, who were wholly dependent upon one master, without a choice of other service, these had some compensating circumstances, amid a great deal of injustice, and a habit of life which we now regard as miserable. The duties of these, as well as of every other working member of the community, were in great measure defined. Industry was spared many of those evils of competition which are most inseparable from the struggles of modern society. The capitalist was the Jew; but his mode of dealing suited only unthrifty nobots and plundering barons; for when the borrower came into the gripe of the Israelite, bond was heaped upon bond, so that we have a record how a debt of two hundred pounds became, with accumulated interest, eight hundred and eighty pounds in four years.§ The yeoman and the burgess sold as fast as they produced, and turned the penny as soon as possible, without the desire or the ability to speculate upon the rise or fall of commodities. The military training of all classes gave a sort of distinction even to the race of villains, and kept them in healthful excitement. The universal feeling of devotion and of obedience to one dominant church lifted their minds out of the mere material cares of life. They were ignorant, in our sense of ignorance. Their religious observances carry with them an air of much that is ridiculous and debasing. But they were not debased by the undoubting earnestness with which they confided in their spiritual leaders. The distinctions of rank were so clearly defined that no one aspired to belong to a station above him, or to affect to be what he was not. The peasantry had their holidays and rustic games, on which neither the lord nor the priest looked unkindly. The people of the towns had their in-door amusements, of which gambling was the most attractive to high and low. They had chess; but the rattle of the dice was far more seductive than the marshalling of bishop and knight. The passion of playing for money was so universal that, in the crusade, in which all ranks of men were engaged, the kings of England and France made the most stringent regulations to keep gambling within limits. No man in the army was to play at any kind of game for money, with the exception of knights and the clergy; and no knight or clerk was to lose more than twenty shillings in any one day. The men-at-arms, and "other of the lower orders," as the record runs, who should be found playing of themselves—that is, without their masters looking on and permitting—were to be whipped; and, if mariners, were to be plunged into the sea on three successive mornings, "after the usage of sailors." These regulations were to prevent the quarrels which were the natural consequence of gambling, at this period and in most other periods when force stood in the place of argument. We find in an old record that "John, son of King Henry, and Fulco Guarine fell at variance at chess; and John brake Fulco's head with the chessboard, and then Fulco gave him such a blow that he had almost killed him."* In the smooth garden-lawns of the towns, and on the village green, the favorite game of the sixteenth century was known in the twelfth or thirteenth; for many "a marvellous good neighbor, in sooth, and a very good bowler" of the days of Elizabeth, practised the art as it was practised, with little variation, in the days of John. The rougher games of the people were a supplementary part of their military training. Wrestling was the national pastime, from London to the Land's End, from the West to the North. The sturdy yeomen wrestled for prizes—a ram or a bull, a red gold ring or a pipe of wine. One of the Robin Hood ballads says,

"What man beareth him best, ywis,
The prize shall bear away."

The quarter-staff was the rustic weapon of the West; but the Tanner of Nottingham, whose "staff of oak was eight foot and a half," and Robin Hood, had a bout in Sherwood long celebrated in song and picture. The sword-dance of the Saxons came down to their successors, and held its honored place among popular sports long after the Conquest. The acrobat who went about to market and fair was the genuine descendant of the Saxon gleeman, who made knives and balls circle through his hands as adroitly as the modern conjurer. The Anglo-Norman juggler balanced his wheel and his sword; and "the musical girls," whose attractions Richard of Devizes denounces, tumbled before knight and peasant, as the daughter of Herodias "tumbled before Herod." The bearward was not unknown in the towns with his monkey and his drum; and to the country revel came the taborer and the bagpiper, the dancers and the minstrel. The minstrel was the privileged wanderer. History says that Longchamp, the chancellor, was the chief instrument of the release of Richard from his dungeon in the Tyrol; but romance will not surrender to chancellor or bishop the fame of Blondel, who, searching about for his beloved master, "became acquainted with them of the castle, as minstrels do easily win acquaintance anywhere." The English minstrels, we may suppose, did not sing such refined verses as those of which Blondel sang one verse before Richard's prison window, and the king replied with the second verse. Chester fair, in the time of John, was a great resort of vagabonds; for by the charter of the city no one could be there apprehended for any theft or misdeed except it were committed in the fair. Ranulph, earl of Chester, was a prisoner in Rhuydland Castle; and Lord de Lacy, the constable of Chester, by the help of "the minstrels of all

* See an interesting essay on the English peasantry, by J. Wright, Esq., in "Archæologia," vol. xxx. p. 238.
† Sir Walter Scott, in *Edinburgh Review*, vol. vii. p. 405.
‡ Camden. § See the "Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond."

* Quoted from Leland's "Collectanea," in Percy's "Essay on the Ancient Minstrels."

sorts that met at Chester fair, by the allurement of their music got together a vast number of such loose people as, by reason of the before specified privilege, were then in that city." The minstrels and the loose people alarmed the warders of the Welsh castle, and released the earl. We have said enough to show that even in the Norman times of unequal government the free spirit of the people broke forth in that mingled temper of frolic and kindness which has ever been their characteristic, and that, under the worst rulers, there was no very enduring time to be chronicled when this was not "Merry England."

Had Richard the king chosen to remain in the island after his return from Palestine, it is not impossible that his ardent nature might have taken a generous interest in the brave people, of whom so many had been his companions in danger and suffering. But Richard never saw England after this visit of two months. The record of his proceedings from the 12th of March to the 9th of May, 1194, as given by Hoveden, shows how this energetic Plantagenet employed himself in this limited visit. A fortnight of March is passed in the favorite occupation of fighting for the castles which were occupied by the creatures of his brother John. On the 31st he holds a great council at Nottingham, and dispossesses certain barons of fortresses and shrievalties, and puts them up for sale to the highest bidder. He calls, too, for a judgment against John, who is cited to appear within forty days, or forfeit all right to the kingdom; for he had broken his fealty to Richard, taken possession of his castles, wasted his lands, and made a treaty with his enemy the king of France. The judgment was given. At this council a land-tax was decreed, and knight's service was demanded to enable Richard to carry an army to Normandy. At the beginning of April Richard had a meeting with the king of the Scots. They had many discussions about their respective rights, and a charter was finally granted at Northampton, which did much for the dignity of the king of Scotland, though Richard again and again refused to grant him Northumberland, as was desired. On the 17th of April the king of England went through the ceremony of a second coronation. He was now looking to depart; but he first reconciled Geoffrey, the archbishop of York, with Longchamp, the chancellor. With his mother, Eleanor, he stayed at Portsmouth till the 30th, "which appeared to him very tedious." On the 2d of May he persisted in sailing in one of his long-ships, but the adverse wind had no compassion for his impatience. He was forced to return to the Isle of Wight, where he was weather-bound for nine days. The royal long-ship of the twelfth century and the royal steam-yacht of the nineteenth offer a striking contrast. At length he lands at Harfleur, and his warriors with their horses and arms arrive in a hundred large vessels. John falls on his knees before him, and obtains his pardon. The king of France was besieging Verneuil; but on hearing of Richard's approach leaves his troops. "The king of England being full of activity, and more swift than the discharge of a Balearic sling," hurries to do battle with his great suzerain, and pursues his retreating army with the edge of the sword. Richard is now in his proper line of business. In a few months he drives Philip of France out of Normandy, Touraine, and Maine. In England Hubert, the archbishop of Canterbury, is guardian of the realm, and his chief duty is to raise money for these wars. We shall not attempt to pursue the records of this sanguinary contest, which was continued for six years, with an occasional truce when each of the combatants was exhausted. The horrible cruelties that were inflicted upon prisoners, the desolation of the seat of war, the privations endured by the English people to meet the exactions of their rulers—these are the consequences at which we must steadily look, instead of following the narratives of siege and skirmish, of towns burned and churches plundered. The modes by which the lion-hearted king, through his ministers, raised money in England, appear to combine the attributes of the tyrant and the swindler. To order the great seal to be broken, and proclaim that no grant under that seal should be valid, unless the fees due to the crown were paid a second time for affixing the new seal, is an act which scarcely accords with the magnanimity which it has been somewhat the fashion to ascribe to this Plantagenet. The mean qualities of his brother John excite no surprise. In the characters of these two sons of Henry II. there were striking points of resemblance as well as of difference. The last scene of Richard's life is an epitome of his qualities. He perished, not fighting for a dukedom, but for a paltry treasure which one of his barons had discovered on his estate. The royal right to treasure so found was asserted by the king. The viscount of Limoges refused to surrender all the gold and silver, though he offered a large portion. Richard, accordingly, laid siege to the viscount's castle of Chaluz, and would allow the garrison no conditional surrender. They asked for safety of life and limb; but the king "swore that he would take them by storm, and hang them all, and accordingly the knights and men-at-arms returned to the castle in sorrow and confusion, and prepared to make a defence."* Reconnoitring the fortress, Richard was wounded in the arm by an arrow, aimed by Bertrand de Gurdun. The castle being captured, the king ordered all the people to be hanged, one alone excepted—the youth who had wounded him. In those days of the rudest surgery, the barbed iron head of the arrow could not be extracted from the flesh without the limb being cruelly mangled. For twelve days Richard suffered the agonies of his wound, and saw, at last, that death was approaching. He bequeathed the kingdom of England and all his other dominions to John, and ordered a fourth of his treasures to be distributed among his servants and the poor. Hoveden tells the rest of the dying scene: "He then ordered Bertram de Gurdun,† who had wounded him to come into his presence, and said to him, 'What harm have I done to you that you have killed me?' On which he made answer, 'You slew my father and my two brothers with your own hand, and you intended now to kill me; therefore take any revenge on me that you may think fit, for I will readily endure the greatest torments you can devise, so long as you have met with your end, after having inflicted evils so many and so great upon the world.' On this the king ordered him to be released, and said, 'I forgive you my death.'" This part of the dying man's wish—this last effort of a nature not altogether cruel—was disregarded. Marchades, the chief of the hireling soldiers called Routiers, after Richard's death, flayed the youth alive, and then hanged him.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Accession of John—Arthur of Brittany—War for the succession to England and the French provinces—Peace with Philip of France—Blanche of Castile—Insurrection in Poitou against John—Arthur taken prisoner—His death—The states of Brittany demand justice against John—Total loss of Normandy and other provinces—Pope Innocent III.—His quarrel with John—England placed under an Interdict—Ireland—Wales—London Bridge completed—Consequences of the interdict—John excommunicated and deposed by the Pope—Philip about to invade England—John swears fealty to the Pope—The barons resist John's demands—Stephen Langton the archbishop—League of the churchmen and barons—Runnymede—Magna Charta—Its provisions, and their effects upon the nation.

THE first Richard died on the 6th of April, 1199. The reign of John commences from Ascension day, the 27th of May, when he was crowned at Westminster. In this interval of fifty days the future destiny of England remained uncertain. It was the will of a beneficent Providence that the island should be separated from France; and that the interests of her ruling classes, being concentrated under one monarchy, the people should rapidly advance in the attainment of just government. The crimes and weaknesses of the new king were the chief instruments of this important revolution.

Had the crown of England descended by strict hereditary succession, Arthur, the son of Geoffrey, the third son of Henry II., would have been king in preference to John, the fifth son of Henry. But Arthur was a boy of twelve years; John was thirty-two. According to the speech of Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, at the coronation, the claims of Arthur were glanced at "as a more lawful descent of inheritance pretended by others." But to the assembled prelates and peers the archbishop said, "You are come hither this day to choose you a king, and such a one as, if need shall require, may be able of himself to take such a charge upon him; and having

* Hoveden.

† In an ancient anonymous account of Richard's death, it is stated that the king had forced his way into the inner court of the castle, but that one tower held out, in which were two knights and their eight men and women. According to this account, the knight who shot the arrow from the cross-bow was Peter de Basile.

undertaken the same, ready to execute that which he shall think to be expedient for the benefit of his subjects." Much controversy has arisen about the authenticity of this speech, as given in the chronicle of Roger of Wendover ; * for it assumes the monarchy to be elective, somewhat beyond the warrant of the constitution. John's claim, on the ground of hereditary right, was, that being the surviving brother of the late deceased king, he was nearer of kin to him than Arthur, the son of Richard's brother. The claims of Arthur had not been overlooked in England, in the interval between the death of Richard and the coronation of John. But the interests of the young prince had been overpowered by the promises which the archbishop and the justiciary had held out at a great council at Northampton, and by respect for the will of the deceased king. In Normandy, also, the pretensions of John were recognized without opposition, as well as in Aquitaine and Poitou. But in Maine, Touraine, and Anjou, the cause of the young Plantagenet was openly espoused. John, alarmed at the position of his continental authority, returned to Normandy before the end of June.

Philip of France, the most politic of monarchs, saw clearly his position. There had been, since the conquest of England, two mighty sovereigns of France. The Plantagenet race, at one period, seemed not unlikely to swallow up the race of Capet, and to become the sole heads of the greatest empire of the world. The time was come for a real trial of strength. The battle had been fought, without any decisive results, with Richard, who had many of the qualities of a great warrior, however wanting in those of a sagacious king. Another had succeeded who was neither wise nor warlike. The rival claim of the young Arthur of Brittany was the weak point in the succession of John. Shakespeare has put this with historical fidelity.† The wilfulness of John, and, more than wilfulness, his licentious, cruel, and treacherous nature, precluded a compromise of this dispute, and converted it into a struggle for one half of France with the king to whom he owed fealty. Happy was it for England, and for Normandy and the other provinces, that the suzerain was the conqueror.

Philip of France espoused the cause of Arthur, not from any regard to justice, or any sympathy for an injured youth. The boy was a tool in his hands, to be taken up or laid aside as best suited the purposes of this wary politician. Constance, the mother of Arthur, was the reigning duchess of Brittany. There is one delineation of her character, as the impersonation of maternal love, which will always take the place of the historical belief that she was a weak and selfish woman. In Arthur's interest Philip invaded Normandy, and placed garrisons in Anjou, Maine, and Touraine. There was war for eight months between the rival kings, and then an armistice. During the two months of this suspension of hostilities John was in England. In one of the most remarkable monuments of antiquarian industry, the movements of King John have been traced from the first day of his reign to the last, in a chronological table, which shows at what places a vast number of official documents of this period were dated.‡ From this itinerary we learn that in March, and the first part of April, of the year 1200, the king was at Winchester, Windsor, Westminster, Woodstock, Northampton, Clipstone, Tickhill, York, Bolsover, Derby, Burton-upon-Trent, Lichfield, Worcester, Farringdon. This is a considerable tour in the days of bad roads. In the latter half of April he is again at Windsor and Westminster, and then slowly journeys by Guildford, Alton, and Bishop's Waltham to Porchester. On the 2d of May he is once more in Normandy. England does not see him again till October. On the 23d of May the kings of France and England conclude a peace. The interests of Arthur are abandoned by Philip, and he is compelled to do homage to his uncle for Brittany. John has a niece, Blanche of Castile, whom he endows with money and fiefs as her marriage-portion ; for the alliance is to be cemented by Lewis, the son of Philip, becoming the husband of Blanche. But John belongs to that order of minds who make for themselves great reverses. He had been married since 1189 to Hadwisa, the daughter of William, earl of Gloucester. He now finds it convenient to obtain a divorce on the usual plea of consanguinity ; for he had fallen into that desperate state of passion miscalled love, which tyrants, whether Plantagenet or Tudor, have claimed the privilege to gratify at every cost of honor or decency. In his progress through Aquitaine he had seen the beautiful betrothed of Hugh, count of La Marche ; and the lady, although she was privately espoused, as some believe, wastempted to violate her faith and become the wife of John. He went to England in October, 1200, to be crowned with his new queen ; but there were consequences of that unlawful marriage which the passionate king did not expect. The count of La Marche headed an insurrection against John in Poitou and Aquitaine. The force which the king of England brought into the field was too strong for him to resist. But the count had a secret ally in the crafty Philip, to whom he appealed to redress his wrongs. John, from the June of 1201 to the December of 1203, was away from England. During these two years and a half he lost Normandy, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine. All that had been inherited from William of Normandy and Fulk of Anjou was gone.

In 1202 Philip was again at war with John. The ostensible cause was the injury and insult to the count of La Marche, for the redress of whose wrongs there were many confederate barons and knights in arms. King Philip again uses Arthur for the purposes of his own ambition. Constance, the duchess of Brittany, was now dead ; and the young duke was sent by Philip into Poitou to head the insurrection against John. Arthur, the boy of fifteen, had a strong force of his own faithful Bretons with him, and the discontented nobles met him at Tours with their scanty band of followers. Eleanor, the old queen-mother, was at Mirabeau, near Poitiers. Arthur, with his little army, marched to seize the person of his grandmother, who had always been bitterly opposed to his pretensions. The wary Eleanor took refuge in the strong citadel. While the Poitevin army was besieging this fortress with little caution, John suddenly arrived with a powerful force, and the town was taken by surprise on the night of the 1st of August. Arthur was a prisoner, with two hundred nobles and knights who had followed his unhappy fortunes.

Over the precise circumstances of the fate of Arthur there hangs a terrible mystery. At the beginning of the thirteenth century we have no contemporary chronicler, except Wendover. The later historians furnish us with very doubtful and imperfect notions of the death of the duke of Brittany. That Hubert de Burgh was commissioned to put out the eyes of Arthur, and that he forbore to commit that atrocity, rests upon the authority of one of these transmitters of popular tradition. Shakespeare has made the legend an imperishable fact. Hubert was warden of the castle of Falaise, where the young prince was first confined. He was then moved, according to some writers, to Rouen. He suddenly vanished, says one, in a manner unknown to all. The king was suspected to have killed him with his own hand, says another. A more circumstantial account says he took Arthur into a boat, stabbed him twice with his own hand, and threw the dead body into the river, about three miles from the castle. That he was murdered, and at the instigation of John, if not by his hand, there can be little doubt. There was nothing in the nature of the man to make him stop short of assassination.* Those who were taken prisoners at Mirabeau he treated with a cruelty which rarely disgraced the times of chivalry. He loaded them with irons, and kept them in dungeons of Normandy and England. We have distinct records of twenty-five of these prisoners being confined in Corfe Castle ; and there, it is stated in the annals of the monks of Margan, twenty-two were starved to death. The Maid of Brittany, Arthur's

* This chronicle, which precedes that of Matthew Paris, was, until recently, assigned to that historian, who merely transcribed it.

† "Philip of France, in right and true behalf
Of thy deceased brother Geoffrey's son,
Arthur Plantagenet, lays most lawful claim
To this fair island, and the territories ;
To Ireland, Poitiers, Anjou, Touraine, Maine ;
Desiring thee to lay aside the sword,
Which sways usurpingly these several titles,
And put the same into young Arthur's hand,
Thy nephew and right royal sovereign."
King John, Act i. scene i.

‡ "Description of the Patent Rolls, to which is added an Itinerary of King John," by Thomas Duffus Hardy. Published by the Record Commission.

* There is a curious passage in a safe-conduct granted by John, and dated on the 24th of August, from Chinon, in which he says to Alan Fitz-Count and others who were desirous of seeing him, as he had been informed by "Furmie, servant of Arthur our nephew," "We command you, however, that ye do nought whereby evil may befall our nephew Arthur." ("Patent Rolls," p. 36.)

eldest sister, wore out her life in confinement at Bristol. When, upon the death of his mother, in 1203, John granted a general pardon to "all prisoners, whatever the cause for which they may have been detained, whether for murder, felony, larceny, or breaking the forest laws," he specially excepted "the prisoners taken in our late war, those also whom we sent over from Normandy into England to be there kept and imprisoned."* He could pardon the murderer, but not the soldier who followed the fortunes of his injured prince. John had his reward, in the gathering hatred of all mankind. In 1203, at a meeting of the estates of Brittany, at Vannes, it was resolved that a deputation should go before their feudal lord, King Philip, and demand justice. Upon this, John was summoned to appear, as a vassal of France, at the court of his peers. A safe-conduct was demanded on the part of John. He shall come unmolested, said Philip to John's envoy, who put another question as to his safe return. The king of France replied that he should return safe, if the judgment of his peers acquitted him. The bishop of Ely was the representative of John, and he alleged that the duke of Normandy could not come without the king of England, and that the barons of England would not permit their king to run the risk of death or imprisonment. The king of France contended that his rights as paramount lord over the duke of Normandy were not lost because William, who was the vassal of France, obtained England by force. John did not appear; and the court adjudged that "whereas, John, Duke of Normandy, in violation of his oath to Philip, his lord, had murdered the son of his elder brother, a homager of the crown of France, and near kinsman to the king, and had perpetrated the crime within the signiory of France, he was found guilty of felony and treason, and was therefore adjudged to forfeit all the lands he held by homage." Publicists doubt the legality of the sentence. Of its moral justice there can be little doubt. It was no mere form of words when the fiefs of John were confiscated. Philip took, with scarcely an attempt at resistance, the strong places of Normandy. John's general, the earl of Pembroke, made a gallant attempt to relieve a besieged castle on the Seine. John himself lingered at Rouen, in a voluptuous indifference to disaster, fancying that he could easily recover the power that was melting away from him. At last a strong place in the neighborhood of the great Norman city was taken, and he fled to England. The Normans, however, unwilling to become a part of France, from which they had been so long disunited, were unable effectually to resist the power of Philip. John relied upon the aid of that England which he and his predecessor regarded chiefly as a land to be plundered; and England thought the time was come when her wealth should no longer be dissipated in Normandy, when her language should be spoken by those who ruled over her, when her laws should be administered by those who abided among her people, when her Church should be upheld by those who had no foreign bishoprics and abbeys. Rouen fell to the French besiegers. The duchy was won by France. The other provinces were all separated from the rule of the Plantagenets, with the exception of Aquitaine. In two years after John made one more attempt to gain possession of his ancient fiefs; for the people were somewhat discontented at their fair provinces having lost their distinctive character of independent dominions. In 1206 John landed at Rochelle, took the castle of Montauban, burned Angers, and left the usual traces of cruelty and devastation. He mingled the excitement of siege and battle with the more congenial excitement of gross licentiousness. His courage, like that of most profligates, was sudden and evanescent. On the eve of a battle he proposed a negotiation, and then stole off to England before a treaty was concluded. Through the legate of the pope an armistice was agreed upon. The contest was at an end.

We have passed through the first act of the great historical drama which was presented during the eighteen years of the reign of John. England now stands alone. "This precious stone, set in the silver sea," has now to fight her own battles, to assert her own rights, to gather her own harvests, without dependence upon foreign lords. England is a nation. The distinctions of Saxon and Norman are gone. The English people possess the island. But there is one authority, which, having established ecclesiastical supremacy, presumes to assert temporal dominion. The pope of this period, Innocent III., was one of the most resolved and ambitious men that ever filled the papal throne. With spiritual power he was unsatisfied, unless he could render that power an instrument for the subjugation of every European state to a humiliating subserviency. This principle, as expressed by himself in a memorable letter, was that "as God created two luminaries, one superior for the day, and the other inferior for the night, which last owes its splendor entirely to the first, so he has disposed that the regal dignity should be but a reflection of the papal authority, and entirely subordinate to it." He assumed the regency of Sicily during a minority. He decided between rival claimants to the imperial crown of Germany, first setting up one prince and then deposing him. He excommunicated Philip of France for an unlawful marriage, and compelled him to take back his repudiated wife. John of England, always a slave to his violent impulses, when he had lost France, and was unpopular in England, embarked in a quarrel with this dangerous pontiff. In 1207 the see of Canterbury was vacant. The monks of St. Augustine's abbey had always contended, though in vain, for the right to elect the archbishop. The prelates had as constantly resisted this pretension, and had generally agreed to the recommendation of the king in their election of a fit person for this important office. Dr. Lingard justly says that men such as monks, utterly secluded from the world, were the least calculated to appreciate the merits of the candidates for ecclesiastical dignities. On the vacancy of 1207 the monks of Canterbury clandestinely assembled, and elected their sub-prior to be the head of the Church in England. They dreaded the opposition of the king and the prelates, but they had hope in the character of the pope, and sent their sub-prior to Rome. He divulged the secret; and, upon leaving the kingdom, avowed himself archbishop elect. The monks were alarmed when their proceedings became known, and immediately yielded to the nomination by the king of John de Gray, bishop of Norwich. A deputation of their body was sent to Rome, and they made oath to John that they would support the bishop of Norwich if a fresh election were required. The pope, having decided that the choice was in the monks, in preference to the suffragan bishops, absolved the deputation from their oaths, and set aside the sub-prior and John de Gray. The monks under the papal direction, chose Stephen Langton, an Englishman of great learning and ability, then a cardinal at Rome. The choice was, eventually, a fortunate one for England; and it might have been wise for the king to have acquiesced. He took the usual course of his wilful and revengeful nature. He seized upon the monastery of Canterbury, banished the monks who remained, and appropriated its revenues. Innocent, it is stated, wrote him conciliatory letters, which John met with angry defiance. In another year the whole kingdom was placed by the pope under an interdict.

We have described the effects of an interdict upon a province.* When the bishops of London, Worcester, and Ely, by command of Innocent, pronounced the sentence against all the king's dominions, in Passion Week of 1208, they fled the country. Other bishops quitted their pastoral charge, one only being left in England. The monks and nuns had their religious offices within their own walls, but all the churches were closed to the people. Sermons, indeed, were preached in the churchyards on Sundays; and marriages, during the continuance of this universal interdict, were performed at the church door, as one chronicler states. This anomalous condition of society lasted more than six years. During this period John appears to have conducted himself with more vigor and decision than at any other part of his reign. He compromised a difference with the king of Scotland, without any actual warfare. He led a great army into Ireland, which had been distracted by the rivalries and oppressions of the proud barons who had been deputed to its administration since the time of Henry II. The presence of the English king, with a powerful force, was held as a blessing by the native chiefs and the body of the people. William de Braiose, who had received extensive grants of land at the beginning of John's reign, conscious of his crimes, hurried to France, leaving his wife and son in the hands of John. A brief entry in the chronicle of Florence of Worcester tells their fate: "Matilda de Braiose and William her son were starved to death at Windsor." The two De Lacys, among the most oppressive of the Norman aristocracy in Ireland, also fled to France, and sub-

* Hardy, "Patent Rolls," p. 63.

* Page 79.

sisted as laborers in the garden of an abbey. After two or three years their rank was discovered by the abbot, and through his intercession they were restored to the king's favor. Ireland was, before the visit of John, a prey to those lawless outrages which are invariably the result of tyrannous government. Dublin was peopled, in a great degree by colonists from Bristol, under a grant from Henry II. On some occasion of country festivity at a place called the Wood of Cullen, when many of these citizens were present, a great body of lawless people came down from the Wicklow mountains and massacred three hundred men, women, and children. Some of the English laws had been introduced by Henry II., and his grants of land were according to the feudal tenures. John originated some useful reforms. He divided the portions of the kingdom in his possession into shires, each with its sheriff and other officers, and he coined the first sterling money circulated in Ireland. A record of the reign of Henry III. says that King John "brought with him into Ireland discreet men, skilled in the laws, by whose advice he commanded the laws of England to be observed in Ireland." He left John de Gray, bishop of Norwich, as his chief justiciary, a man of talent and discretion. During the troublous future of England in this reign the sister island was tranquil and prosperous.

The expedition to Ireland was followed next year, 1211, by an attempt to repress the incursions of the Welsh. John advanced to the foot of Snowdon, and there received twenty-eight young men, as hostages, from Llewellyn. During these warlike operations in Ireland and Wales, the interdict had been followed by a sentence of excommunication against John personally. By the most rigorous watchfulness of the ports its publication was prevented. We have no means of judging of the general social condition of the kingdom during the period when the usual course of its ecclesiastical life was suspended. The marches of the king to Scotland and Ireland and Wales were, doubtless, intended to give occupation to discontented nobles and dangerous men-at-arms. But they were costly. The Jews were, as usual, plundered without scruple; and the memorable expedient of drawing a tooth daily from a Jew at Bristol, until he paid down ten thousand marks, is recorded in connection with the Irish expedition. There is an instrument of John, addressed to the mayor and barons of London, in which he marvels that the Jews have been molested in their city, and says, "You know that the Jews are under our special protection . . . if we had granted our protection to a dog it ought to be inviolably observed."* The protection of John was like that which was given to Sindbad and his companions by the Magian people, who fed their victims till they became fat and stout, and then served them as meat to their king. What the Jews could not supply was taken from the churches. The industry of the people was little affected by the suspension of religious offices. London bridge—the identical bridge over which thousands now living have passed—the bridge which stood boldly up against flood and frost for more than six centuries—was finished in 1209, having been thirty-three years in course of erection. John took an interest in the completion of this important work, for in April, 1202, he recommends—in a letter to the mayor and citizens of London, dated from Molineux—"the renowned Isenbert," by whose diligence the bridges of Saintes and Rochelle were constructed in a very short time. He has exhorted "his faithful clerk" "to use the same diligence in building your bridge." The renowned Isenbert was one of those accomplished ecclesiastics who have left enduring works of beauty and utility, but whose names have, in many cases, faded from our national regard. The original architect was Peter Colechurch, a London curate.

The interdict had lasted four years. To suspend the offices of religion through a whole kingdom, at a time when abstract questions of faith had no influence on the actions of men, and there was consequently a nation of faithful sons of the Church, with a very few concealed misbelievers (*miscreants*)—this would appear the very last mode by which the cause of Christianity could be upheld. But Christianity, as we regard it—the highest and holiest principle of human action—the great sustaining power under all the evils of life—the one solid warranty of a life beyond the grave when all shall be judged according to their works—this was not the simple faith, founded upon the Testament of Christ, which the pope might seem to have endangered when he shut up the churches. If the Holy Scriptures had been accessible to the people—if the habit of private and family worship had been a part of the Christian life of those times—the interdict would have done something to destroy the popular belief in relics, and penances, and mere ceremonial observances, and have swept away much of the falsehood which Wickliffe assailed a century and a half afterward. But when England was laid under an interdict for the contumacy of the king, the private activity of the clergy would only stimulate the people against the secular power, without risk to the security of the one universal church. It is probable that John himself had not the slightest particle of religious feeling, and that if he could have held his regal power, it was a matter of indifference to him whether his people were Mussulmans or Christians. There is an extraordinary story, believed by some, disbelieved by others, that during the height of his contest with the pope he sent a deputation to Mohammed-al-Nassir, the emir of the Arab provinces of Spain, who was threatening the south of Europe with the extirpation of Christianity, to avow the determination of the king to embrace the Mohammedan faith, on certain conditions. According to the state of his fortunes, and the consequent bent of his mind, John was defiant to the ecclesiastical power, or grovelling at its feet. There is a warrant of his, dated from Normandy in the early part of his reign, in which he says, "Know ye, that we have given license to Peter Buillo to enter into any religion he pleases."* There is a letter from him to the Seneschal of Gascony, dated from the New Temple in London, in 1214, when he had received the pardon of the pope, in which he says, that having "heard that the execrable infidelity of certain heretics has begun to spread itself anew over your country," he commands the seneschal "to take pains utterly to confound, and entirely exterminate them and their detestable iniquity."† Innocent, the pope, well knew that this man was utterly without any religious principle—was licentious to an extent which disgusted and outraged even those men of power who were not themselves overscrupulous—and, though rash in provoking danger, and obstinate in encountering it, was ready to make a cowardly retreat when his peril was imminent. For four years, therefore, the pope persevered in the interdict. That it slowly and silently alienated the people from the king cannot be doubted; but John still stood, with an apparent boldness that looks heroical. The interdict had not shaken him. There was one terrible weapon still left in the papal armory. In 1213 Innocent proceeded to act upon the formal excommunication which he had previously issued, by deposing the king of England, absolving his vassals from their fealty, exhorting all Christian princes and barons to unite in dethroning him, and excommunicating those who held any intercourse with him. Had John been a man boldly and confidingly to throw himself upon his people, it is probable that this outrage would not have been endured by the nobles and freemen of England; for by this excommunication all the ordinary operations of law were suspended. There was impunity for crime. There was no safety for property. Two legates, Pandulph and Durand, had come into England, in 1212, and proclaimed this deposition of the king before a great assembly at Northampton. At this council John is stated to have established, before the legate, what he considered his force of character, by ordering some hostages in his power to be hanged, blinded, or mutilated. The legate, Pandulph, says the chronicler,‡ was unmoved by this exhibition of power; but when a priest was ordered to be hanged for forgery he rushed out for a candle, to perform the sentence of excommunication, and he consented only to defer this proceeding by the surrender to him of the offending priest. In another year the sentence was pronounced. Dr. Lingard explains how the popes came to assume the power of deposing kings. They were at first contented with spiritual censures; but when all notions of justice came to be modelled upon the feudal principles, it was maintained that sovereigns, who held their fees from God, became traitors by disobedience; that as traitors they ought to forefeit their kingdoms or fees; and that the pontiff, the vicegerent of God upon earth, had the right to pronounce sentence against them for the violation of fealty. We cannot be surprised that John was not prompt in submitting to such an arrogant doctrine. But at length Innocent found a willing instrument to enforce his

* Hardy, "Patent Rolls," p. 61.

* Hardy, "Patent Rolls," p. 60. † Ibid., p. 103.
‡ "Ann. Waverleienses." See Mackintosh, History, vol. i. p. 207.

sublime pretensions to be the sovereign of sovereigns. He promised to grant Philip of France the kingdom ; and Philip assembled a great army at Rouen, and an armament of seventeen hundred ships in the Channel, for the invasion of England. John, to do him justice, was not inactive. He issued orders that every ship in his dominions, capable of the freight of six horses, should assemble at Portsmouth ; and every man that could bear arms was summoned to the coast of Kent. Instead of waiting for Philip, this fleet crossed the Channel, destroyed many ships at Fecamp, and burned Dieppe. The invasion was postponed by this well-timed boldness. But it was the fate of John never to have the wisdom to use a triumph or to lessen a misfortune. While he awaited at Dover the result of the expedition to the shores of Normandy, the legate Pandulph again arrived. John was now terrified by imaginary dangers as well as by real ones. Pandulph worked upon his fears of Philip, of his own barons, of the churchmen whom his contumacy shut out from their functions and influence. But there was in the depths of that soul, so destitute of real veneration for sacred things, that grain of superstition which terrifies and enfeebles those with whom earnest belief has no consoling and strengthening influence. A fanatic called Peter—the "Peter of Pomfret" of Shakespeare—had prophesied that before Ascension day John would cease to reign. That feast of the Ascension fell on the 16th of May. To avert this danger he hurriedly submitted to the legate. On the 13th of May he subscribed an instrument by which he promised to obey the pope, in the admission of Stephen Langton to the archbishopric ; to recall the exiled bishops, and others who had taken part against him ; to reverse outlawries ; to make restitution for property unlawfully seized. These conditions being fulfilled, the interdict and excommunication were to be revoked. Four of the most powerful barons guaranteed these stipulations on the part of John. The next day was spent in secret council with the legate. On the 15th of May an act was done, out of whose consequences sprang, in all probability, much of the future civil and religious freedom of England. It was not sufficient for the unstable John to make his peace by a frank submission to the papal demands in the matter of appointment to an archbishopric. He laid the kingdom of England at the feet of the pope of Rome. He took an oath of fealty to the pope as his vassal. He put an instrument into the hands of the legate, subscribed by himself, nine earls, and two barons, by which he granted to Pope Innocent and his successors the kingdom of England and Ireland, to be held of him and of the Roman Church in fee, by the annual rent of one thousand marks, reserving to himself and his heirs the administration of justice and the peculiar rights of the crown. Ascension day came, and John hanged Peter as a false prophet. The people said that he was a true prophet, for that John had ceased to reign in doing fealty to the pope. Dr. Lingard, while he acknowledges that the act was "disgraceful," appears to think that the blame of this transaction "must be shared with John by the great council of the barons, his constitutional advisers—the very men who, two years later, extorted from him the grant of their liberties in the plain of Runnymede." There is a letter extant from an agent of John at Rome, in which he reports to the king that the barons had stated to the pope that to their compulsion was owing the act which had given Innocent his superiority over the English crown. But there are other documents which put this matter in a different point of view. In two letters written by John himself to the pope, after his signing of the great charter, he complains that "the prelates of our realm, by their obstinacy and disobedience, endeavor to frustrate the effects of your pious providence ;" and he says, "whereas, before we were disposed to subject ourselves and our realm to your dominion, the earls and barons of England never failed in their devotion to us ; *since then, however, and as they publicly avow for that reason*, they have been in continual and violent rebellion against us."* The earls and barons, who extorted the great charter, were acting in strictest concert with "the prelates of the realm ;" and it would be satisfactory to believe, as we desire to do upon the authority of this letter, that the measure of the king's iniquities was filled up and overflowing in their view, when he had humbly knelt before the legate of the pope on the 15th of May, 1213, and degraded England to be a fief of the holy see.

Upon the absolute submission of John to the pope's authority, it was notified to Philip of France that the king of England had been received as a repentant son of the Church, and that no attempt must be made upon his dominions. In this disappointment of his ambition Philip unwillingly acquiesced, and proposed to invade England unsupported by any papal encouragement. Ferrand, earl of Flanders, who held this earldom as a vassal of France, refused his consent to join in the invasion, and a war ensued. Ferrand invaded France, and John sent assistance to him from England, in a powerful fleet. There was a signal victory, in which English ships, loaded with armed men, captured and burned a French fleet. The scene was Damme, near Bruges. Southey calls this "the first great naval action between the English and French." Macintosh more correctly says, "These battles between soldiers embarked in boats which were navigated by seamen or fishermen, were not what are called in modern language maritime engagements." But this partial success was converted into an evil by the misjudging king, who in his elation of spirit imperiously called upon his barons to follow him to war in France. They came at his bidding to Portsmouth with their armed retainers ; but they refused to embark till he had recalled the exiled prelates and laity as he had covenanted. He at length complied. Stephen Langton now came to take possession of his see, and with him the churchmen who had fled the kingdom. There were tears and promises on the king's part ; but none confided in him. Still the barons refused to sail with him. They said their term of feudal service was expired. They stayed behind, to deliberate upon the grievances of the kingdom, at a council at St. Alban's. They then issued a proclamation, in the royal name, commanding the laws of Henry I. to be observed. When the king found that the barons had not followed him to Jersey, where he waited, he returned in fierce indignation, determined to punish those whom he denounced as traitors. Langton met him, and told him the honest truth that it was not for a king to punish any man without trial, and that the barons were ready to answer in the king's court. The patriotic archbishop convened another council at London, and here he produced what was called the charter of Henry I.—a code of ancient Saxon laws with Norman additions. All those of the council then took an oath to maintain their liberties. In this brief trial of strength the people were roused. The oppressions of several generations had bound men in a fellowship of suffering. They were now ready for revenge. The mercenaries of John shrank before the bands of bold yeomen who had mighty bows and cloth-yard shafts. But blood was not then spilled. John at length made an attempt to recover a part of the old Plantagenet dominions. In 1214 he landed at Rochelle, and obtained some advantages in Poitou. While he was absent from England, the interdict of the pope had been rescinded. The king had left much discontent behind him ; but he had the old false confidence in his reviving fortunes. The alliance which he had formed with Germany and Flanders, and the support of the pope, led him to believe that the time was approaching when he should be duke of Normandy more than in the barren title upon his great seal. While John was in Poitou, France was invaded by troops under the emperor of Germany, the earl of Flanders, the earl of Boulogne, and by English under the earl of Salisbury. Philip met these combined forces, amounting to a hundred and fifty thousand men, with half the number of the chivalry of France. On the 27th of July a great battle was fought at Bouvines, a village between Lisle and Tournay. It was the greatest battle of those times ; and its result was the utter rout of the allied armies, and the overthrow of the hopes of John. He concluded an ignominous truce with Philip, and returned to England in October.

In the train of John came a large body of foreign mercenaries. After an unquiet time of eight months, the king was compelled to write, "We will send out of the kingdom, as soon as peace is restored, all foreign soldiers, cross-bowmen, and stipendiaries, who are come with horses and arms, to the injury of our kingdom."* But he came, in that autumn of 1214, with the belief that with horses and arms he could be, "for the first time, king and lord of England." These are the words which he is reported to have used when he heard of the death of his justiciary Fitzpeter, who had held John's arbitrary nature under some sort of control. There were now two eminent persons, among many other bold and earnest churchmen and laity,

* Hardy, "Patent Rolls," p. 73.

* Magna Charta.

who saw that the time was come when no man should be "king and lord in England" with a total disregard of the rights of other men; a time when a king should rule in England by law instead of by force, or rule not at all. Stephen Langton, the archbishop, and William, earl of Pembroke, were the leaders and at the same time moderators, in the greatest enterprise that the nation had yet undertaken. It was an enterprise of enormous difficulty. The pope was now in friendship with the king, and this might influence the great body of ecclesiastics. The royal castles were in possession of the mercenary soldiers. The craft of John was as much to be dreaded as his violence. But there was no shrinking from the duty that was before these patriots. They moved on steadily in the formation of a league that would be strong enough to enforce their just demands, even if the issue were war between the crown and the people. The bishops and barons were the great council of the nation. Parliament, including the Commons, was not as yet, though not far distant. The doctrine of divine right was the invention of an age that sought to overthrow the ancient principle of an elective monarchy, in which hereditary claims had indeed a preference, but in which the sovereign "is appointed to protect his subjects in their lives, properties, and laws, and for this very end and purpose has the delegation of power from the people." So wrote Sir John Fortescue to the young Henry VI. to instruct him in his duties. So thought our Teutonic forefathers. So thought the barons of King John. Such was the opinion of Englishmen, generally, of the foundations of our Constitution, till the prerogative lawyers of the time of the Stuarts came to preach up the rights of arbitrary power; and the most popular historian of England taught that, in what he is always calling rude times, and superstitious times, there was no spirit of freedom to control and balance the many acts of violence and injustice with which the history of our early period commonly deals. Admirably has Mr. Hallam said, "God forbid that our rights to just and free government should be tried by a jury of antiquaries. Yet it is a generous pride that intertwines the consciousness of hereditary freedom with the memory of our ancestors." To these ancestors we owe Magna Charta—not the result, as some affect to think, of "an uninteresting squabble between the king and his barons," but the assertion of as large principles of liberty as could grow in a practical shape out of the social circumstances of England at the beginning of the thirteenth century. The memorable meeting of Runnymede was preceded by a more solemn meeting; when upon the altar at Saint Edmundsbury, the barons, on the 20th of November, 1214, solemnly swore to withdraw their allegiance from John, if he should resist their claims to just government. They had not only public wrongs to redress, but the private outrages of the king's licentiousness were not to be endured by the class of high-born knights whom he insulted through their wives and daughters. From Saint Edmundsbury the barons marched to London, where the king had shut himself up in the Temple. When their deputies came into his presence, he first despised their claims, and then asked for delay. The archbishop of Canterbury, the earl of Pembroke, and the bishop of Ely guaranteed that a satisfactory answer should be given before Easter. The king employed the time in the endeavor to propitiate the Church by promising a free election of bishops. He took the cross, and engaged to wage war with the infidels. He sent to Rome, to implore the aid of the pope in his quarrel. And the pope came to his aid; and commanded Langton to exercise his authority to bring back the king's vassals to their allegiance. At Easter, the barons, with a large force, assembled at Stamford. John was at Oxford, and Langton and Pembroke were with him. They were sent by the king to ascertain the demands of their peers; and these messengers, or mediators, brought back the written articles which the king signed at Runnymede. As the archbishop solemnly repeated these demands, John went into a furious passion, and declared that he would never grant liberties which would make himself a slave. The archbishop and the earl took back his refusal. "The army of God and Holy Church," as the barons proclaimed themselves, then advanced upon London, which they entered on the 22d of May. The citizens had previously agreed to make common cause with them. There is a curious document, dated the 20th of May, which exhibits the anger of John at this circumstance, and the pettiness of his revenge: "The king to all his bailiffs and faithful people who may view these letters. Know ye, that the citizens of London in common have seditiously and deceitfully withdrawn themselves from our service and fealty; and therefore we command you that when they or their servants or chattels pass through your districts, ye do offer them all the reproaches in your power, even as ye would to our enemies; and in testimony hereof we send you these our letters patent."* On this 20th of May John was at Winchester. He then journeyed to Windsor, where he remained from the 31st of May to June 3d. He then returned to Winchester. On the 10th of June he is again at Windsor, which is his abiding place for a fortnight. On Monday, the 15th of June, he goes from the adjacent castle to Runnymede. The time and place of meeting was by solemn appointment. The great business of the assembly was accomplished on that day; but we find John at Runnymede on six subsequent days, between the 15th and the 23d of June. The castle of Windsor was not then on the spot where the flag of England still waves over the proud keep of Edward III. It was on that western side, where a bold tower of the twelfth century now rises up proudly upon the modern street, and where the fortress, protected by its ditch, then looked down upon the broad meadows watered by the Thames, which, flowing round the base of the chalk hill, gave the beautiful name of Windleshora to the beautiful locality. From that fortress goes forth King John. From London has marched the army of the barons. That long low plain of Runnymede, bounded on one side by the Thames, on the other by a gentle line of hills—the island in the river where some hold that the Charter was signed—the gentle aspect of the whole scene—this famous spot speaks only of peace and long tranquillity. In this council-meadow—for Rune-med means the mead of council—king and earl had often met in solemn witan, before the Norman planted his foot on the island. A great mixed race had preserved the old traditions of individual liberty, which belonged to the days before the Conquest. The spirit of the ancient institutions had blended with the feudal principles, and in their joint facility of adaptation to varying states of society, would, practically, be the inheritance of generation after generation. To that great meeting of Runnymede came some citizens of London with the mailed knights. Perhaps there were some servile tenants among the crowd, who wondered if for them any blessing would arise out of the differences between the king and their lords. Yet the iron men who won this Charter of liberties dreamed not of the day when a greater power than their own—the power of the burgher and the villain—would maintain what prelate and baron had sworn to win upon the altar of Saint Edmundsbury. Another order of men, who gradually worked their way out of that state in which they were despised or neglected, have kept, and will keep, God willing, what they of the pointed shield and mascled armor won on the 15th day of June, in the year of grace 1215.

Magna Charta, the Great Charter of Liberties, is commonly regarded as the basis of English freedom. This is, to some extent, a misconception. It was a code of laws, expressed in simple language, embodying two principles—the first, such limitations of the feudal claims of the king as would prevent their abuse; the second, such specification of the general rights of all freemen as were derived from the ancient laws of the realm, however these rights had been neglected or perverted. It contained no assertion of abstract principles of freedom or justice, but met unquestionable evils by practical remedies. To imagine that this Charter contained any large views of government that were not consistent with the condition of society at the time of its enactment, is to believe that the men who enforced it, with their swords in their hands, were, to use a modern expression, before their age. If they had been before their age, by any fortuitous possession of greater wisdom, foresight, and liberality, than belonged to their age, that Charter would not have stood up against the regal power which again and again assailed it. It was built, as all English freedom has been built, upon something which had gone before it. It was not a revolution. It was a conservative reform. It demanded no limitation of the regal power which had not been acknowledged, in theory, by every king who had taken the coronation oath. It made that oath, which had been regarded as a mere form of words, a binding reality. It defined, in broad terms of practical application, the essential difference between a limited and a despotic monarchy. It preserved all the proper attributes of the

* Hardy, "Patent Rolls," p. 61.

kingly power, while it guarded against the king being a tyrant. The feudal monarch was invested with many privileges, as the lord of a body of feudatories; and these privileges, as society gradually assumed a character less and less feudal, became the sources of endless oppressions for several centuries, and were slowly swept away, one by one, in the gradual development of representative government. To have imagined that the barons of Runnymede could have regarded the king simply as the sovereign of the realm—as the chief magistrate—as the fountain of justice—as the great central point of administration—is to imagine an impossibility. They had feudal interests to regard as a feudal aristocracy. It is both unjust and unwise to consider the barons as mere selfish men, because the Charter provided a remedy for many wrongs that more especially bore upon themselves, in their feudal relations to the king. It limited the royal practice of extracting arbitrary sums under the name of reliefs; of wasting the estates of wards; of disposing in marriage of heirs during minority; and so of heiresses, and of widows. It brought back the right to demand aids strictly to the original conditions of the feudal tenures, which had been perpetually extended at the pleasure of the king. To levy an aid upon the tenants of the crown, in any case beyond the legal ones of the king's personal captivity, the knighthood of his eldest son, or the marriage of his daughter, the consent of the great council of the tenants in chief was necessary.* So also was limited the right to scutage, or compensation for knight-service. But at the same time the chief tenants agreed that "every liberty and custom which the king had granted to his tenants, as far as concerned him, should be observed by the clergy and laity toward their tenants as far as concerned them." Such are the principal clauses of the Charter as regards the great body of feudatories, in relation to the crown, and in relation to their sub-tenants. But there were other conditions of more permanent importance, which had regard to the sovereign authority over all men. These were derived from the great Saxon principles of freedom, which a century and a half of Norman power had more or less obliterated, but had not destroyed. A fine old writer upon our Constitution, during the great struggle of the days of Charles I., says, "Never people in Europe have had the rights of monarchy better limited, with the preservation of the subject's liberty, than the English, from this basis."† But that basis, he also says, was contained "in the ancient customs of the kingdom." The Charter was in accordance with the great principle of preservation and progress, by which it has been maintained and extended for more than six hundred years. Let us briefly notice what we derive from this Charter which still belongs to our own time, and is an essential part of the rights of every Englishman. A large portion of the people, the villains and serfs, had little or no participation in the rights which it asserted; but the very assertion hastened a period when all should be equal before the law.

Passing over the clauses of the Charter which protected the tenants and sub-tenants from illegal distresses of the crown—which attempted to limit the abuse of purveyance, or the right of the king's officers to take necessaries for the royal household, on their own terms—which prescribed an uniformity of weights and measures—which protected merchant strangers—and which confirmed the liberties and free customs of London, and other cities and towns—let us look at the broad principle of government which is contained in these words, "No free man shall be taken, or imprisoned, or disseized, or outlawed, or banished, or any otherwise destroyed; nor will we pass upon him, nor send upon him, unless by the legal judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land. To no man will we sell, to no man will we deny or delay, right or justice." In the charter of Henry III., which was a confirmation of that of John, we find that no man was to be "disseized of his freehold, or liberties, or free customs" by any arbitrary proceeding. Life, liberty, and property were thus protected. No man, from that time, could be detained in prison without trial. No man would have to buy justice. The Charter recognized the Court of Common Pleas, and the circuits of judges of assize, which had been before established. But it put an end to that enormous corruption by which justice was sold, not by mere personal bribery of corrupt ministers of the crown, but by bribing the crown through their hands. The rolls of the Exchequer present constant evidence of sums of money received by the king to procure a hearing in his courts. Some suits, through this corruption, were rendered as protracted and ruinous as those of chancery in recent years through neglect and vicious formalities. There was a dispute about a marsh between the abbot of Croyland and the prior of Spalding, which lasted through Richard's reign and great part of that of John. The abbot and the prior went on during these years outbidding each other to obtain a hearing; and security was at length given for the payment of the bribe, as if the transaction were perfectly regular. It was time that justice should cease to be sold or delayed.

The Great Charter, as we see in these broad provisions, applied only to free men. A large portion of the people were in the condition of villanage. Some were in a state of slavery. Those who held by servile tenures were thus incidentally mentioned in a clause respecting wardship: "The warder of the lands of such heir who shall be under age shall take of the land of such heir only reasonable issues, reasonable customs, and reasonable services, and that without destruction and waste of *the men and things.*" The men went with the land as chattels. One sole piece of consideration for the "ascripti glebæ" occurs in the Charter; upon the subject of amerciament, or fines to the king—the mulcts of the Anglo-Saxons: "A free man shall not be amerced for a small fault, but according to the degree of the fault, and for a great crime in proportion according to its magnitude: saving alway to the freeman his tenement, and after the same manner saving to a merchant his merchandise. And a villain shall be amerced after the same manner, saving to him his wainage, if he falls under our mercy; and none of the aforesaid amerciaments shall be imposed except by the oath of the good men of the neighborhood." The expression, "salvo wainagio suo," saves to the villain his implements of husbandry—his carts and ploughs. It was a small privilege; but it indicates that this class was not out of the protection of the law. The specific provisions of the Great Charter went to the remedy of existing evils as they presented themselves in the existing state of society. Generations passed away before villanage and slavery ceased to exist in England. Their abolition was the result of the internal forces, so to speak, of society, and not of sovereign grace or legislative enactment. The barons of England did the work which was called for in their generation; and they left to their successors in the battle for liberty, whether they were noble or plebeian, to carry on the same work in the same practical and temperate spirit. "From this era a new soul was infused into the people of England."* The principle was rooted in our English earth, like the Ankerwyke Yew, which was a vigorous tree on the opposite bank of the Thames, when "the army of God and Holy Church" stood upon Runnymede, and which still bears its green leaf after six hundred and fifty winters.

* This clause was subsequently expunged from the Charter by the influence of the crown.

† Twysden on "the Government of England," Camden Society, p. 61.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Provisions for the observance of the Charter—Movements of John after Runnymede—Crown offered to Prince Louis—Death of John—Accession of Henry III.—Battle of Lincoln—The French quit the country—Death of the Regent, Pembroke—Confirmations of the Charter—The King's assertion of prerogative—Exactions of the King and the Pope—Libels—Royal dignity—Purveyance—Justice sold—The Londoners oppressed—Disaffection of the Londoners—Violations of the Charters—Foreign enterprises—Condition of the nation—Value of money—Industry taxed—Great Council at Westminster—Provisions of Oxford—Simon de Montfort—Battle of Lewes—Burgesses summoned to Parliament—Battle of Evesham.

On the 23d of June, 1215, the deliberations were closed at Runnymede. The securities for the working of the Charter were such as the strong would enforce upon the weak, when the weak was also untrustworthy. Twenty-five barons were to be chosen by the barons assembled, to maintain the observance of the peace and liberties granted and confirmed; so that if the king or his officers violated any of the conditions, four out of the twenty-five barons so chosen might petition for redress of the grievance, and if not redressed within forty days, the cause being laid before the rest of the twenty-five, they "together with the community of the whole kingdom, shall distrain

* Hallam, "Middle Ages."

and distress us all the ways possible; namely, by seizing our castles, lands, possessions, and in any other manner they can, till the grievance is redressed according to their pleasure, saving harmless our own person, and those of our queen and children; and when it is redressed, they shall obey us as before." This solemn recognition of the right of levying war upon the king, should he fail in the observance of his promises, appears irreconcilable with any principle of stability in the government; and yet, in dealing with a ruler so perfidious as John, it is difficult to imagine any more sagacious mode of control than that which placed a power of remonstrance in the hands of a few, and then organized a body who should deliberately exercise the right of resistance, as the organ of the national will. Through the whole long and dreary reign of Henry III. a struggle went on for the confirmation and extension of the Charter, which at last ended in civil war. But during that period, in some respects the most important, although the dullest, in our annals, the great body of the people were steadily increasing in numbers and wealth; and in half a century from the memorable days of Runnymede the Commons of England were sitting in parliament with the barons; and redress of grievances, instead of being effected by the taking of royal castles, was enforced by the denial of supplies.

The traditions of the cloister record that John, after signing the Charter retired to the Isle of Wight, and passed three months in the island or at sea. The poet takes up the legend—

> "Here mused the sullen mind, and o'er the deep
> Cast how in blood the scepter'd hand to steep." *

The attestations of John, as traced upon the Patent Rolls, show, on the contrary, that in the last five days of June, 1215, he was at Winchester, and then was moving about, through July, to Marlborough, Devizes, Calne, Cirencester, Clarendon, Corfe Castle, Woodstock, Oxford, and Bridgenorth. At the end of August he is at Sandwich, and through September at Dover and Canterbury. He has important business on the coast of Kent. He is waiting for an army of mercenaries. He has had meetings at Winchester and at Oxford with the barons, who suspected that he was meditating treachery. Gradually numerous bodies of freebooters, from Poitou, from Gascony, from Flanders, from Brabant, landed in the country, and gathered around the king at Dover. Rochester Castle was in the hands of the barons; and John arrived with his army to besiege it. After a siege of eight weeks it was reduced by famine. The king, with his accustomed ferocity, was about to hang the whole garrison, but was contented with a partial butchery. Thoroughly anti-national, this miserable tyrant is now in his proper element, surrounded by a host of foreign marauders. Wherever he marches, his course is to be tracked by fire and blood. He comes near London; but the attitude of the city is alarming. One great ally he has—the pope. A bull is issued, excommunicating the barons and annulling the Charter. England, said the insolent mandate, had become a fief of the holy see, and the king of England had no right to surrender the privileges of the crown without the consent of his feudal superior. England replied by utterly despising the authority of the arrogant head of the Church, and telling him that in temporal concerns his interference was without any warrant; for that to Peter and his successors the control in ecclesiastical matters had alone been intrusted. There were great statesmen in England in that crisis. There were honest churchmen, who had the hearts of patriots. Stephen Langton, the archbishop, was one of these. He refused to excommunicate the disobedient barons, and was, of course, suspended from his functions. The king, thus supported, saw no impediment in the way of crushing the young liberties of the people under his iron heel, and of surrendering the independence of the Church to the insolent power of Rome. The country was overrun by his fierce mercenaries. He marched to the north with a determination to recover his authority by the terrors of a wide-spreading desolation, without one passing thought of justice or mercy. As he entered Scotland, in revenge for the alliance which its king, Alexander II., had formed with the barons, he burned the abbeys without distinction, and having rested at a village, set fire with his own hand, when he departed in the morning, to the house in which he had slept the previous night. In the south the same work of terror went forward, under the command of John's illegitimate brother, the earl of Salisbury. The barons despaired of their cause, for the people fled before these hell-hounds, abandoning home and property rather than perish under the hands of relentless torturers. Their leaders came at last to a desperate resolution. They offered the crown to Louis, the eldest son of the king of France. To us, who can scarcely place ourselves in a position for justly appreciating the men of the thirteenth century, this resolve appears impolitic. It appeared so to Shakespeare; although he makes allowance for the "infection of the time" that compelled "the sons and children of this isle" to "fill up her enemies' ranks." It was a dangerous experiment; but it was surrounded by as many safeguards as could reasonably be attempted. Louis advanced some pretensions to a title to the English crown, in the right of his wife, Blanche, the niece of John. The pretension was frivolous; but it was maintained before the pope, upon the ground that John had been attainted of treason in the court of his brother Richard, and had been adjudged a felon in the court of the peers of France; and that his children, being born after these condemnations, were divested of all rights which their father had previously forfeited. Innocent was too adroit to be deceived by such representations, and proceeded to excommunicate Louis and his supporters. But the young prince was not willing to give up the prize which had been presented to his ambition. John is at Dover with his mercenaries in great force, in May, 1216. We trace him on the Kentish coast from the 27th of April to the 20th of May. Then, as the French fleet appears in sight, he commences a retreat upon Winchester, ravaging the country after his usual custom. On the 30th Louis lands at Sandwich, reduces Rochester, and marches upon London, where he is received in solemn procession, and is paid the homage of the barons and the citizens, he swearing to govern justly, to defend them against their enemies, and to restore them to their rights and possessions. There can be no doubt that Louis was the object of popular enthusiasm. His career was for some time a triumph. But John held the fortresses. The delays in reducing them gave hopes to the cause of the English king. Dover and Windsor offered a prolonged resistance to the forces of Louis and the barons. The castle of Guildford, whose ruined keep still crowns the south side of that flourishing town, was also besieged. The king's character—so hateful to the people that its odium survived till the days of Richard II., when the insurgents enforced an oath that no king of the name of John should be allowed to reign in England—that character was a tower of strength to his enemies. Even at this time of difficulty by new outrages he had driven his own brother, Salisbury, to the camp of his assailants. But the rule of a foreign prince, so called in to protect a people against a native tyrant, is always open to doubt and suspicion. It was so in the case of that wise and honest foreigner who was summoned to the English throne, in very different times, but for the same object of asserting the right of a people to just government. Louis of France soon lost the confidence of those who had placed the kingdom at his feet. He began to dispense honors and possessions to his own countrymen. The report of the death-bed confession of the Viscount de Melun, that the French prince meant to destroy those who had been most strenuous against John, obtained credence. There was disunion in the camp of the confederates. A long and doubtful struggle might have taken place, in which England might have been driven back a century, had not the tyrant been suddenly called to his last dread account. On the 2d of October he is at Lincoln; on the 3d and 4th at Grimsby; on the 5th at Boston; on the 7th and 8th at Spalding; on the 9th, 10th, and 11th at King's Lynn, so called from his favor to that port. On the 12th of October he has marched to Wisbeach. He resolves to cross the Wash — that estuary which the Romans made passable by embanked roads, and which at low water might be safely travelled over. Part of the army had securely crossed. But the tide was flowing in. The river Welland was descending in a strong current. At a spot still known as King's Corner, between Cross Keys Wash and Lynn, the king's baggage-wagons, his sumpter-horses—all the movables of a royal army—treasures, provisions, armor, clothes—were swallowed up by the waters, and John stood, on the northern shore of the Wash, helpless and despairing. He proceeded, the same night, to the Cistercian abbey of Swineshead. Fatigue and anguish of mind brought on a fever. On the 15th he mounted his horse to continue his march, but was obliged to be placed in a litter, and was borne to Sleaford. The next day he was

* "The Fair Island," by Edmund Peel.

carried to the castle of Newark; and he there died on the 18th of October. The story of his being poisoned by a monk is apocryphal; but poetry has made the legend its own truth:

> "Poison'd—ill-fare—dead, forsook, cast off:
> And none of you will bid the winter come,
> To thrust his icy fingers in my maw;
> Nor let my kingdom's rivers take their course
> Through my burn'd bosom: nor entreat the north
> To make his bleak winds kiss my parched lip
> And comfort me with cold." *

The death of John was a providential event for England. The surfeit of peaches and new cider, or the poison of a monk, or the mere fatigue and anxiety of the passage of the Wash, either of these attributed causes of his last illness rescued the country from a great dilemma. On one hand was an insufferable tyrant, too faithless for any legal rule, but strong enough to make a successful attempt to fasten the old chains upon the people, in his appeal to their national feelings against a foreign yoke. On the other hand was an ambitious young prince who, if he had won the country, would have regarded it as a fief of France, and would have smothered the growth of a great independent kingdom. Fortunately there were wise statesman at that crisis who knew their duty. A boy of ten years old, for such was Henry III., might be held in subjection by those who desired the secure establishment of a just government, that should equally avoid the dangers of an oligarchical rule and the despotism of one unbridled ruler. But the first business was to free the land from the foreigner. It was a difficult and delicate enterprise. It required great energy and firmness. It could only be accomplished by prudent pacification after successful war. Louis was not likely easily to forego the power he had partially attained; and it was not, at a time when public opinion was so imperfectly brought to bear upon the interests of adverse factions, the mere upraising of the banner of a native boy-king that would turn away nobles and knights in arms from their mistaken resolve "to follow unacquainted colors here." To the earl of Pembroke, who had adhered to the fortunes of John, England chiefly owed the release in a year or two from the dominion of the stranger.

The rhyming chronicle of Robert of Gloucester thus records the accession of Henry III.:

> "Henry was *king imad*, after his fader Jon,
> A Sein Simonides day and Sein Jude at Gloucestre anon."

The feast of Saint Simon and Saint Jude was on the 28th of October. After the burial of John at Worcester it was an easy march to Gloucester. The form of coronation by which the king was "made" was hastily gone through. A fillet of gold was placed on the child's head, for the crown had been lost in the fatal crossing of the Wash. Gualo, the pope's legate, performed this office. The usual oaths were administered, and homage to the pope was exacted. Three English bishops stood around, with a few nobles. On the 11th of November, at a great council held at Bristol, Pembroke was chosen regent—"Rector regis et regni." Some of the adherents of John had considered that the Great Charter had swept away too many of the ancient rights of the crown, and some of the clauses so objected to were reserved for future consideration. But in its essential spirit it remained unaltered. Those who had called in a foreign prince to maintain that Charter which John would have annulled, were thus conciliated. The supporters of Louis gradually fell off. The principle of nationality was successfully appealed to; for the name of Englishman was one of which the high-born were now proud—that name which a century earlier was spoken by the Norman with scorn and derision. Gualo, the legate, brought his spiritual weapons to the support of the new government, by excommunicating Louis himself, and all who adhered to him. Hostilities between the armies went on till Christmas was at hand, when a truce till Easter was agreed to. Louis hurried to France, and came back with reinforcements; but he found that a spirit of dislike to his pretensions had grown up in the nation. The regent had been active in winning over the most formidable barons, and there was a general confidence in his honor and sagacity. The foreign army came to be regarded, not as the deliverers of the English from a native tyranny, but as plunderers whose excesses could not be endured by a free people. The Londoners, however, continued to adhere to the prince who had come to their succor; although the endurance of their fidelity was constantly threatened by agitation and conspiracy. At last a decisive battle was fought at Lincoln. At the end of April in 1217 the count of Perche, with six hundred knights and twenty thousand men—"wicked French freebooters," as a chronicler calls them—marched from London to besiege the castle of Lincoln, which was held by the king's party. Pembroke called out the tenants of the crown, and he marched from Newark with a resolute band, who had been invested with a sacred character by the legate. Having been promised the privileges of crusaders they advanced with white crosses sewed on their breasts. The French army was within the walled town; but the castle held out, being bravely defended by Nichola de Camville, the widow of its hereditary governor. Had the count of Perche taken the open field against Pembroke's small army, the superiority of the French cavalry might have prevailed over the English bowmen. But Pembroke boldly entered the town while a sortie was made from the castle; and in the narrow streets, where the horse could not act with advantage, a merciless slaughter ensued, and the French army surrendered to the inferior numbers. The count of Perche had fallen, refusing to accept of quarter. This victory, which from its easy accomplishment was called "The Fair of Lincoln," was grossly abused by the royalists. The city, which had resolutely adhered to the cause of the barons, was given up to pillage; and many of the wretched inhabitants perished in their flight over the Witham.

This victory of the 20th of May might not have decided the contest had it not, within three months, been followed up by a great naval success. Under the command of a famous pirate, Eustace the Monk, an armament of eighty large vessels put to sea from Calais, on the 24th of August, for the purpose of effecting a landing on the Thames, to aid Prince Louis. Hubert de Burgh, the justiciary, a resolute and able man, collected forty vessels in the Cinque Ports, and boldly set sail from Dover to meet the invaders. The contest was a singular one, if we may credit the statement that De Burgh caused powdered quicklime to be scattered in the air, which the wind carried into the faces of his enemies. The boarding-axes of the English were, as we may well believe, much more formidable than the quicklime. The victory was complete. From that day the cause of Louis was hopeless. The regent was too high-minded to exact severe terms from his opponent. On the 11th of September a treaty was signed, on an islet of the Thames, near Kingston. An amnesty, with a participation in all privileges, was granted to the English adherents of Louis; he and his followers were absolved from all spiritual censures; and he was conducted to the coast by the earl of Pembroke. Roger of Wendover says that Louis received five thousand pounds to meet his necessities. Others record that the citizens of London lent him the money. Henry's government appears to have held out promises of large sums to insure his quiet departure.* But some months elapsed before the kingdom settled into peace. While Pembroke strictly observed the conditions of the treaty, the pope's legate pursued the clergy who had favored the French, with a most vindictive spirit; and the banishment of these excommunicated clerks was insisted upon in the following spring. Some of the castles that had been taken by leaders of the royalists were forcibly retained by them; and the accustomed pillage of the people by the armed bands that always harassed the country in troublesome times, went forward, till the laws again maintained their supremacy. Unfortunately for the country, the regent Pembroke died in 1219. But by his moderation and love of justice the Charter of John was now perfected by a Charter of the Forests, in which the terrible penalties for destroying the king's deer were abolished, and the milder punishments of fine or imprisonment were substituted. Pembroke left a noble example to English statesmen of the principle upon which the blessing of just laws could alone be made permanent—a constant reparation, instead of a sweeping change. The Charter and its subsequent improvements were essentially practical reforms; and thus they resisted every attempt to overturn them, during a coming century of struggle, and stood boldly up, equally strong against a weak Henry or a powerful Edward. Pembroke bestowed the Charter

* *King John*, act v. scene 7.

* Close Rolls, Feb. 12, 1218.

upon Ireland; and provided that it should live in the popular mind of England, by being read periodically in the county courts. *

Upon the death of Pembroke, Hubert de Burgh succeeded to the regency. His nature, unlike that of Pembroke, did not rise above the tyranny and cruelty of his times. He repressed disorders with unrelenting severity; and he obtained, in 1223, a bull from the pope, declaring Henry competent to do all royal acts; which bull was followed by a disposition to encourage a neglect of the Charters in the king's officers. But a remedy was arising out of the condition of the people. The clause of Magna Charta which said, "No scutage or aid shall be imposed in our kingdom, unless by the common council of our kingdom," raised the power of the purse above the power of the sword; for although this clause was omitted in the Charters of Henry III., neither aid nor escuage were "exacted at discretion, throughout his reign." † The nation, generally, appears to have possessed some acknowledged restraining power over the royal lavishers of earlier times, and when it was asked by the king to give "aid," it took care to demand some right in return. For half a century of the days of Henry III., our history is one continuous record of money obtained by redress of grievance. But it is also a record of many arbitrary tallages upon the industrious classes, especially of London, which the king made in the absence of any right of general taxation. Yet at every new extortion there was a correspondent weakening of the power to extort. Hume says, of the reign of Henry III., "What mortal could have the patience to write or read a long detail of such frivolous events as those with which it is filled, or attend to a tedious narrative which would follow, through a series of fifty-six years, the caprices and weaknesses of so mean a prince as Henry?" But if those caprices and weaknesses, those frivolous events, be a mirror of the state of society, they cease to be tedious, and may be as instructive in the prolix annals of Matthew Paris, as the glorious victories of a later period in the fervid strains of Sir John Froissart. It is in the pages of the monk of St. Alban's that we may trace the growing influence of a national opinion. "Pass," says Mr. Hallam, "but from the history of Roger de Hoveden to that of Matthew Paris, from the second Henry to the third, and judge whether the victorious struggle had not excited an energy of public spirit to which the nation was before a stranger. The strong man, in the sublime language of Milton, was aroused from sleep, and shook his invincible locks."

In 1225, when the king was nineteen years of age, a common council was summoned to deliberate upon the urgent necessities of the crown for supplies. Hubert de Burgh, the justiciary, set forth the wrongs which had been done in the seizure of domains in France that belonged to the English crown, and asked an aid of a fifteenth upon all personal estates. The aid was granted, under very strict limitations as to the mode in which it was to be used; but it was also required that the Charter should be confirmed for a third time. In the form in which it was passed in that year it still holds a place as the first statute of the English statute law. The collection of the subsidy was immediately enforced; but no foreign successes were the result. In 1227 the king declared himself of age, and set up his prerogative above the Charters in these words: "Whensoever, and wheresoever, and as often as it may be our pleasure, we may declare, interpret, enlarge, or diminish, the aforesaid statutes, and their several parts, by our own free will, and as to us shall seem expedient for the security of us and our land." Had there been a man of deeds, and not of words, upon the throne, this declaration might have put England, even at this hour, into the same condition as that of less fortunate countries, whose kings may interpret, enlarge, or diminish laws by their own free will. But, among the great nations of Europe, England stands almost solitary in the assertion which a judge of the time of Henry III. proclaimed, "The king must not be subject to any man, but to God and the law, for the law makes him king. Let the king, therefore, give to the law what the law gives to him, dominion and power; for there is no king where will, and not law, bears rule." ‡ Let no Englishman, who lives under the rule of law, and not of will, forget that this privilege has been derived from a long line of forefathers; and that, although the eternal principles of justice depend not upon the precedents of ages, but may be asserted some day by any community with whom a continued despotism has made them "native, and to the manner born," we have the security that the old tree of liberty stands in the old earth, and that a short-lived trunk has not been thrust into a new soil, to bear a green leaf or two, and then to die.

When this resolved young king, whose "free will" was henceforth to be the guide "for us and our land," had taken his affairs into his own hands, he undertook an expedition into Wales, from which he quickly returned. The next year he collected an army for the invasion of France, but suddenly quarrelled with his minister, De Burgh, and dispersed his troops. In 1230 he received homage in Poitou and Gascony. From that time foreigners became his favorites. His quarrel with his able but unscrupulous justiciary, De Burgh, now assumed a formidable character; and, after a violent contest, the minister lost his power. The king's chief minister is now Peter de Roches, the bishop of Winchester; and he and his foreign adherents are hateful to the English nobles, and the nation is again on the point of civil war. In 1234 De Roches and the Poitevins are dismissed. Henry then enters into the trade of kingship upon his own account. With him the royal office was indeed a trade. History presents him in scarcely any other light than that of an extortioner or a beggar. Matthew Paris, who has been accused of collecting and preserving "every malicious and scandalous anecdote that could gratify his censorious disposition," * might not be entirely relied upon for this prominent feature of Henry's character and times, but the records of the Exchequer abundantly show that, for forty years, "there were no contrivances for obtaining money so mean or unjust that he disdained to practise them." † But it was not only the king who was pressing upon the capital of the English nation. The pope had a more than equal share of the spoil. Henry consented to the pontiff plundering the Church, till he found that large revenues could not be abstracted from the kingdom without lessening his own resources. As long as he had a due share, the king encouraged the plunderer. The monks said, "When the wolf and the shepherd confederate, it bodes ill for the flock." Which was the wolf and which the shepherd?

Though the age of Henry III. was not an age of printing, it was an age when straws thrown up showed which way the wind blew. There were songs and squibs in those days, which were current in the citizen's hall and the monk's refectory. Some of these have come down to us in Latin rhymes, in Anglo-Norman, and in almost intelligible English. The songs of this period evidently point to a condition of comparative prosperity, for they abound with denunciations against the money-getters. In one of these the theme is universal bribery. ‡ It is a Latin poem, with a cento of quotations. In the Anglo-Norman "Song of the Church,"

> "Li rois ne l'apostolle ne pensent altrement,
> Mès coment au clers tolent lur or e lur argent." §

In another Latin song of the same age we are told, in macaronic rhyme, that "the poor man, who possesses little, must be spoiled of his property to enrich the wealthy." In one of these wicked Anglo-Norman libels the king is laughed at, with an evident knowledge of character, in a way that shows there is nothing new in the irreverence of wit for high station. His sapient majesty is made to say, "I will take Paris, that is quite certain; I will set fire to the river which is called Seine; I will burn the mills, and it will be a terrible thing if they have no bread to eat all the week." ‖ The sober chroniclers come and show us that the libellers are not untrue historians. We have no record that Henry punished the satirical ballad-makers; but in the third year of the reign of his son a statute was passed against "devisors of tales, whereby discord, or occasion of discord, hath many times arisen between the king and his people, or great men of this realm." The monks of St. Alban's, who, no doubt, picked up

* The monument of Pembroke is still to be seen in the Temple Church of London.
† Hallam, "Middle Ages," vol. ii. p. 331.
‡ Bracton, quoted in Hallam, vol. ii. p. 334.

* Lingard, History, vol. iii. p. 216. 8vo.
† *Edinburgh Review*, March, 1821.
‡ "Contra avaros." Political Songs, published by Camden Society, p. 27.
§ Ibid., page 43. "The king and the pope think of nothing else but how they may take from the clergy their gold and their silver."
‡ Ibid., p. 67.

many stray stories and odd scraps of news from "devisors of tales," and read his laborious chronicle for the entertainment of his brethren, was fortunate in having been before the statute of 1275 in its publication.

The monk of St Alban's does not say soft things of the government he lived under. In 1236 Henry married Eleanor, the daughter of the count of Provence. The nuptial festivities were of extraordinary splendor. The citizens of London, especially, came forth with all the pomp of their municipal luxury, in mantles worked in gold, and carrying gold and silver cups as they rode in troops on their newly-caparisoned horses. In 1239 the queen bore a son, Edward; and then the streets were illuminated, while bands of dancers made the night joyful with drum and tambourine. But Henry, according to Matthew Paris, was not satisfied with barren rejoicings. He sent out messengers to ask for presents, into city and into country. They came back. If well loaded the king smiled. If the gift were small, it was rejected with contempt. "God gave us the child," said a Norman, "but the king sells him to us." In 1251 he went about seeking hospitality of "abbots, friars, clerks, and men of low degree, staying with them, and asking for gifts." The chronicler, two years before this, has recorded that Henry shamelessly transgressed the bounds of royal dignity, by exacting New Year's gifts from the citizens of London. "Lend me a hundred pounds," said the king to the abbot of Ramsay; and the abbot replied, "I have sometimes given, but never lend," and so went to the money-lenders, and borrowed it, "that he might satisfy the wants of this beggar-king." But not unfrequently, as we learn from a remonstrance of parliament in 1248, the king rose above the meanness of the beggar to do the more legitimate work of the robber. "He seized by force on whatever was used in the way of meat and drink—especially wine, and even clothes—against the will of those who sold these things." Matthew Paris does not explain the nature of these seizures; but we imagine they were made under the old despotic system of purveyance, although that was expressly regulated in the Great Charter. The chronicler adds, "even on the sea-coast he tyrannizes and oppresses to such a degree that he does not allow the herrings and other fish to be disposed of at the will of the poor fishermen." But these exactions were more contemptible than destructive to the good order of the realm. This weak king, whose grandfather, however despotic, had worthily labored to make the sources of justice pure, was himself the great fountain of corruption. His justiciaries went forth on their regular circuits, not for the punishment of offenders, but to compound for offences. In 1240, "under the pretence of administering justice, they collected an immense sum of money for the use of the king, who squandered away everything." He sent forth inquisitors of the forests, who not only ruined all those who had encroached upon the forest borders, but also impoverished many, even those of noble birth, "for a single small beast, a fawn, or hare, although straying in an out-of-the-way place." The Jews, according to the custom of the age, were lawful plunder; and Henry, as regarded them, did not depart from the pious usage of his father. But he did more than any of his predecessors in the spoil of the Israelites. He sold them, as he would a farm, to his brother Richard.

The city of London, in the middle of the thirteenth century, was a great commercial port, carrying on trade with the ports of the Channel, with Flanders and Germany, and with some parts of Italy. The merchants of Almaine, as they were called in the charter of the 44th of Henry III., had their hall in London, afterward known as the Steel-yard. They were large importers of grain, flax and hemp, of pitch, of steel. Tin was imported, in 1241, from Germany at a lower rate than the tin of Cornwall. London was flourishing. Her merchants were rich. Henry sometimes begged from them and sometimes trafficked with them. The confirmation of the city's charter generally followed an aid; but that form cost nothing, and was proportionably agreeable to the king. The bargaining for an exchange of some real article of value for a money payment was a very unpleasant affair to him. The Londoners, in 1248, bought his jewels, when Henry thus expressed himself: "I know that if the treasure of Augustus were for sale, these ill-bred Londoners would suck it all up. They call themselves barons, indeed. They possess a surfeit of riches. That city is an inexhaustible well." And so he constantly dipped his bucket into the well. He had always some petty revenge in store for fancied injuries. He asked the abbots of all the Cistercians for a year's value of their wool; for on the downs around their solitary abbeys the nibbling flocks were their principal riches. The monks averred that such a demand would be their ruin, and refused the payment. The king had the prerogative of regulating commerce, and he forbade the Cistercians to export their wool. The fleeces remained in the Cistercians' lofts, but the wines of Germany were not in their cellars, and the broadcloths of Flanders were not in their wardrobes. The exchange of England's great staple commodity for the commodities which other lands produced cheaper and better, was stopped for the unhappy monks. Henry had a device for the punishment of the Londoners, to be obtained by an abuse of his royal prerogative of interference with trade. The fairs of England, in the days when regular commercial communication between producers and consumers was imperfectly established, were of immense importance to the inhabitants of remote districts. They were specially provided for in the charters of large towns; and to these marts came, once a year, or more frequently, traders and customers from all parts. At the fairs, the religious houses laid in their stores of wax for their altars and of malt for their breweries; and the nobles sent their purveyors to look out for brass vessels and pottery, for fine drapery and costly silks. But the fairs were, at the same time, a great source of oppression to the regular traders of the towns, for during their continuance the shops were shut, and all other trade was suspended. Henry, in 1248, resolved to establish a fair at Westminster. The bishop of Winchester derived a large revenue from his fair on Saint Giles' Hill, near that city; for while it lasted, during sixteen days, all other traffic was suspended for seven miles round, and all merchandise coming to the fair paid toll to the bishop.* The example was a tempting one; and so Henry proclaimed, at the feast of Saint Edward, in October, that a fair should be held at Westminster for a fortnight; that all fairs throughout the land should be suspended for that period; and that all traffic in London should be given over for these fourteen days, that the Westminster fair might be better supplied with merchandise. The bishop of Ely had his own fair at this season; and he stoutly remonstrated with the king, but to no purpose. And so, on the 13th of October, the day of the Saxon king and Confessor, for whose equal laws the people had been clamoring for two centuries, the king, holding his office under a charter of liberties, stops the traffic of a great city abundantly supplied with all commodities, and compels its merchants to bring their wares to the muddy precincts of the royal palace. The great abbey church was now rising into its present beauty, upon the ruins of the Saxon building. Round the hall of Rufus, by the margin of the river and the fields of the west, was a large encampment; and under tents was exposed the precious merchandise of London, brought thither from the comfortable shops where each craft had its separate station. It was a time of rain and wind. The tents were soaked through; the goods rotted; the shivering traders crouched in the swampy soil; and, says Matthew Paris, "those who were accustomed to sit down to their meals, in the midst of their families by the fireside, knew not how to endure this state of want and discomfort." From his exactions and caprices there grew up a deadly hatred between the Londoners and their king. The temper of the citizens began to look alarming. So, in 1250, he assembled them and their families in Westminster Hall, and "humbly, and as if with rising tears, entreated that each and all of the citizens would with mouth and heart forgive him for his anger, malevolence, and rancor toward them." His real or pretended contrition was, probably, as damaging to him as the remembrance of his fines, his unpaid loans, and—worst of all his offences—his decrees for pulling down the posts and chains of the city, whenever he feared a riot and a barricade. Riots there frequently were between the retainers of the court and the sturdy apprentices of the craftsmen. In the Lent of 1253 the young men of the city were playing at the manly game of the quintain, a contrivance for training horsemen in the use of the lance, by placing a board revolving on a pivot fixed on a high post, of which Stow says, "I have seen a quintain set upon Cornhill, by the Leaden Hall, where the attendants on the lords of merry disports have run, and made great pastime; for he that hit not the broad end of the quintain was of all men laughed to scorn, and he that hit it full, if he ride not the faster, had a sound blow in

* See Warton's "History of English Poetry." Vol. ii. p. 115. Park's edition.

his neck with a bag full of sand hung on the other end." * In the Lent of 1253 came the king's pages and attendants from Westminster to the civic sports; and they insulted the young horsemen, "calling them rustics, and scurvy and soapy wretches," and then entered the lists to oppose them. The Londoners grew furious, and hurled the courtiers from their horses, and sent them back in great grief to the king at Westminster. The city had to pay a thousand marks for the outrage. Certainly these citizens were too much inclined to take the law into their own hands. Queen Eleanor was exceedingly distasteful to them. She was, no doubt, a woman of extraordinary energy, and stimulated her weak husband to many of those violations of the Charter which, in his hands, became the most wretched meannesses. The queen had a perpetual quarrel with the citizens about the claim that all vessels navigating the Thames should unlade at Queenhithe, and there pay to her heavy dues. During Henry's absence in Gascony, in 1253, she was Lady Keeper of the Great Seal; and, with that power, vigorously enforced her dues, and committed the two sheriffs to prison for their resistance to the payment of what she termed "queen-gold." She had wounded the citizens in the tenderest place; and thus, in 1264, in passing through London Bridge in her barge, she was assailed with cries of "Drown the witch!" and was pelted with mud and stones. Her son Edward never forgave this outrage upon his mother; and he found the opportunity for a terrible revenge at the battle of Lewes.

In looking at the arbitrary acts of the crown at this period, we see at once how contrary they are to the spirit of the Charter, and we naturally ask if that statute, so often confirmed, was a dead letter. King Henry constantly infringed the liberties of cities and boroughs; he amerced freemen for faults, not according to the measure of their offences, but according to his own rapacity; his constables and bailiffs took corn and chattels from men without present payment; he sold justice, he denied justice, he deferred justice; he frightened merchants from the kingdom by his illegal exactions; he maintained the old evil customs of the forests. These things were direct violations of the Charters. The parliament, for so the great council has begun to be called, is constantly remonstrating. In 1242 it refuses a supply, when the king desires to go to Poitou, with a sum of money to carry on the war against the French. The nobles refuse the subsidy, but scold the king, "with great bitterness of spirit." In this proceeding we trace the English jealousy of the Poitevins, who had excited Henry to this war; and the result of the king's expedition is the total loss of Poitou. In 1243 Henry comes back to an exhausted treasury, which the clergy and the Jews are called upon to refill. In 1244 the pope sets up a rival extortioner to the royal tax-gatherer, in the person of Master Merton, who demands rich gifts, and seizes upon vacant benefices. The king remonstrated with Innocent IV.; the parliament dispatched messengers to Rome with remonstrance; but the pope defied the king and his parliament, threatened the kingdom with an interdict, and "although the king was previously prepared to stand up for the freedom of the kingdom and the Church," says Matthew Paris, "yet he now yielded, his resolution being broken." In 1248 another parliament rated and threatened the king about his lavishness to foreigners, his abuses of purveyance, his injuries to the Church, his appointment of officers who did not seek the advancement of the common weal, but only their own especial benefit. They refused the required supply; and then came new extortions. In 1252 the king adopts a bolder measure. He called a parliament, and produced a mandate of the pope, by virtue of which he demanded the tithes of the Church for three years, that he might accomplish his oft repeated vow of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The bishops and the nobles agree in their refusal. In the October of this year he again commands his fair to be held at Westminster; and multitudes travel thither, it being again a rainy season, when the bridges had given way, and the fords were scarcely passable. These crowds of strangers, mingling with the discontented citizens, talked of the wrongs of the people. "During all this time," says Paris, "angry feelings were aroused, and hatred increased against the pope and the king, who favored and abetted each other in their mutual tyranny; and all, being in ill-humor, called them the disturbers of mankind." In 1253, the aspect of the kingdom is becoming serious. A parliament was held, at which the wish of the king for a grant to enable him to undertake the crusade was again debated; but being conceded, the expenditure was to be "at the discretion of the nobles;" and the king promised, in all good faith, that he would strictly observe the Great Charter, and all its conditions. A remarkable scene then ensued. The archbishop of Canterbury pronounced the sentence of excommunication against "all violators of the liberties of the Church, or the ancient and approved customs of the kingdom, and especially the liberties and free customs which are contained in the Charters of the common liberties of England and of the forests." The prelates and nobles, and all present, except the king, held lighted candles; and at the conclusion of the sentence the candles were thrown down, with the accustomed denunciation. But the king stood up, and said, "So help me God, all these terms I will faithfully observe, as I am a man, a Christian, a knight, and a crowned and anointed king." The king was suspected when he declined to hold the lighted candle which was presented to him. The pilgrimage was never entered upon; and the king, having obtained a part of the grant, lavishes it at Bordeaux. More parliaments, more promises, and more grants, till 1258, when a crisis has arrived.

The foreign enterprises of Henry were singularly unpopular. They wanted the great essential of popularity, success. They were begun in rashness and ended in timidity. In his quarrels with Louis IX., had he met with an enemy less just and moderate, he would have lost even Guienne, which he was permitted to keep under fealty to France. But the humiliations which followed such ill-judged policies did not teach him prudence. A new scheme of aggrandizement for his family presented itself in another quarter. The king of Sicily had died in a state of excommunication; and the pope, who pretended to the right of giving away the crown, persuaded Henry to accept the empty title for his son Edmund. In 1257 the king came to his parliament, "bringing his son dressed in the Apulian fashion, and thus harangued: "You see, my faithful subjects, my son Edmund, whom the Lord, of his spontaneous favor, has called to the royal dignity. How evidently worthy he is of the favor of all of you, and how cruel would he be who would refuse him effectual aid." He had pledged himself, he said, under the penalty of losing his kingdom, to the payment of a hundred and forty thousand marks. There was the old condition talked of—the inviolable observance of the Great Charter; and the king obtained the promise of fifty-two thousand marks. The clergy were even more irritated than the nobles; for Henry avowed that the pope, in furtherance of this project for granting the Sicilian kingdom, had conferred upon him the tithes of all benefices in England, and the first-fruits of those which should be vacant. The pope had really advanced a large sum which Henry could not repay; and a Roman agent came before the parliament, and followed up his demand for instant payment by a threat of excommunication and general interdict. A remedy was to be sought in what was an approach to revolution. "Who can deny," says Mr. Hallam, "that measures beyond the ordinary course of the constitution were necessary to control so prodigal and injudicious a sovereign?"

In looking at this remarkable display of the falsehood, cowardice, fickleness, and meanness of the ruler of England, for thirty-six years from the period when he possessed the full regal power, we are naturally surprised how Henry held his position amid the constant resistance of his nobles, the frequent opposition of the prelates, and the dislike of the burgesses and industrious classes of the whole country. From the signing of Magna Charta, the power of the Great Council was becoming stronger; but it was a very inefficient instrument for resisting a king so unscrupulous and so apparently pliant as this Henry. A bolder man would have provoked a more stringent limitation of his authority, or would have crushed those who opposed him. The Council met unfrequently. It produced its catalogue of grievances, and redress was promised. Unworthy officers were removed, but new favorites introduced new profligacy. Then supplies were withheld. The king stormed, or wept, and the aid was given. The prelates were in a difficult position. The king was too cowardly to stand up against the papal avarice, and the bishops scarcely dared to defy the extortions of Rome without damage to the authority of the one Church. Matthew Paris had a clear sense of the position of the clergy in 1252: "Even now a manifest schism was imminent, and an almost universal feeling of exasperation was awakened, if not in the body at least in the heart—which was a more serious evil—against

* "Survey of London."

the Church of Rome, and the small spark of devotion remaining was extinguished." More than all this, the burgess class was rising into importance; and the dominant feudal class had, as far as we can judge, long overlooked this large element of the growing social condition of England. When it became too great to be overlooked, it was regarded with doubt and ill-concealed dislike, but it was not less influential. Some change in the system of government arising out of the changes of society, was impending upon England in the middle of the thirteenth century. It must not be forgotten that the great tenants of the crown, the earls and barons, the natural leaders in any strong expression of resistance, or any sweeping measure of reform, had now wholly become English. They might not be English in language or in feeling. The courtiers might still call the citizens "rustics," which implied that the Saxon blood of the cultivators of the land flowed in their veins. The laws might still be administered in Norman-French. But the tenure of property, which has such an important influence over the whole state of society, was making an undivided nation. In 1244 the king of France declared thus: "As it is impossible that any man living in my kingdom, and having possessions in England, can consistently serve two masters, he must either inseparably attach himself to me, or to the king of England." Those who had possessions in England were therefore called upon to relinquish them, and keep those they had in France; or take their choice, and relinquish those of France, and keep those of England. Henry went further, and ordered that the French in England, especially the Normans, should be dispossessed, without a choice. It was an inevitable policy. It was a fortunate result of events that had passed control. The separation made the barons of England patriots; and under their nationality grew up a people, with traditions of individual freedom that had outlived the feudal organization, and, blending with it, were in time to produce the rare combination of liberty with order.

We have been speaking, at some length, of the pecuniary exactions of the crown and the pope, and we have necessarily used the money-terms of the chroniclers of the time. Those terms must, to some extent, be unintelligible to the general reader, because they convey no proper appreciation of the value of money. When the historians say that the Jews were compelled to surrender one third of their effects to the king, we understand the extent of the tyranny. When they say that a tallage of a thousand marks was levied on the Londoners, we are unable distinctly to appreciate the amount of the burden upon a populous and wealthy city. The pope thrust numerous foreigners into English benefices, and the famous Robert Grosseteste, the bishop of Lincoln, estimated that their revenues amounted to seventy thousand marks, or three times the clear revenue of the king. We are now dealing with large sums; and with a general notion that there is a vast difference in the value of money now and in the thirteenth century, we rather doubt whether the king had an income sufficient to keep him above the extortions and beggings which the historians impute to him. Dr. Lingard is somewhat of this opinion, and says that "of all the kings since the Conquest, Henry received the least money from the tenants of the crown;" and that, "according to the most accurate calculation, the average amount of his expenditure did not exceed twenty-four thousand marks per annum." A mark was equivalent to two thirds of a pound, and a pound was as near as can be equivalent to three pounds of our present currency. "The Norman pound was a troy pound-weight of twelve ounces of silver, divided into twenty parts called shillings, and these again divided into twelve parts called either pennies or pennyweights. Thus the money of that period, taking the silver at five shillings per ounce, may be valued at three times the same denomination in the present day." * The mark was therefore equal to two pounds of our present currency. If, upon this simple calculation, we were to turn the twenty-four thousand marks of Henry's yearly revenue into pounds sterling, we should find that it amounted to sixteen thousand pounds of silver, and that those were equal to forty-eight thousand pounds of present money. But, although this was no contemptible income, we must look at this revenue in connection with tables of prices, which, however imperfect, yet afford some materials for comparison with the money-value of modern times. The price of a quarter of wheat was subject to the most awful fluctuations. It was often at a famine price—not the strong phrase of an economist, but a price which, all other grain being equally dear, carried with it a wide-spreading ruin—outrages of humanity, pestilence, and death. But in the reign of Henry III. and Edward I. the average price of wheat was four shillings a quarter. A sheep might be bought for a shilling; an ox for ten shillings. The sheep and the ox were poor starveling animals compared with the produce of modern England. When, therefore, the king imposed an arbitrary tax of a thousand marks upon the city, he demanded two thousand pounds of our present money, or three thousand three hundred and odd quarters of wheat. In 1244 it was ascertained that the papal see, during several years, had drawn from this country an annual revenue of sixty thousand marks, amounting to forty thousand pounds, or a hundred and twenty thousand pounds of our present money. Mr. Hallam considers "any given sum under Henry III. and Edward I. as equivalent in general command over commodities to about twenty-four or twenty-five times their nominal value at present." If, therefore, the pope's spoil of the industry of the English people were thus estimated, he would, in the wool, or tin, which he abstracted from this nation, have received what would be now equivalent to a million sterling. We must cease to consider, therefore, that, in a country with imperfect communication, with no machinery for cheap production, and with an almost entire absence of the conveniences of social life that form the common capital of old communities, the exactions of the pope and the king were trifles. They fell, as all taxes do, upon industry. Whether the revenues which they touched were those of the clergy, the barons, or the burgesses, they withdrew the capital which supported labor. Dr. Lingard attributes the general belief of Henry's rapacity "to the remonstrances of factious barons, or the complaints of discontented historians." It would be more reasonable to attribute the remonstrances and complaints to the circumstance that the industry of the great body of the people began to have some due appreciation; and that "factious barons" began to see that their own condition was improved in proportion as the cultivators and the artisans were prosperous; and that security was as necessary for the burgess in his narrow street, as for the lord in his inaccessible castle. "Discontented historians" were those of the monasteries, who reflected the spirit of their superiors. There can be no question that the bishops and abbots of this period, having their worldly prosperity intimately blended with that of the whole community, stoutly resisted the encroachments not only of their king, but of their spiritual head. The mitred abbots, especially, were a most powerful body, having large possessions which, for the most part, they administered wisely and humanely. They had all the interests of great landed proprietors to maintain, and those interests were best upheld when they had a happy and thriving tenantry around them. The learning of the cloister was not tainted with the miserable political superstition of later times of the Church, when the king was set up as the image of God upon earth, above all human law, and beyond the reach of punishment for misdoing. The slavish doctrine of non-resistance was not yet preached in parliaments and synods. The churchmen of the thirteenth century were, amid all the luxurious corruptions which have been imputed to them, a sturdy race, who knew the value of civil freedom, and battled for it as bravely as the men of the sword.

In the spring of 1258 England was severely visited by a common calamity of the middle ages—a scarcity of corn so great as to produce a famine. The harvest of 1257 had been unusually late, in consequence of heavy rains. The crops on the banks of the Severn, and other great rivers, were swept away by floods. The gradual rise of price, which is the surest preventive of the last evil of scarcity, was interfered with by the usual mistaken policy of compelling the holders of corn to bring their crops to market. Fifteen thousand people had died in London, when a herald went forth and proclaimed that those who wanted bread should apply to certain nobles, who would bestow alms upon them. Ships arrived from Germany, bringing so much corn as was equal to the produce of three English counties; and a proclamation was issued, forbidding any merchant to buy corn for storing up. We know that all such interference is mistaken benevolence; but it is not easy to see how a government could then act otherwise in such an emergency. A portion of the kingdom had been laid waste by fire and sword. There had been an insurrection of the Welsh in 1257, and the border lands had been reduced to a

* "Jacob on the Precious Metals," vol. i. p. 322. This calculation is not quite accurate, but sufficiently so for our present purpose.

uninhabited desert. With these evils around them, the parliament met at Westminster on the 2d of May. In the great hall was a large body of barons assembled, each in complete armor. As the king entered, there was a clatter of swords; and Henry, looking round in alarm, said, "Am I a prisoner?" "No, sir," said Roger Bigod, "but your foreign favorites and your prodigality have brought misery upon the realm; wherefore we demand that the powers of government be delegated to a committee of bishops and barons, who may correct abuses, and enact good laws." In that assembly was the most remarkable man of those times, Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester. He was the son of the Count de Montfort, the persecutor of the Albigenses; and he became earl of Leicester in right of his mother. In 1238 he had married Eleanor, a sister of King Henry. The union was opposed, upon the ground that he was a foreign subject; but from that time he became an Englishman in all his actions. More than any man of his times he appears to have seen of what material the great mixed commonalty of England was composed. He soon became endeared to the people, and was consequently obnoxious to the court, surrounded as it was by those who regarded the English merely as a rabble to be plundered and despised. The favorites of Henry procured his banishment from the king's presence. He was afterward intrusted with the government of Guienne; and, ruling there firmly, was complained of by those whose interests were mixed up with a lax administration, and was removed from his government. He withdrew for a time to France. In the great meeting in Westminster Hall, on the 2d of May, 1258, Simon de Montfort stood the most dreaded man of the formidable league. The king's tyrannical half-brother, William de Valence, and the earl of Leicester, were at bitter enmity. But no violence of Henry's adherents could prevent the completion of the agreement which placed the power of the state in other hands. A commission of twenty-four was decided on, one half of which had been selected from the king's council, and the other half was to be appointed by the barons at a parliament to be held at Oxford. On these conditions it was agreed that the king's debts should be paid. On the 11th of June this famous parliament met at Oxford. It has been called "The Mad Parliament." It would have been well for England if all parliaments had been equally sane. It has been the fashion to consider the "Provisions of Oxford," as they were called, as the rash innovations of an ambitious oligarchy. The principle of the securities then required from the crown was adopted from the Great Charter; and the appointment of a supreme council of state was one of the conditions imposed upon John, with the more stringent demand that the twenty-five barons, who were then to control the executive, should be selected without the concurrence of the king. That the parliament of Oxford so managed the elections to the council as to obtain a majority holding popular opinions is not unlikely, and it can scarcely be imputed to them as a fault. The earl of Leicester was nominated as head of the council. It was enacted that four knights should be chosen by the votes of the freeholders in each county, who should submit all breaches of law and justice to a parliament, to be called together regularly thrice in each year; that the sheriffs of the counties should be chosen by the freeholders; and that the great officers of state should be reappointed. Prince Edward reluctantly took the oaths to observe the provisions to which his father had sworn. But the king's half-brothers, though two of them had been nominated to the council, openly expressed their dissatisfaction; and De Montfort, threatening them with the loss of their lands, and even their lives, they fled to France, with a host of followers who were hated by the English. The council of state filled up the vacancies in their own body without reference to the king's right of nomination. It soon became clear that this was no settlement of the great question between the crown and the popular leaders.

In July the king was at Westminster, and being in his pleasure barge on the Thames, a thunder-storm came on, at which he was alarmed, and landed in the garden of the bishop of Durham. De Montfort was in the palace of the bishop, and went forward to greet the king. "What do you fear, sir?" said the earl; "the storm has passed over." The king replied, "I fear thunder and lightning beyond measure; but, by God's head, I fear you more than all the thunder and lightning in the world." At the beginning of 1259 the king's brother Richard, who was now king of the Romans, came to England to look after his pecuniary interests. He was not allowed to set foot in the country till he had sworn to the Provisions of Oxford. He took the oaths, and then commenced a vigorous opposition to the committee of government. In a short time this controlling power of the state was split into two factions—that of the earl of Leicester and that of the earl of Gloucester. De Montfort withdrew to France. The movements of Prince Edward are involved in considerable obscurity during the next year or two, and a suspicion went forth that he had a design of seizing the crown. The king, having obtained a dispensation from the pope to violate the Provisions of Oxford, told the committee of council, in 1261, that he should rule without them. He obtained possession of the Tower of London, and commanded the citizens to renew their fealty to him. Edward was in France, but he hurried home; and though his father had also procured for him a dispensation, he refused to violate the oath which he had taken at Oxford. There is a show of civil war for a year, which the king carries on with mercenary troops; but in 1262 he again consents to observe this solemn pledge. It would be tedious to follow through the monotonous distractions and unintelligible intrigues of this period, which are very obscurely shadowed out in public documents and contemporary chronicles, and which modern historians have recorded according to their own predilections. As Simon de Montfort was undoubtedly the popular leader—adored by the Commons and respected by the clergy—Hume, as the consistent supporter of kings and hater of priests, denounces him as the champion of a tyrannous aristocracy—a subverter of the monarchy—a bold and artful conspirator—a licenser of pillage—a hypocritical pretender to sanctity—a man of violence, ingratitude, tyranny, rapacity, and treachery. The historian uses these bitter words against the earl of Leicester in the utter absence of any established charge against his public conduct, or any probable imputation that he was not sincerely desirous of promoting the welfare of the English people. Like all statesmen of pre-eminent ability, Leicester was assailed by great and petty rivals; and he had as much difficulty in struggling with his own adherents as in carrying on a national contest against a faithless king and a rapacious court. But in every evidence of the opinion of his contemporaries—in the annals of the monk and the ballad of the minstrel—there is one leader who "loves right and hates wrong;" who was "the Mattathias of the suffering people" (the gift of the Lord); who was, in the words of a hymn long sung in his honor, "Protector gentis Angliæ." In all the emanations of contemporary opinion—in the Latin poem of the cloistered scholar and the English song of the travelling harper—"all with one accord agree in their praise and support of the great Simon de Montfort." *

In 1263 Leicester returned to England. His rival, Gloucester, was dead, and the son of Gloucester gathered his retainers and put himself under the guidance of De Montfort. In 1264, after various turns of fortune, the differences between the king of England and his barons in arms were referred to Louis of France, by mutual consent. He decided that the Great Charter should be observed, but he set aside the Provisions of Oxford. The observance of the Great Charter had been so often sworn to, and so constantly violated, that the decree of Louis appeared to give no greater warranty than what previously existed for the liberties of the kingdom; and the barons rejected the decree as unfairly obtained by the influence of Henry's sister, the wife of Louis. The civil war was renewed. When license takes the place of law there is little hope for the rich who are not able to protect themselves. The Jews of London were massacred and plundered by both parties. The people of London were all in arms. The royalists had captured Northampton, under the command of the king. Prince Edward had compelled the submission of Tutbury. The military talents and the force of character of Edward now presented themselves in conspicuous rivalry with the energies and popularity of De Montfort. The great trial of strength was come. On the 13th of May, 1264, the two armies of the king and the barons met on the downs of Lewes.

Henry had marched from the neighborhood of London upon Rochester. Having taken the castle of Tunbridge, he proceeded to Winchelsea, and, finally reaching Lewes, was lodged in the priory. Prince Edward occupied the castle. The position was a commanding one. The army of the barons had marched direct from London,

* Preface to "Political Songs," by Thomas Wright.

and halted on the night of the 12th at the village of Fletching, ten miles from Lewes. The barons had sent a message to the king, assuring him that they desired to preserve the health and safety of his person, and to punish only the enemies of his kingdom; and Henry returned an indignant answer, in which his brother Richard and Prince Edward concurred, defying each and all of them as public enemies. These were feudal forms of mutual defiance; and Edward and Richard accompanied the king's letter with a challenge to Simon de Montfort and Gilbert de Clare (the earl of Gloucester) to meet them in mortal single combat. Before sunrise of the morning of the 13th the army of the barons was on its march, and took up a position on a hill about two miles from Lewes. De Montfort's soldiers wore white crosses on their breasts and backs, such as the army of God and the Church wore before the day of Runnymede. The king marched out to meet the advancing force. His army was in three divisions; that of the barons was in four. Edward, who commanded a division, made a fierce onslaught with his cavalry on that division of the adverse forces in which were the great body of the Londoners. He put them to the rout, and in the fury of his pursuit followed them over that undulating ground for four miles. When he returned, satiated with the blood of three thousand of these rebellious citizens, whom he regarded as the personal enemies of his family, he found that the field was lost. His impetuosity had given an advantage to the promptitude of De Montfort, who threw all his force on the weakened divisions of King Henry and the king of the Romans, and made both these leaders his prisoners. In that hollow which the modern railway traverses was the great scene of slaughter. One of the oldest known songs in the English language recites some circumstances of this battle:

"The kyng of Alemaigne gederede ys host,
Makede him a castel of a mulne post."

He made his castle of a windmill. The next day a treaty was entered into, by which it was agreed that Prince Edward, and Henry, the son of the king of the Romans, should remain as hostages for their fathers; and that the whole matters in dispute should be referred to arbitration. Edward was sent to Dover Castle; and the old song says,

"Be the luef, be the loht, sire Edward,
Thou shalt ride sporeless o' thy lyard,
Al the ryhte way to Dovere ward." *

Though the king was subject to no confinement in stone walls, as his brother Richard was, he was really a prisoner in the hands of the victors. No arbitration was attempted, for the referees refused the office. It was a triumph which placed the administration of the realm in the hands of De Montfort and De Clare. The queen had left England before the battle of Lewes, and had collected a great force of mercenary troops to invade the country. De Montfort, relying upon the attachment of the people, called out the whole militia of the nation, from every township and every city and borough. The harvest was approaching, but no excuse was admitted; and in a short time a great army encamped on Barham Downs. The pope had excommunicated De Montfort and his adherents; but the people were indifferent to the once terrible denunciation; and the name of the earl of Leicester went through the land as "Sir Simon the Righteous." All the acts of his government were done in the name of the king, who was treated with every outward respect. There were no deaths or forfeitures for political offences. De Montfort gathered the mariners of the Cinque Ports, and went to sea to meet the fleet of the queen, whose army was collected at Damme. The invasion was never attempted.

The earl of Leicester kept his Christmas at Kenilworth, his maternal inheritance. In the king's name he issued writs for the meeting of a parliament. There may have been some precedents for calling others to the great council than the tenants-in-chief of the crown and the prelates and abbots. But the writs of Simon de Montfort were the first in which we distinctly recognize the parliament of England. They were directed to the sheriffs, commanding them to elect and return two knights for each county, two citizens for each city, and two burgesses for each borough. Only eleven prelates and twenty-three peers were summoned; but a large number of the dignified clergy came to this national council. Hume considers that Leicester summoned a parliament "on a more democratic basis than any which had been ever summoned since the foundation of the monarchy," merely to advance his own popularity. Lingard affirms that the popular representatives were chosen through Leicester's influence, to be "the obsequious ministers of his will." We believe that De Montfort felt that a social condition had arisen which rendered it imperative that the government should be put upon a broader basis than the fiat of a king, only controlled by a council of peers and prelates, whom he defied whenever it suited his will. That this able man saw, with any clear foresight, the possible freedom and security to be attained in a monarchy resting upon the principle of representation, may be reasonably doubted; but it would be unjust not to assign to Simon de Montfort the glory of having seen that, in a time of great national exigency, safety and peace could only be attained in a general council of freemen, instead of a limited assembly of the high-born and dignified—"that he saw the part of society which was growing in strength, and with which a provident government ought to seek an alliance." *

The parliament of 1265, which assembled on the 28th of January, determined upon the release of Edward from confinement, but that he should remain "in free custody" at Hereford. It decreed that the charters and ordinances should be inviolably observed, and prescribed some strong securities which left the king little exercise of his free-will. It was not likely that they would be a permanent restraint upon a young prince of the vigor of Edward. Dissensions grew up between the earls of Leicester and Gloucester. The natural and acquired superiority of De Montfort provoked jealousy. His elevation was dangerous for himself. Robert Grosseteste, the bishop of Lincoln, while exhorting him to persevere in the cause of justice and truth, predicted his fall. So writes Matthew Paris. In the May of 1265 Prince Edward escaped from his "free custody," by proposing a trial of horses, and having obtained the fleetest, outrode his pursuers. There were nobles speedily in arms for the royalist cause, and the king's banner was raised under the earl of Gloucester at Ludlow. The prince received the command; but the nobles who joined him had the wisdom to make him swear that he would respect the Charters. De Montfort, having the king in his possession, marched upon Worcester. Edward obtained at Kenilworth an advantage over Simon, the son of the great earl, and went forward to give battle to De Montfort, who had taken up a position at Evesham. He waited there the expected arrival of his son's troops from Kenilworth; but Edward had taken some of the leaders of that force prisoners, and the young De Montfort kept in the safety of his father's castle. The position of Leicester was a dangerous one, which he would have avoided if he had not felt assured that his son was at hand. The town of Evesham is, as it were, encircled by the Avon; and from Twyford to Evesham, the road, for more than two miles, is a tongue of land, with the river at no considerable distance on either hand. De Montfort was shut up in that bounded field of action, with a narrow stone bridge the only passage to the safer plains. On the morning of the 4th of August the barber of the earl, says "The Chronicle of Evesham," went up to the highest tower of the abbey-church; and he came down in gladness to tell that he saw the banner of De Montfort on the distant road, in advance of a mighty host. And again he went up; and pale and trembling he descended, for the banners of Prince Edward, and Gloucester, and Mortimer were now visible. Then said the earl of Leicester, "God have our souls all, our days are all done." De Montfort scorned to fly. He marched forward on the road by which his enemy was advancing. Henry, the king, was in the midst of his host. The battle was gained. In a little valley called Battlewell the carnage was thickest. The king, turned loose upon a war-horse, saved himself from his own friends by crying, "I am Henry of Winchester." There was no escape from the slaughter of Prince Edward's horsemen but over that narrow Evesham bridge. De Montfort and his son Henry fell. There was no quarter given; and the mutilation of the remains of the great earl disgraced the conquerors.

* "Be thee willing, or be thee loth, Sir Edward, Thou shalt ride spurless on thy hack," etc. The song is given in Mr. Wright's "Political Songs," and also in Percy's "Reliques."

* Mackintosh, "History of England," vol. i. p. 246.

CHAPTER XXV.

The award of Kenilworth—The crusade of Prince Edward—Attempt to assassinate Edward—Death of Henry III.—Coronation of Edward I.—Llewellyn, Prince of Wales—Submission of Llewellyn—Various statutes passed of public utility—Persecution and banishment of the Jews—Insurrection of the Welsh—Llewellyn slain—His brother executed—Subjection of Wales—Statutes for Wales.

THE 4th of August, 1265, was a day of terror throughout many parts of England. Robert of Gloucester, in his versified chronicle, declares that he was a witness to the general storm which added to the horrors of the great battle of that day. While the blood of the slain was crimsoning the waters of the Avon, the air suddenly grew dark, so that the monks of the magnificent abbey of Evesham, who went on with their daily services while the din of battle was braying around them, could no longer sing the alternate verses of their psalms.* Then, according to the custom of the time, while the thunder pealed, the bells of the abbey church rang out their imploring notes; and the fierce warriors, stumbling amid the dead and dying, suspended their horrible carnage in that dismal hour, though their leaders had said no quarter should be given. The people believed that Heaven thus asserted its displeasure at the death and discomfiture of their champion. His memory did not soon fade away. It was thought necessary that a positive law should prohibit "any man from holding Simon, earl of Leicester, for a saint or just one;" and "that the vain and foolish miracles related of him by certain persons shall not pass any man's lips." Thus saith "the award made between the king and his commons at Kenilworth." In the parliament held at Kenilworth, in November, 1266,† it was an especial object to restore the peace of the kingdom by assigning to the king his legitimate power, under the condition that he should adhere to his oath to preserve and keep the liberties of the Church, and the Charters; and that, with certain exceptions, all those who, during "the present troubles of the realm," had commited offences against the king or his crown, should be wholly pardoned, if they should come in to his peace. This disposition to enforce an almost general amnesty is an indication of the extent to which the opposition to the royal authority had gone. That opposition was not at an end when Simon de Montfort fell at Evesham. A band of his adherents defended the castle of Kenilworth against the royalist forces; and its garrison only surrendered under the pressure of famine, in November, 1266. Simon, the eldest son of the great earl, long defied the king's armies in the Isle of Ely and the Isle of Axholm; the Cinque Ports, which were strongly attached to the interests of De Montfort, resisted Prince Edward, who took Dover and Winchelsea after much bloodshed. Eleanora, the widow of the earl of Leicester, "desolate and confounded at the death of her husband, would not stay longer in England, but went to transmarine parts; and though she was the sister of the king of England, yet the king accounted her as a stranger on account of the hatred he had borne her husband." Thus writes a contemporary chronicler.‡ Simon and Guy, two sons of this unfortunate house, wandering on the continent, took a fearful revenge for the fate of their father, by murdering Henry, son of the king of Germany, and nephew to Henry III., in 1271. The De Montforts were all proscribed by the English government. They were excepted from the pardons and commutations of "The award of Kenilworth." The capricious earl of Gloucester, having quarrelled with the king, again took up arms, and seized London in 1267, the citizens making common cause with him. But he soon submitted, and the land was at peace. Freebooters, however, were to be found in many of the wooded districts; and to this period may be assigned the belief, to which we have alluded,§ that Robin Hood and his lawless companions in the Forest of Sherwood were the disinherited adherents of the earl of Leicester. One incident, recorded in chronicle, may seem to warrant some such opinion. Matthew of Westminster relates that Prince Edward, travelling through the wooded pass of Alton—a place long frequented by outlaws who there awaited merchants passing to or from Winchester—encountered a certain knight, by name Adam Gordon, whose property had been confiscated; and engaging in single combat with him, overthrew him, but spared his life for his boldness, though he hung all his followers on the trees of the wood.

In 1269 the victor of Evesham, with many barons and knights, took the cross at Northampton, before setting out upon an expedition to the Holy Land. We probably do some injustice to the crusading princes, when we seek for other motives to impel them to these dangerous and expensive expeditions than their religious enthusiasm. But it certainly does seem extraordinary that a prince, who was evidently as politic as he was adventurous, should have left a distracted kingdom, under an aged and weak king, even at the bidding of an absorbing zeal acting upon a bold and ardent temperament. Hume ascribes the resolve of Edward to his avidity for glory, and his deference to the prejudices of the age. Lingard suggests that there was as much of policy as devotion in his conduct; and that the crusade would open a field for the exertions of turbulent spirits who might be dangerous at home. The late Mr. Hudson Turner, whose great antiquarian knowledge was made subservient to its proper use as illustrative of history, found in an original document the names of members of the most powerful families in England, who had agreed to accompany the prince; and he also discovered that he engaged their assistance by pecuniary advances. That list includes "some of the most considerable barons and knights who had survived the slaughter of the civil war; and some who, from their late complicity with the earl of Leicester, may be considered to have been still suspected persons, whom it was desirable to restrain from further plots against the crown."* The ambitious earl of Gloucester was among this number. Henry, in 1268, obtained a grant from the people of the tenth of the Church revenues for three years, for the purposes of this crusade, and a general subsidy of a twentieth of the goods of the laity was also raised. This subsidy yielded £31,488, exclusive of the expense of collection. The Rolls of Parliament show what such a subsidy meant. It was a property-tax upon all the movable possessions of the people, from the valuable stock of the wealthy tanner down to the commonest utensil of the poor housewife and the simplest tools of the working carpenter.† This subsidy of 1268 was certainly equal to half a million pounds of our present money; and, reckoning upon the same principle, the goods and chattels of the kingdom, being twenty times the amount of the assessment, would reach the sum of ten million pounds. Small as this accumulation is, as compared with the property of modern times, we still see that, in spite of the devastation occasioned by the wars and misgovernment of centuries, the people were gathering around them many of the conveniences that distinguish a civilized from a barbarous condition of society. Joinville, in his interesting Memoirs of Louis IX. of France, has a remark upon his just and benevolent administration, which the English kings might have advantageously remembered in after times: "Population increased so much throughout the realm, from the justness and uprightness which reigned, that the estates, rents, and revenues of the kingdom were in one year nearly doubled."

The taxation of the churchmen and laity of England was insufficient for the expenses of the crusade. Edward borrowed a large sum of the king of France, secured upon the revenues of Bordeaux. Louis IX. himself had set out on the expedition in 1270; and Edward, with his train of barons and their hundred and four knights, and accompanied by his faithful wife, Eleanor of Castile, set sail for the Holy Land. It was probably owing to his political foresight that the Londoners were appeased, previously to his departure, by a renewal of their charters. King Louis was diverted from the main object of the expedition, by turning his arms against the bey of Tunis, who had refused tribute to the brother of Louis, the king of Sicily. The French king died of a dysentery on this unhealthy coast. The career of Prince Edward was therefore suspended. He wintered in Sicily. In the spring of 1271 he set forward with a small force, and landed at Acre, the only place left of the once powerful kingdom of the crusaders. Acre was surrounded by the troops of the sultan of Babylon; but the reputation of the English

* See "Chronicon Willelmi de Rishanger," Camden Society, p. 47.

† "Statutes of the Realm," vol. i. p. 12. 1820.

‡ "Liber de Gestis Britonum," Cotton MS. Quoted in Mrs. Green's learned and accurate "Lives of the Princesses of England," vol. ii. p. 151.

§ See p. 69.

* "Unpublished Notices of the Times of Edward I.," by T. Hudson Turner, in "Archæological Journal," No. 29, p. 46.

† Rot. Parl. i. 228, quoted in "Eden's History of the Poor," vol. i. p. 19.

courage had survived in the East, and the sultan retired. Edward then gained some battles, and took Nazareth by storm. But he soon returned to Acre, where his wife gave birth to a daughter, Joanna. Here occurred one of those episodes of history which relieve its monotonous details of battle and intrigue. The emir of Jaffa was in correspondence with the English prince, and had gained his confidence by professing his willingness to embrace Christianity. The messenger of the emir had arrived with a letter, and was admitted to Edward's chamber. The prince was dressed in a loose robe ; and the Saracen finding a favorable occasion for a perfidious act, struck him in the arm twice with a dagger. Edward, one of the most powerful of an athletic race, seized the assassin, and dispatched him with his own weapon. Matthew Paris adds to this account, "Some say that Edward, on finding himself suddenly wounded, having nothing at hand to defend himself with, seized the tripod which supported his table, and brained the ruffian." The dagger was poisoned. The contemporary annalist says, "As the poison entered and spread in the wounds, they were only cured with great difficulty, and by the application of many and various remedies." Some later chronicler has told the story of Edward's recovery in a way which is not inconsistent with truth, and which history may adopt without any impeachment of its critical pretensions. Eleanor, the affectionate wife to whom Edward had been married for eighteen years—the mother of many of his children who had died young, and of two daughters who were living—sucked the poison from the wound at the risk of her own life. Let us not reject the touching story because we are told it has a Spanish origin. Edward, having concluded a truce with the sultan, left Acre in the autumn of 1272, and set sail for Europe. As he passed through Calabria he learned that his father had died on the 16th of November.

Henry III. was buried at Westminster on the 20th of November, 1272. On the same day, "when the king had been buried, as is the custom of kings to be buried, Gilbert, earl of Warrenne, and all the clergy and laity, proceeded without delay to the great altar of the church aforesaid, and there swore fealty to Edward, the eldest son of the late king, though they were wholly ignorant whether he was alive, for he was in distant countries beyond the sea, warring against the adversaries of Christ. And after this the nobles of the kingdom assembled in like manner at the New Temple of London. And having had a new seal made, they appointed faithful ministers and guardians to protect faithfully the treasure of the king and the peace of the kingdom."* The hereditary principle, in this case, where there could be no possible dispute as to the succession, seems to have commanded the fealty sworn at the high altar of Westminster ; but, no doubt, the ancient forms of election were gone through. On the death of Edward I., his eldest son Edward II. succeeded, as Walsingham records, "not only by hereditary right, but by the unanimous assent of the nobles and great men."

Edward the Crusader was in no great haste to enter upon the duties of a king of England. He passes in triumph through Italy ; and in Burgundy is met by a magnificent deputation of his English clergy and barons. He proceeds to Paris, where he does homage to king Philip "for the lands which he held, by right, of the crown of France." At this period Edward was challenged to a tournament by the count of Chalons. The pope, by letter, told him that no king was bound to answer such a challenge. But the knightly spirit prevailed over the royal prudence, and Edward entered the lists with a thousand retainers, both horsemen and spearmen. In the *mêlée*, many were killed ; and the English appear to have behaved with most despicable ferocity. Edward himself, when he had unhorsed the athletic count his challenger, stood over his suppliant enemy, and belabored him with a brutality of which an English costermonger would now be ashamed. Such was chivalry—that compound of cruelty and generosity, of physical daring and moral cowardice, of sensitive honor and broken faith. "The English," says Matthew of Westminster, "being roused by the stimulus of indignation, slew many of the French, and as they were persons of low degree, very little notice was taken of their deaths."

On the 3d of August, 1274, king Edward landed at Dover, and on the 19th of August he and his queen were crowned at Westminster. The coronation feast presents a curious illustration of the rude hospitality of that age. The most minute particulars have been preserved by a contemporary writer, who is supposed to have been a town-clerk of London ;* and his account is corroborated by official documents. There were two halls at Westminster, as there were at Windsor. The greater hall was that of Rufus, in which, however altered, George IV. kept his coronation feast. The town-clerk tells us that many new halls were built up, in which tables were fixed in the ground, at which all who came, princes, nobles, the rich and the poor, were feasted for fifteen days. Innumerable kitchens were built beside the halls, and numberless leaden caldrons were placed outside the kitchens, for additional cooking. Oxen, sheep, and pigs were consumed in numbers exceeding those of a crowded market-day in recent Smithfield ; and Leadenhall market at Christmas could not vie with this royal poultry-show. The Pipe Rolls record that three hundred barrels of wine were purchased for this occasion.† A vast temporary stable was built in St. Margaret's churchyard. When great earls and magnificent prelates travelled with a gorgeous retinue of horsemen, this was not the least necessary provision for abundance of guests.

The hospitalities of his coronation were scarcely ended when Edward repaired to Chester. The state of Wales presented a tempting occasion for the exercise of his politic ambition. The Prince of Wales, Llewellyn, had been in arms against Henry III. in the war of the barons, but had promised fealty to the king before Edward went on his crusade. But there was always doubt in the mind of the Welsh prince of the intentions of Edward toward him. He had suffered much hardship at the hands of Henry III. during his youthful captivity. He was deeply attached to the family of De Montfort ; and in the days of their prosperity, when Kenilworth was the seat of the countess of Leicester's abundant hospitality, he had pledged his hand to Eleanora, her daughter. When he was summoned as a vassal of the English crown to the coronation of Edward, he refused to attend without a safe-conduct. When Edward repaired to Chester, Llewellyn was again summoned, and refused to meet the king. He was further summoned to attend a parliament at Westminster in 1275, and again he declined to appear. Before the death of the widow of the earl of Leicester, in 1275, the young Eleanora was married by proxy to the Welsh prince, who kept that faith to the poor and exiled orphan which he had vowed in the days of her prosperity. She sailed with her brother Almeric, in 1276, to join her affianced husband in Wales. The vessel which bore her from the continent was intercepted off the Scilly islands ; and Eleanora and her brother became the captives of their cousin Edward. The brother and sister were placed in separate custody. Llewellyn indignantly demanded the release of his bride ; and once again refused to attend a parliament. He offered a ransom for Eleanora and her brother, but the king was inexorable. The crafty politician felt that he could trample upon the independence of Wales, through his ungenerous outrage upon the affections of its prince. When Llewellyn refused to come to the parliament of 1276, his lands were declared to be forfeited ; and in 1277 Edward led an army into Wales. The mountain chiefs were unable to make head against this invasion ; and David, the brother of Llewellyn, was seduced by Edward to forget the cause of his country in revenge for some personal injury in the matter of his patrimony. Llewellyn, beset by foreign foes and domestic treachery, submitted to the hard terms which the king of England imposed upon him. He retained only the complete sovereignty of the district of Snowdon and the isle of Anglesey, though the title of Prince of Wales remained to him. Upon the promise of a large tribute, which could never be paid, Eleanora was given up to Llewellyn, and they were married at Worcester, in 1278, in the presence of Edward and his court. Almeric de Montfort was kept in confinement four years longer. The terms of peace with Wales had been previously arranged at Westminster. Carte, the historian, has a curious anecdote connected with this temporary submission of the Welsh prince. "The barons of Snowdon, with other noblemen of the most considerable families in Wales, had attended Llewellyn to London, when he came thither at Christmas, A.D. 1277, to do homage to King Edward ; and bringing, according to their usual custom,

* Matthew of Westminster.

* See "Liber de Antiquis Legibus," published by the Camden Society.

† See the valuable work of Mr. Hudson Turner on "Domestic Architecture in England," p. 65.

large retinues with them, were quartered in Islington and the neighboring villages. These places did not afford milk enough for such numerous trains; they liked neither wine nor the ale of London, and, though plentifully entertained, were much displeased at a new manner of living which did not suit their taste, nor perhaps their constitutions. They were still more offended at the crowds of people that flocked about them when they stirred abroad, staring at them as if they had been monsters, and laughing at their uncouth garb and appearance. They were so enraged on this occasion that they engaged privately in an association to rebel on the first opportunity, and resolved to die in their own country rather than ever come again to London, as subjects, to be held in such derision; and when they returned home, they communicated their resentments to their compatriots, who made it the common cause of their country."

Five years elapsed before the discontents of the Welsh broke out into organized resistance to the English authority. England had been peacefully settled since the accession of Edward; and during that period several statutes of great importance had reduced the laws of the country to a more accurate shape, and introduced many new provisions for the correction of abuses, and the due administration of justice. The statute of 1275, called the first statute of Westminster, is a very elaborate code of fifty-one chapters. These, as the preamble recites, were "The acts of King Edward, made at his first parliament general, and by his council, and by the assent of archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, earls, barons, and the commonalty of the realm being thither summoned." Without entering upon such provisions of this statute as are of a technical nature, we may mention a few matters which are illustrative of the condition of society. Religious houses were oppressed by barons and great men demanding hospitality, at a time when there were no public hostelries. The statute provides that none should so lodge and feed unless invited, but "that the grace of hospitality should not be withdrawn from such as need." On the subject of wrecks of the sea, it was enacted that where a man, a dog, or a cat escape quick out of the ship, that such ship, nor barge, nor anything within them, should be adjudged wreck. The statute asserted freedom of election, against the interference of any man by arms or menace; and this was important when sheriffs, coroners, and conservators of the peace were chosen by the freeholders; and representation in parliament, by election of the people, was becoming an institution of the country. It upheld the principle that no king's officer should take any reward to do his office; such enactment being one of the many proofs of the inefficiency of law to restrain corruption, for within fourteen years there were only two judges, out of fifteen, who were not found guilty of the grossest extortions. It provided that no serjeant or pleader should use deceit to beguile the court, under pain of imprisonment—a law which has fallen into disuse, from its total inapplicability to modern advocacy. It threatened with punishment the devisors of slanderous news, as we have already noticed—the first libel law. It rendered juries giving false verdicts liable to "attaint," under which suspicion the king granted a new trial; and it said that "certain people of this realm doubt very little to make a false oath." Lastly, the statute provided that particular assizes should be held during the great seasons of religious festival; "forasmuch as it is a great charity to do right unto all men at all times." We may mention one or two other statutes of this period before we resume the course of our narrative. The statute for the Office of the Coroner provides that he should go to the places where any be slain, or suddenly dead, or wounded, or where houses are broken, or where treasure is said to be found, and there make inquiry upon the oath of four of the next towns, or five or six. The Statute of Merchants (1283) recites that "merchants which heretofore have lent their goods to divers persons be greatly impoverished, because there is no speedy law provided for them to have recovery of their debts at the day of payment assigned." Lord Chief Justice Campbell, speaking of this law (called the Statute of Acton Burnel), says that "the grievance which is peculiar to England, of being obliged to bring an action and have a debt established by the judgment of a court of law before enforcing payment of it, when there is not the slightest doubt of the validity of the instrument by which it is constituted, has always been a reproach to the administration of justice in this country."* The Statute of Acton Burnel provided that where a debt had been acknowledged before a proper officer, and a day of payment fixed, execution might follow on default of payment. It is only within the last year that the principle has been applied to bills of exchange. The Statute of Winchester (1285) recites that robberies, murders, and burning of houses "be more often used than they have been heretofore," and therefore makes the hundred answerable for robberies. But it attempts something for prevention. In great towns, being walled, the gates are to be closed from sun-setting to sun-rising, and there shall be watch all night. Highways leading from one market town to another are to be enlarged, so that, within two hundred feet of each side of the road, there should be no bushes, woods, or dykes, with the exception of great trees; and if the lord would not abate the dyke, underwood, or bushes, he is to be answerable for any felony committed. It is also provided that "every man have in his house harness, for to keep the peace after the antient assize:" and the nature of the arms to be kept—whether hauberk, sword, knife, or bow and arrows—is regulated according to the property, in land or goods, of the owner of the house. In the statutes for the city of London (also 1285) "it is enjoined that none be hardy to be found going or wandering about the streets of the city, after curfew bell tolled at St. Martin's-le-Grand, with sword, or buckler, or other arms for doing mischief," and that "none do keep a tavern open for wine or ale after the tolling of the aforesaid curfew." In a future period of this reign we shall have to recur to other of these legislative illustrations of our social history.*

In 1279 King Edward visited King Philip of France at Amiens. At this meeting some of the causes of dispute between the crowns were wisely removed, by Edward receiving formal possession of Gascony, and as formally resigning Normandy. About this time the first statute of mortmain was passed. In Magna Charta there was a provision against a person giving his land to a religious house, so as to take it back, and hold it of the house. The statute (7 Edward I.) prescribed that all lands given in mortmain—that is, into the "dead hand" of the Church—without the king's special license, were to be forfeited. Matthew of Westminster notices this enactment in a quaint fashion: "The king, and prelates, and nobles of England agreed together, and enacted, that the members of the religious orders should not be enriched by any increase of landed estates, saying, that it was to the detriment of the kingdom and of military service, that the military fees and other possessions had fallen into the dead hands of the religious orders; not understanding, perchance, that the army of the Amalekites was overthrown rather by the prayers of Moses than by the valor in combat of the children of Israel." The religious bodies, to which lands were conveyed, were corporations; and having perpetual succession, the former lords of the lands lost the benefit of their tenants' services, or the fines upon inheritance, when the property passed into the dead hand; "for that a dead hand," in the words of Coke, "yieldeth no service." The existing laws of mortmain rest upon another principle. While the legislation of the end of the thirteenth century thus prevented the accumulation of unalienable real property by religious orders, the king, by an arbitrary exercise of power, destroyed the great money-capitalists of the time. The Jews, throughout England, were all seized, on one day, upon a charge of clipping the coin; and, says Matthew of Westminster, "of the Jews of both sexes, there were hanged in London, two hundred and eighty, and a very great multitude in other cities of England." Some Christians were involved in the accusation, and for most of them the king received ransom. In a few years more, in 1290, the whole community of Jews in England was banished. That, in spite of persecutions so long exercised toward them, and the general prejudice against their creed and their conduct, they still continued to flourish, and to accumulate vast wealth—much, no doubt, from the plunder of the improvident—may be inferred from some circumstances which preceded this edict of Edward. Three or four years before their expulsion the pope addressed a bull to the archbishop of Canterbury, forbidding the association of Christians and Jews. It is on record that the bishop of Hereford, in 1286, excommunicated certain Christians of Hereford for attending a nuptial entertainment given by a rich Jewish family

* "Lives of the Lord Chancellors," vol. i. p. 167.

* The noble collection of "Statutes of the Realm," in folio, has opened these sources of history to the student, with the advantage of most complete indexes.

living in that city.* The Jews wore the badge of their tribe; but by their commercial activity and command of capital, even without violation of the statute of usury which Edward had passed, they were a numerous and powerful body, and not without some partial sympathy among their fellow-citizens. It is difficult to understand the immediate cause of their banishment. The king seized upon their real estates, but it is not likely that these were very extensive. Their movable property they carried with them. The proclamation commanding their departure was dated the 27th of July, 1290; and from that time to All Saints Day between fifteen and sixteen thousand of this reviled race bade farewell to the land in which most of them had been born, and where they had their homes and their local affections —to find on some more hospitable coast, if anywhere it could be found, a refuge from that fiery persecution which men called religion, and in their gross ignorance believed that such hate was a tribute to the God of love.

It was in the spring of 1282 that the fancied security of the English government was disturbed by a national outbreak of the Welsh. On the night of Palm Sunday, David, the brother of the Prince of Wales, surprised the castle of Hawarden. The justiciary, Roger de Clifford, was carried off a prisoner to the recesses of Snowdon, and all his retinue of knights and servants were put to the sword. In the interval between the marriage of Llewellyn and this outbreak, Eleanora had visited England; and there is a letter extant from her to her cousin Edward, in which she alludes to differences between the king and her husband. There appears to be little doubt that the Welsh on the border were subjected to many oppressions from the English officers. De Clifford is described in the Welsh annals as a cruel tyrant. The old national feelings of a brave but imperfectly civilized people prevented them willingly adopting the English usages, or of tamely submitting to the imperious mandates of the proud justiciaries and bailiffs of the king to whom their native prince was a vassal. The English occupied an extensive portion of the country which had been surrendered in absolute dominion, as well as that which they in some degree controlled by feudal right. It was a position that could not be permanent; and no doubt the government of Edward looked forward to the period when "the land of Wales" should be annexed to the English crown. Upon the outbreak of his brother David, the prince, Llewellyn, immediately besieged the castles of Flint and Rhuddlan. The mountain chieftains hastily assembled their dependants, and pouring down upon the lowlands, drove the English intruders across the marches. Edward sent for foreign aid from Gascony: collected the military tenants; and having raised a forced loan, the necessity of the case furnishing a pretext for this violation of the charter, marched with a large force to Worcester. The courts of king's bench and the exchequer were removed to Shrewsbury. Some of the ancient tenures of manors of this period show that armed men and horses, armor, bows and arrows, and provisions, were to be found by the tenants of the crown for the king's army in Wales.† The advance of Edward was not very rapid. He was a cautious commander, and he dreaded to throw himself into the mountain passes, and pursue the revolters to their strongholds. In one battle his advance was decidedly checked. Further, in passing the Menai strait upon a bridge of boats, so wide that forty horsemen could go over abreast, the alarm was given that a strong force was coming from their ambush in the hills; and, in a precipitate retreat, many knights and foot-soldiers perished in the turbid wintry waters. No other bridge ever crossed the straits till Telford's beautiful suspension bridge was raised, for the more enduring purpose of peaceful intercourse with Ireland. "The ringbolts to which Edward's bridge was fastened are still to be seen on the Caernarvonshire side, about ten yards under water at low-water mark, which is considered a proof of the water of the Menai having risen about six feet since Edward built the bridge."‡

Llewellyn was elated by the partial success which had as yet attended the daring enterprise in which he had engaged. He left the passes of Snowdon to be defended by his brother, and descended into the open country. It was a time of domestic grief; for his wife had died shortly before the last struggle for Welsh independence had commenced. Llewellyn fell in a sudden skirmish at Builth, in the valley of the Wye. He fell without being recognized by the knight who had surprised his party. When his rank was discovered his head was sent to Edward, who placed it on the walls of the Tower of London, crowned with an ivy wreath, in mockery of a prediction of Merlin, that when the English money should become circular, the Prince of Wales should be crowned in London.* Upon the death of Llewellyn, the principal chiefs, with the exception of David, made their submission to the king, who was too politic to treat them with severity. For six months the last of the unfortunate princely family held out against the invaders; but being betrayed, he was imprisoned in the castle of Rhuddlan; and on the 30th of September, 1283, was arraigned as a traitor before a parliament summoned to meet at Shrewsbury, and in the high street of that city David suffered the penalties of treason. The horrible forms of this execution were a precedent in cases of treason, till this barbarity went the way of other ancient outrages of human feeling.

King Edward remained more than a year in Wales, completing the pacification of the country. The tradition that he commanded a general slaughter of the bards rests upon very doubtful authority. Gray's noble ode will, however, prevail against the want of any historical proof. Those who have asserted that all the bards were hanged, as inciters of the people to sedition, and that their complete destruction was not effected till the days of Henry IV., are met by the fact, "That from the time of Edward to the reign of Elizabeth, the productions of the bards were so numerous that Mr. Owen Jones, in forming a collection for that period, has already transcribed between fifty and sixty volumes in quarto, and the work is not yet completed."†

The queen of Edward was with the king during his abode in Wales; and there, at Caernarvon, her son Edward was born on the 25th of April, 1284. The child was afterward declared Prince of Wales. The noble castle of Caernarvon, in the Eagle tower of which the queen is said to have been confined, was many years in building, and had scarcely been commenced at that period.‡ Conway was begun to be built somewhat earlier.

However the generous feelings of our nature may produce a deep sympathy with a people that had been struggling for its independence for century after century, we cannot but regard the final subjection of Wales by Edward I. as an ultimate blessing for that beautiful portion of our island. When we can forget the harsh spirit in which the king visited those who opposed his career of ambition, we may justly bestow some admiration upon his sagacity in securing the allegiance of the mountaineers by equal laws, while he commanded their obedience by his armies and his fortresses. The statutes for Wales (1284) were as essential bulwarks of his power, as his castles of Conway and Caernarvon. The ancient laws and customs of "the Land of Snowdon" were not wholly set aside; but some were abolished, some allowed, and some corrected, and certain other laws derived from England were added. The country was divided into counties; sheriffs and other officers were appointed; county courts were established; the offences to be inquired into were recited; the king's writs to be impleaded were fully set forth; all the various forms of action to be tried by inquests or juries were enumerated; and especial provision was made for the benefit of women by granting them dower, that right having been previously unknown in Wales. On the other hand, with regard to succession to an inheritance, the Welsh law that the estate was partible among heirs male was retained. Looking at the whole spirit of this voluminous statute, which is drawn with a clearness that modern lawgivers might do well to imitate, we must acknowledge that it endeavors to effect, in the spirit of its time, what it professes as its object—that "the people should be protected in security under fixed laws and customs."

CHAPTER XXVI.

Domestic history of the people in the second half of the thirteenth century—Materials for the inquiry—Household Rolls—The Roll of Swinfield, Bishop of Hereford—The Bishop's city—Manor-

* "Household Roll of Bishop Swinfield," vol. ii. p. c.
† See Blount's "Ancient Tenures," pp. 79–99. Ed. 1784.
‡ Archæological Journal, No. 27.

* See page 74.
† See R. C. Hoare, in his edition of Giraldus Cambrensis.
‡ See Archæological Journal, No. 27.

houses, and modes of living at—Christmas feast—Domestics and laborers—Serfs—Large and small tenants—Rents—Wages of domestics—A journey to London—Provision carried for consumption on the road—State of the ways—London—The Bishop's house there—Markets and shops—The Bishop at Court—Pavements, conduits, drainage—London houses—Oxford students—The Bishop's visitations—His manor-house in the summer—Gardens, orchard, vineyard—Building operations—Wages of artificers—Furniture—Dress—Woollen manufacture—Foreign trade.

We propose in this chapter to collect, under one view, a somewhat detailed account of the Domestic History of the People, in the second half of the thirteenth century. The materials for this inquiry are singularly ample. It is not that any great observer of manners has presented such a picture of society as Chaucer has presented at the end of the fourteenth century; or that from the existing correspondence of the period we may derive those interesting glimpses of the modes of living which we find in "the Paston Letters" of the fifteenth century. But for the time of Edward I. we have several authentic documents, in addition to the various notices of disbursements contained in public records, which are sufficient to enable us to construct a satisfactory summary of the manner in which our ancestors expended their incomes about five hundred and fifty years ago. Although they lived amid a very irregular round of domestic arrangements, sometimes giving profuse entertainments, and at other times exercising a scrupulous economy—although the great, whether clerical or lay, were always in a state of migration from one place to another, and seldom abided long in any of their palaces or manor-houses—although many of the necessaries of life were produced upon their own estates, and transferred from the farm to the hall—they understood the great principle of wise domestic management, the keeping of exact accounts. Nearly all the materials which we possess for such a general picture of ancient domestic life are derived from housekeeping account-books of the period—Household Rolls, as they are called. In every great family there was a house-steward, who kept these accounts upon parchment from day to day, from week to week, and from month to month; and the separate skins of parchment being tacked together formed one roll, complete for a given period, being generally that of a year. The household rolls of the period of which we are now treating, some of which have come to light within the last few years, will be referred to as we proceed in the careful, though imperfect, account which we shall endeavor to present of the private life of the English in the times of Edward I.

Of this period, the regal life was set forth in the "Wardrobe Accounts" of the king himself, for the year 1299, which have been published by the Society of Antiquaries. Under the head of "wardrobe" are included many expenses beyond those connected with apparel. The roll of the countess of Leicester, for the year 1265—that year of turbulence and danger—is an interesting view of the state of a noble household while its head was engaged in a great public enterprise, which ended in the ruin of his family, however it might have advanced the liberties of his country. There are minor accounts, chiefly of travelling expenses, to which we shall refer. Public records, whether known as Pipe Rolls or Close Rolls, throw much light on these documents. But a Household Roll, having more relation to general life and manners than those of the king and the countess, has been recently published, with most valuable annotations. It is a Household Roll of a bishop of Hereford.* The bishop, Swinfield, has a palace at Hereford, a house in Worcester, and a house in London. He has many manor-houses, at each of which he has a farm. He has stables for many horses, kennels for his hounds, and mews for his hawks. His kitchens reek with every variety of food; his cellars are filled with wine, and his spiceries with foreign luxuries. He brews and he bakes, and he makes his own candles. He buys cloth, and a tailor fashions it into garments for himself and his servants. He is constantly moving from manor-house to manor-house; and the domestic utensils, the brass pots, and the earthenware jugs, are always moving with him. We can trace him on a long journey from Hereford to London, and back again, and learn how he fared upon the road. We go with him into quiet country places, when he is out on his visitations; and see how he makes his way, with numerous horsemen, along difficult roads, where guides are sometimes needed to save the party from dangerous fords or deceitful quagmires. We know exactly what he pays his domestics, and what the various commodities for the sustenance of the large household cost. We can judge of the amount of the comforts by which this numerous family is surrounded; and form a tolerable estimate of the refinement which existed, when many retainers were littered down in a great hall, which served all purposes, and servants were well contented with the stable as their accustomed dormitory. Such private history, we believe, makes all public history more intelligible.

Of the provincial-town life of the bishop we see very little. He is not on the most friendly terms with the burgesses of Hereford. His jurisdiction was constantly clashing with that of the civil magistrate. Half the city was called the bishop's fee, where he was supreme. At the time of the annual fair his power was paramount over the whole city. The citizens were constantly disputing the feudal right of the bishop to control them; and in Hereford, as in other towns, the ancient power of the lords, whether that of prelate or noble, was gradually but reluctantly yielding to the authority of general law. The soke-lords of London were thus in perpetual conflict with the municipal rulers, and were constantly setting up certain privileges, such as that of the bishop of London to a seignorial oven in Cornhill, which greatly interfered with the equal progress of society. Bishop Swinfield is rarely at his episcopal city, the cathedral of which was so frequented by pilgrims and devotees from all parts of the kingdom, that the offerings of wax at the altars became a matter of dispute between the prebendaries and the treasurer, as to which this valuable perquisite should belong. The bishop was probably not on very good terms with the great body of his Hereford clergy; for he was a constant patron of the order of Minorites—the preaching friars, who were generally popular with the laity, though viewed with jealousy by other religious orders. We find Swinfield himself preaching upon his journeys—a duty to which bishops seldom applied themselves. He had risen to his high rank from a humble beginning, having been chaplain and secretary to the previous bishop. Of no distinguished influence or grasping ambition, he discharges the duties of his office, which was clearly not a position of mere luxury and idleness, as a vigilant administrator. When we trace him, therefore, to his various manor-houses of Sugwas, of Bosbury, of Ledbury, of Prestbury, of Whitborne, of Ross, of Colwall, and to his episcopal castle of Bishop's Castle, on the Welsh border, we find that he is thus moving about in the discharge of his official duties. At each of his manor-houses the bishop's hall is his feudal court. Here he sits in baronial state to receive the homage of tenants, to sentence ecclesiastics to penalties for offences against the canon law, to threaten or excommunicate lay offenders against public morals. Here he entertains the suitors of his court, and his dependants, on high festivals. The hall, from which the whole manor-house derives its name, is the one great room of the establishment. All other accommodation is limited and subordinate. "The greater part of the episcopal palace at Hereford appears to have been originally a hall, with pillars and arches of wood."* The manor-house was also, for the most part, a hall. One private chamber was allotted to the lord of the house. The cook had his kitchen, a separate but adjacent building. There was the sewery; and there was the butlery. But the courts were held; the audiences were given; the guests were dined; the wine was drunk; and as night ended the solemn feast or the lenten fasting, all slept on the wooden floor of the hall, strewed with dry rushes in winter and green fodder in summer—with hay or with straw.

The Swinfield Household Roll would have given us a bishop's year, had two months not been lost to us in the destruction of two skins of the parchment record. We can trace him from the 30th of September in 1289 to the 23d of July in 1290. We miss the interesting period of the corn-harvest of the latter year. As it is, we may perhaps better illustrate the condition of this household, and thus infer many particulars of the condition of the people generally, by fol-

* "A Roll of the Household Expenses of Richard de Swinfield, Bishop of Hereford, during part of the years 1289 and 1290. Edited by the Rev. John Webb." Camden Society, 2 vols. 1854, 1855. This is unquestionably the most interesting contribution of authentic materials for the history of ancient manners which has yet appeared, and its value is doubled by the rare skill of its editor.

* "Domestic Architecture in England, from the Conquest to the end of the Thirteenth Century," by G. T. Hudson Turner—a work of original research and lucid detail.

lowing the course of these ten months so carefully registered. They embrace a period of royal festivity and general discomfort. King Edward in 1289, had returned from Gascony, having been absent from England for three years. He was about to marry his daughter, Joanna, to the great earl of Gloucester, Gilbert de Clare, the most powerful of the barons; and he kept his court at Westminster with unusual pomp. But a gloom was shed over England by those atmospheric disturbances which always brought alarm, for they were threatenings of scarcity. It is recorded by a contemporary historian, Wikes, that from the feast of St. Michael to the feast of the Purification (February 2d), there was incessant rain day and night, without a ray of sunshine, and without frost or snow. A year of dearness followed. During these four months our bishop was migrating from manor to manor, or travelling to or from London.

On the 30th of October the episcopal household comes to Sugwas, on the left bank of the Wye, about four miles from Hereford. Here the bishop has his mill, his dovecote, and his fishery. The river yields salmon, and the tenants pay dues of eels. Friday, Saturday, and Wednesday are days of abstinence. On Sunday, October 2d, the household is abundantly feasted. At the generous board there are consumed three quarters of beef, three sheep, half a pig, eight geese, ten fowls, twelve pigeons, nine partridges, and unnumbered larks. To this abundant food there is a due proportion of wine and beer. Bread has been baked on the Saturday. The baker is an important person. He always precedes the family in their wanderings, that the pantry may be well stored when the hungry travellers arrive. On the days of abstinence we find a variety of fish, which the present great white-bait feasts of the Thames can scarcely rival. We have sticks of eels, sold by twenty-five on a stick, according to the statute; there is salmon from the weir; there are tench, and much small fry called minnows; lampreys there are, and lamperns; salt herrings and salted cod are always in store; and dried cod is brought from Aberdeen. Some of the fish is bought at the towns of Hereford, and Gloucester, and Worcester, according to their vicinity to the manor-houses; and the cook often goes with a sumpter-horse to fetch the supply. In winter we have oysters bought by the gallon; and in May and June the fresh mackerel furnishes a new delicacy. The trout, too, is produced at the table in the season of the May-fly. Gruel is served up in abundance; and soup is mentioned. But of fresh vegetables there is a scant supply, as may be inferred from the entry of salted greens. From his manor of Sugwas the bishop proceeds to the manor of Bosbury, where he remains two months. There are here some vestiges of strong buildings, on the site of the manor-house. In no other place does the episcopal lord remain so long as at Bosbury. It appears to have been the chief storehouse of good things for the consumption of the household. It is now the Martinmas season, when the salting-tubs are filled with every variety of flesh to be preserved for use through the coming winter, when ancient agricultural economy could produce little fresh meat. We may have some notion of the amount of this consumption of salt provisions, when we find that fifty-two beeves were brought in from the different farms, some travelling from the distant manor of Early, near Reading. Sheep and swine, in large numbers, were also salted down; and many of the internal parts of the animals went to the pickling vessels. The salt was purchased at Worcester, being brought there from the pits at Droitwich; and the commodity not being a plentiful one, half a seam—that measure being equivalent to 100 pounds—was borrowed from a preceptory of templars. But beef, mutton, and pork did not constitute the whole of the salted food. The epicure of modern days will lament over the reckless waste which consigned the fattest venison of the bishop's parks and chases to this levelling equality with common flesh. The stud-groom, the huntsmen and their hounds, the stable-helpers, the boys of the farm, were driving the deer from their thick coverts, to fall before the unerring shafts from the cross-bow. The hides produced by this enormous slaughter were partly sold, and some were manufactured into leather after a rude domestic fashion. The superfluous fat of the animals was converted into home-manufactured candles; and on one day of this slaughtering time, 80 pounds are recorded to have been made. Before we leave this subject of the provision of substantial food for a very large scale of housekeeping, let us briefly notice the Christmas feast at Prestbury, another great manor-house, to which the bishop had removed at that festive season. At Bosbury, five casks of wine had been laid in, having been brought from Bristol, one of the chief marts for foreign wine in the west of England. It was conveyed under the care of the bishop's servants, by boat up the Severn. From Bosbury to Prestbury, a cask was sent for the Christmas festival. There was a great brewing there in December, so that the enormous quantity drank at Christmas was not "jolly good ale and old." As we constantly find in these times, the brewing was under the management of women. The breweress, the sempstress, and the house-cleaner are the only females of whom we catch a glimpse in the bishop's establishment. All things had been set in order previous to the arrival of the lord of the household. The kitchen and the ovens had been repaired, and a penthouse with a dresser had been built from the kitchen to the hall-door. Charcoal had been burned, and brought in from the woods. Loads of thorns had been drawn from the coppices to heat the ovens, and to crackle under the pots. Canvas had been given out for the kitchen strainers. The spice-box had been filled with cloves, mace, cinnamon, ginger, pepper, cummin, aniseed, and coriander. Among the spices we find given out a pound or two of that valuable article, sugar, with which the crusades had familiarized western Europe. Sugar was, however, so commonly used at this period that on one occasion 100 pounds are purchased in London by the bishop's factor; and in the provincial town of Ross, a single pound is bought for eightpence. That indispensable article of ancient cookery, saffron, has a tub for its especial reception. Large stores of crockery-ware are laid in. This luxury seems to have been peculiar to the bishop's establishment; for certainly the use of dishes, plates, saucers, and jugs of earthenware was not common in England, when wooden trenchers and leathern jacks appeared at every board. Jugs and dishes were expensive articles of domestic use; for we find constant entries of new purchases. The fragile utensils were moved about from place to place, in company with the iron and brass vessels of the kitchen; and in rutty roads, where the cart was sometimes overturned, the breakage was constant and considerable. All things then being in order, the Christmas feast begins. The eve is a strict fast. Christmas day was on a Sunday. On the great festival there were served up two carcasses and three quarters of beef, with calves, does, pigs, fowls, bread, and cheese, ten sectaries of red wine and one of white. There appear to have been guests, from the additional number of horses in the stable. The judicious editor of the bishop's Roll reasonably conjectures that much of this enormous feast was given to the poor. The total expenditure of that Christmas day amounted to 4*l.* 16*s.* 3½*d.*—a reckoning of about 100*l.* of present money.*

John de Kemeseye, the house-steward, enters in his roll everything which comes from the farms; and he affixes a price, as of money paid to the bailiff. We see how this principle insures correctness of accounts between the producers and consumers. From the farm comes into the hall, corn, hay, oxen, sheep, pigs, milk. We have very imperfect notices of agricultural proceedings; yet there must have been constant labor required to meet such large consumption. We find incidentally, that wheat, oats, and barley were sown in Lent. We have an item of the cost of gloves given to reapers in the harvest time of 1289, and of board-wages paid to servants of the household, who went out to assist in gathering in the hay and corn. It is clear that some of the domestics lived in the farm-house attached to each hall; and some of these were women, who were house-cleaners, sempstresses, and breweresses. John the carter and Roger the thresher were probably farm inmates. The two farriers of the establishment, who seem to have been very busy with sick horses and with making new horseshoes out of old ones, and the horse-trainer (ambulator) lived happily, we may conjecture, with their equine friends. Harpin the falconer and John the huntsman seem to have been privileged and confidential domestics. But amid the entries of wages paid, we miss the numerous farm-laborers that must have been employed, in an age when hand labor derived little assistance from the tools and machines of modern times. These, no doubt, were the serfs—the born thralls—the bondsmen of one manor, with no choice but that of abiding from the cradle to the grave in that one spot—the mere laborers, carefully provided for, as regarded their

* We take an intermediate multiplier of twenty to ascertain present value. Mr. Hallam considers twenty-four or twenty-five times the price named to represent such value. Others say fifteen times. There can be no exact scale.

sustenance—perhaps not overworked; having their hours of recreation; not destitute of the family affections. Their condition is as little noticed by the chroniclers as that of the cattle which they tended. But they were gradually passing into the state of free laborers. One record connected with bishop Swinfield has an interest for us, and for those who come after us, which the good prelate and his most learned chaplains could never have anticipated. Robert Crul was a bailiff upon one of the farms of the bishop's manor of Ross. He was a *villein regardant*, with a mother, wife, and children living with him. In 1302, by a solemn deed he was manumitted by the bishop; and "Robert Crul of Hamme, and Matilda his wife, with all his offspring begotten and to be begotten, together with all his goods holden and to be holden," was rendered "forever free and quit from all yoke of servitude." Robert, the churl of Hamme, was the ancestor of John Kyrle, the Man of Ross. If the poet who immortalized the benefactor of his fellow-creatures, at a time when slavery had died out, had known this fact, he might have added a couplet to show how the manumission of a slave in the thirteenth century had ameliorated the lot of the wretched in the eighteenth. Robert Crul, by his industry in the service of the bishop, was enabled to buy his freedom for forty marks, and he became the founder of two honorable families.* This power of rising, however slowly and painfully, out of the condition in which they were born—a condition to which the Saxon peasant had long been subjected by the Norman lord—was, no doubt, the sustaining hope of many of the more frugal, diligent, and intelligent villeins of that age. But from the large sum which the bishop exacted from Robert Crul we may judge that there was no wide sympathy for that class by whose labor the bishop's household was maintained, and himself upheld in the rough splendor which befitted his rank. We cannot affirm that there was no general disposition to raise the great body of laborers in the scale of comfort and independence—there is some evidence to the contrary. But this, and all succeeding indications of the position of the people, in relation to their born masters, will show that the numberless producers were held, as a class, to be only fulfilling their natural destiny when they toiled without hope for the privileged consumers of the produce of their toil. In our own immediate times, in which the degrees of station are, in some particulars, as rigidly preserved as in the feudal ages, there has been the awakening of a spirit which, in advocating the common claims to regard for the whole brotherhood of man, is gradually averting some of the dangers which must result from the spectacle of helpless misery existing by the side of callous indulgence. A reconstruction of society, such as would banish poverty from the earth, is one of the idle dreams of impracticable enthusiasm. But an amelioration of the condition of the poor, through raising them in the scale of self-respect by kindly intercourse; and by summoning all the powers of scientific administration to sweep away the habits of economical ignorance that we have inherited—this is the lesson which we must draw from the contemplation of that state of low civilization of which the public and private records tell of slavery as the fate of the many, and of unseemly discomfort even in the condition of the more favored few.

It is not easy to form an estimate of the state of ancient serfdom in its varying degrees. The manumitted bailiff of bishop Swinfield had progenitors who were slaves in the most wretched and degraded condition. He was born in slavery, but had gradually acquired property which he was permitted to accumulate while rendering certain services to his lord. But he held that property upon sufferance. The general condition of the villains was probably inferior to that of Robert Crul. They were oppressed in many ways. There is a "Song of the Husbandman" of this period, who complains of the persecutions of the hayward, the woodward, and the bailiff; of the beadle who comes for a tax, and says, "prepare me silver for the green wax;" and to seek silver for the king, he sold his seed, and his cattle were taken from the field.† The consistory courts, too, did for the rough peasants of the thirteenth century what misjudging overseers did in later times—they drove them to church with "Meg or Mal," and "a priest as proud as a peacock weds us both."‡ The tenants who leased lands were subject to many exactions. The lord's bull and boar were free, under the conditions of the tenures, to range at night through their standing corn and grass; and the tenants' sheep were always to be folded on the lords' land. There were large farmers and cottier tenants in those days. From a survey of the village of Hawsted, in Suffolk, in 1288, we find that seven farmers held nine hundred and sixty-eight acres of arable land; which, with a little meadow, averaged a hundred and forty acres each; while thirty-six held only eleven acres each, upon an average. That the land was indifferently farmed we may well believe by learning that the highest rent was sevenpence an acre, and that some land was let as low as a farthing an acre. No doubt these small tenants did services as *villeins regardants*. There were fifty houses in the Hawsted village.* Small allotments were given at a nominal rent, or were held without rent, in lieu of money payments for labor; and the laborers were fed in addition, chiefly upon porridge.

The domestic servants of the Swinfield establishments were fed, clothed, and lodged. They received, in addition, half-yearly wages. The confidential members of the household, who were of gentle blood, with names derived from places, received ten shillings, half-yearly. There were two clerks, probably lay, at half-a-crown. The highest paid servant was John the farrier, at six shillings and eightpence. There was another farrier at half these wages. John the carter, Robert the carter, Harpin the falconer, and William the porter had each three shillings and fourpence. Ywon (Evan) the launder, Thomas the palfreyman, and Roberlard the butler, had each half-a-crown; and so had John the messenger. In other families, among which was that of the countess of Leicester, the messengers were distinguished by their qualities—as Slingaway, Bolett (bullet), Truebodie, and Gobithistie (go a bit hasty). Henry de Beckford, of the bishop's chamber, had half-a-crown. There were twenty-two younger domestics—garciones (gossoons) and pages, at stipends varying from two shillings to eighteen-pence, a shilling, and sixpence. There were forty-one members of this household. In the stables there were generally upward of forty horses, for the use of the establishment.

On the 20th of December the bishop and his retinue set out from Prestbury, on a journey to London. The cavalcade is composed of the bishop, on his new palfrey, bought at Hereford; his chaplain, and house-steward, John de Kemeseye; various household officers well armed; the cook, the farrier, and other retainers of the kitchen and the stable; sumpter-horses, bearing changes of raiment and other valuables; carts laden with meat and wine, and with pots and pans, and drinking-cups. There are fifty-one horses in this troop. Harbingers precede them to look out for quarters. They lodge the first night at a vacant manor-house belonging to the abbot of Gloucester, near Fairford, where they eat the food they have providently brought, and the servants of the house furnish them with brushwood for their fires, oats for their horses, and litter for their own lodging on the floor. These servants have money "to drink," a time-honored custom. The next day they move on to Farringdon. There is no welcome here from knight or monk; the editor of the Roll thinks they put up at an inn. Mr. Hudson Turner holds that, although there were drinking-houses for wine, and ale-wives sold beer, there was "no establishment, at this period, which supplied, besides drink, food and beds. It was not until the middle of the fourteenth century that the hostel or tavern had its origin."† At Farringdon, then, we see the bishop's party putting up at a house with very small accommodation. Five men were hired to fetch in brushwood and litter. The cook unpacked his hampers; but he could not prepare his supper without hiring additional kitchen utensils. The provident bishop carried some of his own Bosbury venison with him, to supply the deficiencies of roadside fare. He probably had his Mazarine cup at hand, or one of richly chased silver, out of which he quaffed his Bordeaux wine—as his worthy steward says, "*de quo bibit frequenter.*" Spoons of silver he would have, and each of his household would carry his own knife. Forks of silver, whatever has been believed to the contrary, were known at this period; though the natural finger and thumb long kept out the foreign luxury. In the hall of one of bishop Swinfield's houses we find a lavatory, where the hands of the company might be washed before and

* This is first given, among many other interesting and novel facts, in the "Household Roll of Bishop Swinfield."
† "Political Songs," p. 129. ‡ Ibid., p. 159.

* Sir John Cullum's "History of Hawstead," p. 94.
† "Domestic Architecture," p. 122.

after the meal. At Farringdon, the house which gave the party shelter might have its one pot and hanger, and its gridiron; but the cook was unused to such poor arrangements and to the inconvenience of borrowing, and he took care, when the troop returned from London, that five new brass caldrons should accompany the luggage. It may be doubtful whether the bishop himself found a bed, if he had a separate bedroom. If any one of his own manor-houses he would lie in great state, with his tester over him, such as modern usage reluctantly abandons at the bidding of sanitary reformers. Certainly at Farringdon he would have no glass window in his private room, such as he had constructed at the cost of six shillings and eightpence for his luxurious chamber at Bosbury. Perhaps there was a fireplace, where a blaze of brushwood might chase away the dampness of this wet December.

On the 30th they arrive at Wantage. It is a fast-day, and they have their conger-eels and their stock-fish cooked, having bought the needful charcoal. The quantity of beer they consume is enormous—sixty-four gallons, costing four shillings and sevenpence farthing. From Wantage they travel on to Reading, over the downs where Alfred hunted and fought. But the ways are difficult; the open country is soaked with the constant rain; the fords are not to be blindly trusted—and so a guide must be engaged. He was probably a drover or shepherd. The countess of Leicester hired "Dobbe" the shepherd to escort her from Odiham to Porchester. But the dangerous journey was terminated by a happy welcome. The great abbot of Reading was the host of the good bishop; and here, on the 31st, Swinfield entered this noble establishment, the hospitality of which was the theme of William of Malmesbury's warmest praise. In these excellent quarters the party remained four nights. Hugh the harper played in the abbot's hall, and his skill received a reward of twelvepence from the bishop, who also bestowed a dole of bread upon the poor of Reading, costing seven shillings and sixpence. On the 4th of January they set forward for London, and reached Bedfont, crossing the ferry at Staines. Here their travelling stock of provisions was exhausted, and during their stay of three nights, William the janitor, as commissary, had gone as far as Cookham to obtain a supply. Here sprats make their appearance from the metropolitan market. On the 7th of January they are safely lodged in London, at the bishop's own house in Old Fish Street.

At a time when the bishop of Hereford's presence was wanted in London, it is difficult at first to understand why these long halts occur on the road. It appears from other evidence that the state of the roads was so bad that a cart and four horses, engaged for six days, rested four days out of the six; and that a halt on alternate days of travel was a customary matter of necessity, in the time before turnpikes.* On a journey from Oxford to Canterbury of a person of rank, in 1289, we find, on the road from Canterbury to London, evidence of the great highway offering ample accommodation for the hungry traveller. At Rochester this party breakfast on bread, rusks, beer, wine, shambles-meat, and a hen. At Dartford they sup on bread, shambles-meat, a hen, a plover, with vegetables, and abundant beer and wine. They pay also for candles and fuel, for oats, and horseshoes; and they give a beggar a halfpenny.† We often find our good bishop giving threepence or fourpence in alms when he is on his journeys; he is moved to give fourpence to a blind man; and once his liberality extended to bestowing twopence on a street-sweeper in Hereford, which gift seems to imply that the cleanliness of the ways, in these distant times, as well as in our own, was left to the tribe who ask for alms when they should be paid for labor.

The bishop of Hereford's house in Old Fish Street was appurtenant to the see. Stow says it was built of stone and timber. By a wise arrangement the bishop let it to a worthy pepperer (grocer) upon the condition that the merchant should resign its occupation when the lord of the mansion required it for his own use. The stables were now put in order; the rooms and offices were cleaned; rushes were bought for the floors; the benches in the hall had new seats; and straw was brought in for the litter of the undignified portion of the household. Great feasting was there in this hall. The gurnet, the sturgeon, and the oyster made a welcome addition to the fish meal. The household and the guests had hares and rabbits; and the king sent a side of venison as a present. London and Westminster were full of court visitors, and a convocation was sitting, as well as a parliament. The ungenial season, and the throng of strangers, made everything dear. Wheat was double its price as registered in Herefordshire. The horses, fifty in number, were very costly. Thomas de la Dene, a most judicious manager, bought a rick of hay; but oats he could not obtain in London for money, and he sent for them into the country (*extra villam*). He laid in, moreover, large stocks of goods for future use, which the capital could best supply—cloth, furs, wax, spices. He exchanged old brass pots for new. He bought boots and shoes for his lord, and a pair of boots for himself. This excellent purveyor put his packages on board of boats at Westminster, where he seems to have purchased his various goods. The provision markets were all around the bishop's residence—the fish-market in Old Fish Street, the provision-market in Eastcheap, famous from the Saxon times. And yet he might have dealt well in London city for his desired stores. In the market of the Standard, near St. Paul's, were goldsmiths, and pepperers, and mercers. In Cornhill and Coleman Street were linen and woollen clothiers. In Lothbury were the brasiers. All along the great line through Lombard Street and West Chepe were shops with every variety of goods. But Thomas de la Dene chose to chaffer in the courtly quarters. While these feastings and bargainings were going forward in his household, bishop Swinfield was leading a more ostentatious life than in his quiet manor-houses. On Sunday, the 8th of January, he repairs in state to Westminster, and there he presents the king with a purse containing £66 13*s.* 4*d.*, and the queen with another sum of £33 6*s.* 8*d.* There is an air of magnificence in all his actions. At a feast in Westminster Hall, on that Sunday, the roof rang with the sounds of minstrelsy—the harp, the dulcimer, and the viol—and our bishop presented twenty shillings to each of the two chief harpers of the king. In that hall sate royal ladies amid the prelates and nobles. Joanna of Arc, whose wedding was approaching, and her sister Margaret, who was to be married to John of Brabant, would be there, with their rich quintises, as the costly robes of that day were called. The preposterous trains, and the muffled chins, were the ridicule of the fashion-satirists of this time. Bishop Swinfield goes to court each day in a boat; but some of his retinue ride thither to attend upon him. From their house near Queenhithe they would cross the river Fleet by a bridge; pass on by the great convent of White Friars; then leave the magnificent house and church of the Templars on the left; and, going through the bar known as Temple, be on the common highway of the Strand. In that rough road there were bridges also to cross; and in the wet season the footway, generally very foul, must have been almost impassable. In the city, however, there were foot-pavements, even at this early period; and, very shortly afterward, each housekeeper was compelled to pave the footway before his own door, even as far as Westminster.* There were conduits of water, though water-carriers abounded. Henry III. set the evil example—which we have followed till the abomination can no longer be borne—of carrying the refuse water from the royal kitchens by a sewer into the Thames. The open drains of the streets emptied themselves also into the river; but the deep cesspools of the dwelling-houses, of which there are abundant traces, prevented that universal pollution which we have too long endured, in the exchange of one evil for another. The houses of London were for the most part of wood; some were of wooden framework filled up with clay. There were external as well as internal staircases; the narrow windows had wooden shutters, which opened from the bottom, and were lifted up upon a hinge, and some had iron bars. Some stone houses there were, like that known as the Jew's house at Lincoln, which was more substantial and costly than those of the burgesses in general. But such a house, like the inferior dwellings, only consisted of a ground floor, and one story above. All the London houses were low. Henry III., according to Matthew Paris, expressed his surprise at the houses of three or four stories when he visited the French capital in 1254—a difference which the two cities have still preserved. All the London houses were whitewashed. Coal was not burned as common

* "Expenses of John of Brabant, in 1292." Camden Miscellany, vol. ii. p. iii.

† "Travelling Expenses in Thirteenth Century." Retrospective Review, vol. xv. p. 275.

* "Domestic Architecture," p. 96.

tel, though it was occasionally used. The black smoke did not yet ingle with the heavy atmosphere; and, in an age of dirt, London oked brighter than in an age of cleanliness.

The bishop of Hereford was very soon tired of London. He ex-used himself from attending the parliament; and, after a residence a week, retired to Kensington. He remained here three days, in e manor-house of the abbot of Abingdon, which stood upon the ot where Holland House was afterward built. He then set out on s way homeward, resting two days at his own manor-house of Early. ere came to see him two students who were maintained by him at e University of Oxford; their names were Kingswood, and there as a servant of that name in the bishop's establishment. During e vaca ions they usually visited their patron. The expense of their aintenance at the University and their incidental charges seem to ave amounted to half a mark per week—a considerable sum, if val-ed by the comparative power of money in those times. Six shil-ngs and eightpence weekly for two scholars was a sum probably not r short of three hundred pounds a year of our own times. It is easant to know, from this record, that the great men of those days ad an affectionate regard for youths of promise, and by giving em the best education opened their way to positions of public use-lness. Oxford was, at this period, in the highest repute. It was e abode of Friar Bacon and of other great scholars. The natural iences were rising out of the darkness of polemical discussions, to ve a practical direction to the speculations of philosophy. It was e age when the human mind was throwing off its shackles of ought and action.* Roger Bacon's tower did not fall upon a more arned man; but other men have carried forward his spirit of inves-gation, and each succeeding generation has witnessed new powers f observation and experiment, producing results as influential upon e condition of mankind as the great friar's supposed discovery of unpowder.

The bisho and his retinue have returned safely to their home of restbury by the 25th of January. Small accidents there have been the journey; a cart has been upset, and cups and dishes have to e replaced by the cook from the market of Gloucester. While he as away, two boys had been left, at board-wages, in the care of the ounds; and they are paid fourteen shillings and tenpence for their onth—not a low rate of earnings. The time of the bishop's visita-ons was now approaching. Some large portion of the expense of ese journeys was defrayed by what are termed procurations; most f the religious houses and incumbents being legally obliged to pro-ide lodgings for man and horse when the bishop, or the archdeacon, rrived with his retinue. The burdens which religious houses had o bear, when a proud ecclesiastic came upon them with a hundred orses, and with hawks and hounds, had been reduced into moderate imensions by papal and archiepiscopal regulations. Sometimes, herefore, we find the bishop of Hereford received with liberal hos-itality; at others he is obliged to be contented with a little hay, lit-er for his men, and brushwood for his fire. He begins his progress n the 3d of March. A messenger has preceded him, bearing letters nd citations in the painted box, which was his badge of office. The ay lies through clayey roads, where the shoes are dragged off the orses' feet, and there are frequent halts for the farrier, who accom-anies the train with large store of shoes and nails. Five miles only ere accomplished the first day. They go on at the same moderate ate, sometimes lodged in a rich abbey; occasionally entertained by lay impropriator, who was bound to provide the visitors; and some-mes having a small gift from a resident incumbent. At one place, hile the bishop is preaching, all the horses are baited at the cost of single penny. During this journey the bishop makes a long halt at ynlett in Shropshire. He has a heavy business on his mind. He as to address a long letter to the pope, on no less important a sub-ct than the canonization of his predecessor, bishop Cantilupe. A tter was then a solemn document, not hastily dispatched, as great inisters, ecclesiastic or lay, now conduct their correspondence. It as a document, fairly transcribed on the whitest parchment, to be reserved for generations. This was the age before the great inven-ion of paper, which made letters more universal, and allowed mis-ives to be sent upon domestic subjects, though still by special mes-engers. It was centuries before a post existed. Yet much writing as done by the great; and we have a record, in this roll, of a hun-red and fifty skins of parchment being bought at Oxford for three shillings and fourpence. The bishop proceeds after two days' seclu-sion; he crosses the Wye to visit the rich abbot and brethren of the Cistercian house of Tintern, which was in another diocese. Here he worships, on the feast of Saint Gregory, in that beautiful church, which had been just completed, whose ruins, now standing as if time approached them with reverential love, still inspire as holy thoughts as when the vaulted roof echoed the monk's loud chant, and the long procession moved along the aisles where we now tread upon the softest greensward, and look up at the open sky, as we hear the twit-tering of the sparrows amid the tall ivy-crowned columns. We cannot follow our bishop in his progress, though he moved through the most charming of England's landscapes, now following the course of the Wye, halting at Ross and Monmouth—now reaching the Welsh borders of Irchenfield, and giving a penny each to two harpers who came to welcome him—now feasting at the abbey of Dore in "the Gilden vale," whose woods and corn-fields, and fruitful meadows, have been eulogized by Camden—and now entertaining his border-friends in his own strong fortress of Bishop's Castle. In this spring he was out on two rounds of visitation—three weeks in March, and seven weeks in April and May—a season too early for pleasant travel-ling, but made endurable by kindly welcome from high and humble. The good prelate bears these fatigues and hospitalities without injury to his health; though on one occasion he burns a "mortar" or night-light in his chamber, which was only done in the case of illness. Once a physician came to the manor-house, who had a fee of six and eightpence. We find no record of fees to the barber for bleeding—the universal remedy for every ailment at this period. Some valet of the household was probably the blood-letter of bishop and clerks, of grooms and pages.

Bishop Swinfield is again settled in his manor-house of Bosbury. The old course of generous diet is resumed. Green peas and beans make their appearance at table in June and July. Grass is cut, and brought into the stables for the horses. Geese are bought, and put up to fatten. We have the garden, the meadow, and the poultry-yard on the domain. The number of eggs provided on certain days is quite astounding. At the Easter feast there were fourteen hundred brought in, and paid for at the rate of eight for a farthing. The gar-dens yield leeks, onions, garlic, and pot-herbs, besides the peas and beans. The salted greens consisted of some variety of the cabbage tribe. We trace no lettuces. Apples are once mentioned. Of pears and cherries, which were certainly then grown in England, we have no notice. The monks of Wardon, in Bedfordshire, were famous for the baking-pear, which gives a name to the Wardon-pie, "so often named in old descriptions of feasts, and which so many of our his-torical novelists have represented as huge pasties of venison, or other meat, suited to the digestive capacities of gigantic wardens of feudal days."* Gooseberries were not unknown at that period; but straw-berries and raspberries were not then cultivated in gardens. In the bishop's household there was no gardener included. It may be doubted whether there was any special cultivation of flowers; but we can easily imagine that some one of his bailiffs would have the rose and the gillyflower about his cottage, with "the fresh perwinke" of Chaucer (the periwinkle), and the wall-flower. We have no mention of bees; and once only, in his travels, does the bishop taste metheglin, or mead. But he had a vineyard at Ledbury, the produce of which yielded, in the autumn of 1289, seven casks of white wine and one of verjuice.

The bishop of Hereford went far from home in that year to pur-chase an estate—to Womenswould in Kent. There was a house there which required repairs, and additions had to be made. We have already indicated the very limited accommodation which even the manor-houses afforded; and some readers may unwillingly believe that the clerks and squires of a bishop, or the knights who surrounded a great baron, slept upon rushes on the floor of a great hall; yet the fact is indisputable. There is very little doubt that there was only one principal private chamber, even in some royal houses; and the indiscriminate use of the hall, as a sleeping apartment, "supplied themes for the ribald songs and tales of the earliest itinerant minstrels and romancers."† The private chamber, if of large dimensions, was sometimes divided by wooden partitions; but that dormitories were

* "Domestic Architecture," p. 138.
† Ibid., p. 17.

provided for guests and servants is wholly disproved by examination of the remains of houses of this period, and by the documents which detail the apartments of which a house was to consist. The lodge built for Edward I. at Woolmer, in Hampshire, comprised a hall, a large upper chamber, two wardrobes, and a chapel. The kitchen was always separate. Immediately the purchase of Womenswould was concluded, the trusty steward, Thomas de la Dene, plants an orchard of apple-trees, and sets about building and repairing in a manner which may give us some notion of the handicraft operations of those times. Workmen are about the place at Christmas, building a chapel and a kitchen. There are sawyers cutting out timber; masons raising up walls of the "Kentish rag;" carpenters putting up timber frame-work, nailing floors, and making fences out of old casks; plasterers filling up the interstices of the walls, and rendering the whole smooth and tight within; thatchers who use a great deal of straw for the roof; and laborers not a few, carting sand and fetching water. There was probably no well at hand, with its windlass and bucket, then constructed as at this day. The editor of the Roll thinks the workmen were 'nursing the job," which is not improbable. Be that as it may, the artisans were treated with consideration; for they attended the service of the parish church, and took their proper independent position among the congregation, by contributing at the offertory certain small sums, with which they were provided by their employer for Christmas day. The payments for materials and labor are not separated in the accounts. Mr. Turner says that the daily pay of carpenters, masons, and tylers, was threepence with keep, and fourpence halfpenny without. We rarely find any mention of bricks at this period. Lead was used for gutters, but it was not sold in sheets. Plumbers melted it on the spot where it was employed. In the same way the greater part of the rough furniture of the period was made on the spot by the carpenter—the tables and trestles, and benches of the hall; the chest and bedstead of the private chamber. There were chairs of state and reading-desks, such as we find represented in old manuscripts; but these were for the highest dignitaries. The smith's work was done also upon the spot. Nails and locks were obtained from the towns; and most probably the ornamental hinges, whose bars went across the panels for strength and ornament. But the rough iron-work, such as window-bars, was fashioned at the ambulatory forge. The iron-candlestick, with a spike to stick the candle on, was to be bought in towns, of which Gloucester was the chief for iron goods. A lump of wood, with a nail at the top, often served the same use. Ornamental candlesticks of silver were to be found in kings' palaces. The age of which we are treating, which has left us some of the noblest examples of ecclesiastical architecture, was very little advanced in the construction of elegant or even comfortable houses. It was a transition period, from the embattled fortress to the hospitable hall; and by the end of another century, when the conveniences of life came to be regarded as much as the security of possession, and property was more diffused among the general community, the yeoman was not satisfied that the roof of his cottage should let in the rain; that his settle by day should be his bed by night; and that his brass pot and trivet should be his only cooking utensils. Then came the time when the thrifty housewife had her linen sheets and her handsome counterpane; and the bellows, such as we use to this day, woke up her smoudering fire, while the infant was hushed in its cradle by the chimney nook.

The Household Roll of bishop Swinfield affords us some information, though not very abundant, of what relates to the Dress of this period. But what it tells is of more value in its relation to the general condition of the people than the wardrobe accounts of kings. We have seen Thomas de la Dene buying cloth and furs during his winter visit to London. He bought four pieces of coarse cloth, called Keyneth, at a high price, these costing 19*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* There was no difference in the dresses of the bishop and his clerks, one piece being apportioned to the lord's use. They were made up into long garments by a tailor, who received with the cloth the necessary materials of lining, binding, and thread. The bishop's brother, who was a layman, wore a short cloak. The squires and bailiffs had four pieces and six yards of striped cloth bought for them, which cost 14*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* The serving-men had three pieces and four yards of an inferior striped cloth, costing 7*l.* 11*s.* 10*d.* The grooms and pages had a still commoner sort, of which four pieces and a half cost 8*l.* 15*s.* 9*d.* Here is an expenditure for cloth, amounting to more than fifty pounds equal, according to the lowest calculation to seven hundred and fifty pounds of our present money value; and to a thousand pounds, at the rate we have previously adopted. But the furs, which chiefly marked the rank of the wearer, were also expensive. The bishop had a winter surtout of deerskin, and a furred cap, so that he was well protected in his cold journeys amid the Herefordshire hills. For official costume, his hoods were of minever, and his mantle were trimmed with the same costly material. The chaplains had also valuable fur-trimmings; and the squires and lay-clerks were distinguished by lambs' skins. The skins of foxes which were taken in the chase were dressed for use in this careful household. It was necessary to be provident in all matters of dress, for the expenditure for clothing was very large. There were summer cloths to be bought which arrived at Whitsuntide. They were of lighter texture, though woollen, and were denominated bluett and russet. The bishop and his clerks had still the same quality of stuff; and the servants were again distinguished by their striped dresses. There was a peculiarity in the cloth of that period. The nap was very long; and when the garment was a little shabby the nap was reshorn. The same sort of woollen cloth was worn by male and female, as the ordinary dress. The woollen manufacture of England was, at this period, well established. Totness was the great clothing town of the western district, Beverley of the northern, and Lincoln of the midland. Linen, fine enough for the bishop's rochets, was bought at Aylsham, in Norfolk. But a large portion of the wool of England was exchanged for foreign manufactures; and cloths, woollen and linen, were imported from France, Flanders, and Spain. Southampton was the great port for Bordeaux wine, though Bristol, as we have seen, stocked the cellars of the bishop of Hereford. The silks of Italy, the cottons and spices of India, the refined sugars of Alexandria, found their way to London and Southampton chiefly through the Low Countries. The Italians had become the great mercantile capitalists of England now that the Jews were driven out, and conducted the banking transactions with foreign countries, by arranging for remittances. They were also money-lenders at home; and we see Jacob de Brabason, of Sienna, coming to Bosbury, with two grooms and a page, to transact a little business with our good bishop.

The picture of domestic life which we have thus attempted to present might have been extended in some minute particulars; but we are desirous, while we consider the manners of a people as an essential part of history, not to intrude too largely upon its higher, though not exclusive, vocation, of tracing the great events, of delineating the prominent characters, and of following the gradual development of law and government from period to period.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Death of Margaret of Scotland—Statute of the Confirmation of the Charters—Claimants for the Scottish Crown—Conferences near Norham Castle—Claims of King Edward to feudal superiority—John Balliol king of Scotland—English Invasion of Scotland, 1296—Balliol resigns the Crown—William Wallace—Insurrection of 1297—Battle of Falkirk—Warfare prolonged by Wallace—Demand of the Pope—Parliament of Lincoln—Siege of Stirling—Capture and execution of Wallace — Robert Bruce slays Comyn—He is crowned king—The Feast of the Swans—Death of Edward I.

During the absence of Edward I. from England, from 1286 to 1289, the public events of the kingdom were not of great importance. There was an insurrection of the Welsh, in 1287, which was subdued by the king's justiciary; and the English people suffered greatly from the rapacity of judges, sheriffs, and other officers. Much of the plunder which they had extracted from the king's subjects the king compelled them to disgorge, in the form of fines to himself. It is not recorded that he made compensation to those whom his rapacious satellites had defrauded. While Edward was in Gascony, Alexander III., king of Scotland, had died. He had married Edward's sister, who, some years before, had died, leaving two sons, and a daughter, Margaret, who married Eric, king of Norway. The two sons of Alexander of Scotland died young; and Margaret, his grandchild, was the heir-apparent to the Scottish throne. Her right had been solemnly acknowledged in 1284, at Scone. In 1290 Edward had successfully negotiated a marriage for his son Edward, Prince of

Wales, with this young heiress of the Scottish crown. The maid of Norway, as she was called, set sail for England, but the voyage was so exhausting. She was compelled to land on one of the Orkney Islands, and there died, in October of that year. Had this marriage been accomplished, it is not improbable that some of the fierce national contests and the terrible border-feuds of three centuries might have been spared. There were no distinctions of race and language, at the end of the thirteenth century, to have prevented that more intimate union of the two countries which would have resulted from such an alliance as that contemplated by the politic king of England. The great nobles of each nation were essentially of the same Norman blood. Some had possessions in both countries. The strong national feeling of the Scotch was carefully provided for in this treaty of marriage, by which it was declared that the laws and liberties of Scotland should be inviolably observed, and that the kingdom should remain free and without subjection. But, nevertheless, Edward introduced a clause, saving to himself the rights which existed before the date of the treaty, by which clause he strove to maintain his claim to feudal superiority. Still, a gradual course of friendly intercommunication might have produced, even under the feudal system, a real union between countries so essentially connected by nature and social interests. An attempt was made to effect that union by sudden conquest; and the attempt alienated England and Scotland for many generations. The perfect amalgamation of the two countries was the work of four centuries. Institutions effected what despotic power could not accomplish. But the long fight of Scotland for national independence had the consequence of making the alliance of the two kingdoms more complete and enduring when it was ultimately perfected. The Englishman who now reads the deeds of Wallace and Bruce, or hears the stirring words of one of the noblest lyrics of any tongue, feels that the call to "lay the proud usurpers low" is one which stirs his blood as much as that of the born Scotsman—for the small distinctions of locality have vanished, and the great universal sympathies for the brave and the oppressed stay not to ask whether the battle for freedom was fought on the banks of the Thames or of the Forth. The mightiest schemes of despotism speedily perish. The union of nations is accomplished only by a slow but secure establishment of mutual interests and equal rights.

King Edward had passed his fiftieth year when the third great struggle of his life was coming on. He was in the prime of youthful manhood when he won the battle of Evesham. He was past the middle term of his days when he subjected Wales to his dominion. His war against the independence of Scotland endured till he sank under its fatigues and anxieties, an aged man. But at every stage of his existence he was a prince of indomitable energy; with an ambition, not ill regulated, but aspiring to great ends by courses which we now think cruel and unjust. Hateful as some of his acts seem, they were in accordance with the spirit of his age. Possessing the strong will which distinguished so many of the Norman kings, he had a constant desire to exercise it in endeavoring to rule in England by prerogative rather than by law. But he had always the good sense to yield at the proper moment, when that will was resisted by a power as strong as his own—that of the parliament, which now, to some extent, spoke the voice of the commonalty, as well as that of the aristocracy and the Church. The designs of the king upon Scotland, maturing at the time when he had disputes with Philip of France, could not be carried through without the imposition of heavy taxes. Edward had several times endeavored to escape from the obligations of the Charters, and had refused to confirm them, such confirmation at that period being thought necessary to their validity. It was in 1297, when the Scots were in arms against the claims of the king of England, that his subjects exacted from him the Statute of the Confirmation of the Charters. This famous law went, however, much farther than the previous charters, in placing the liberties of the country upon a solid foundation. The king's prerogative of levying tallage from his towns and tenants in demesne had not been adequately resisted. He had imposed a large duty on the export of wool, the great produce of the land. The growers of the country and the merchants of the ports were alike interested in setting limits to this power. It could no longer be exercised after the passing of this statute but "by the common assent of the realm."* There were two eminent men at that time who fought this great battle of the constitution—Humphrey Bohun, earl of Hereford and Essex, and Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk. These men were to the age of Edward I. what John Hampden was to the age of Charles I. When these sturdy patriots called upon the sheriffs to levy no more taxes till the Charters were confirmed without any insidious reservation of the rights of the crown, the Plantagenet, imperious and bold as he was, felt that it was true wisdom to yield. The Stuart perished upon the scaffold, because he would never yield in his own cause, which he thought the only "good cause." There was a time when the exactions of Edward upon the Church and the laity were very nearly exciting another civil war, such as he had witnessed under De Montfort. He was stripping the clergy of their possessions; he was not only taxing wool and hides at an unprecedented rate, but seizing merchandise and agricultural produce without present payment, in the most wanton exercise of purveyance. Bohun and Bigod then openly resisted the king's commands that they should sail with a reinforcement of troops to his army in Gascony. The king assembled the clergy and the people at Westminster. He lamented that he had been compelled to impose heavy burdens upon them, for the sole purpose of protecting them against the Welsh, the Scots, and the French, who sought *his* crown while they thirsted for *their* blood. The king sailed for Flanders. The barons then rose in arms, but they strictly preserved the peace of the kingdom. The young prince Edward was surrounded by a council; and by their advice the famous Statute of the Confirmation of the Charters was agreed to, and sent to the king abroad. From that day, the 10th of October, 1297, the sole right of raising supplies has been invested in the people. But this most salutary power, which is the greatest of the many distinctions between a limited and a despotic monarchy, would never have been obtained if the king had not been encompassed with present difficulties and apprehended future danger. The parliament demanded his signature to their Act by the 6th of December. The Scots had obtained a great victory at Stirling; Edward was opposed in Flanders by a superior force of the French king. On the 5th of November, at Ghent, he signed the Act which was never reversed, although he often struggled hard to violate it. The resistance of Scotland to oppression had thus a powerful influence upon the liberties of England. The Letters Patent of the king, which accompanied the Confirmation of the Charters, granting a full pardon to Humphrey de Bohun, Roger Bigod, and others, "for certain disobediences," and "certain alliances and assemblies of armed people, made against our will and prohibition," show how strong a necessity existed that Edward should set aside, as he expressly does in this remarkable document, "all manner of rancor and indignation" which he "had conceived against them."* With these connecting observations, let us proceed in the narrative of that great contest which commenced at Norham in 1291, when King Edward claimed to be "sovereign lord of the land of Scotland."

The danger which was impending upon Scotland, through the unexpected death of Margaret of Norway, is strongly expressed in a letter from the bishop of St. Andrew's to King Edward. The prelate says that there has gone forth a mournful rumor that their lady is dead; that the kingdom is consequently disturbed, and the community divided; that civil war and great slaughter will ensue unless the king devises a remedy. Robert de Brus and John de Balliol are mentioned in this letter, and De Brus is pointed at as one whose determinations are doubtful.† When the rumor was confirmed, there arose abundant competitors for the crown of Scotland. Thirteen of these claimants appeared; but the pretensions of ten of the number were so frivolous that the old historians of Scotland have made it a charge against Edward that he listened to their claims merely to embarrass the proceedings, with reference to the three who had real grounds for their demands. These three were the descendants of David, earl of Huntingdon, the brother of William, king of Scotland, the predecessor of Alexander II. and of Alexander III., whose direct line was extinct by the death of the young Margaret. David had three daughters. From the first daughter was descended John Balliol, David's great-grandson; from the second daughter Robert Bruce, David's grandson; from the third daughter, John Hastings, David's great-

* The statute "De non tallagio concedendo" is a sort of summary of the same enacting clauses in the "Confirmatio Chartarum."

* "Statutes of the Realm," vol. i. p. 124.

† The letter, in Latin, is given in "Fœdera," new edit., vol. i. part ii. p. 741.

grandson. The representative of the elder daughter was remote by one degree; the representative of the second daughter was nearer by one degree; the third claimant was inferior to both the others as representative, and was inferior to one in his remoteness of degree. In a matter so clear, according to our recognized law of descents, it seems difficult to imagine how the claim of Balliol could have been disputed. But the question was complicated by the pretensions of Hastings, who held that the kingdom was partible among the descendants of the three daughters of David, earl of Huntingdon. The states of Scotland referred the decision to Edward, king of England.

On the 10th of May, 1291, a solemn assembly was held near Norham, in Northumberland. Edward came with many of his nobles, according to a summons issued on the 16th of April, to meet him there "with horses and arms and all the service they owed."* There was a calm deliberation in the king's proceedings which sufficiently shows that his course was regulated by the most settled policy. From the 10th of May to the 13th of June there were ten solemn conferences, the particulars of which are recorded by a notary, Master John de Cudamus, with all the precision of a modern protocol.† These conferences, as the notary informs us, were held in a green meadow, under the sky, opposite the castle of Norham, on the Scotch bank of the river of Tweed. The poet of chivalry has painted "Norham's castled steep" of another period; but "the battle towers" never looked upon a more important scene than when the barons and prelates of Scotland met in that green meadow—with the Tweed "broad and deep" sparkling in the summer sun, and "Cheviot's mountains lone" closing in the distance—to hear Edward of England, by his chancellor, demand their recognition of his superiority and dominion over them.

At the first meeting of the 10th of May, Roger de Brabançon, chief-justice of England, addressed the assembly in the French language, setting forth that Edward, king of England, was come, as superior and direct lord, to do justice to the claimants to the crown of Scotland; but that he first required the assent of the states to his own claim to superiority and direct dominion. The answer was postponed till the next day; and then a further adjournment of the meeting was required. On the 2d of June, Robert Burnel, bishop of Bath and Wells, and chancellor of England, made a long harangue, also in French, in which he stated that no answer having been given to the king's demand that his superiority should be acknowledged, he should ask Robert Bruce, lord of Annandale, whether he was willing to receive judgment from the king of England, as sovereign and direct lord of Scotland; to which Robert Bruce answered that he did so acknowledge the king of England, and, as such, he was ready to submit to his decision. The same question was put to each of the other candidates present, and the same answer was given. John Balliol was not in attendance, but he subsequently gave in the same acknowledgment. In another assembly king Edward stated that he did not exclude himself from any claim to the kingdom of Scotland by hereditary right. Finally, a solemn instrument of the recognition was drawn up and signed; and commissioners were appointed from both nations to assist in taking evidence as to the claims to the crown. In these proceedings it is difficult to regard the pretensions of Edward to be the feudal lord of Scotland as a new claim arising out of his own tyrannous and unscrupulous nature. The kings of Scotland, from the earliest times, had done homage to the English sovereigns, either in their character of Scottish monarchs or as holders of fiefs in England. The precise nature of that homage has now become a mere antiquarian problem. It was debated at one time with all the fury of national partisanship. The Scottish nobles, who so readily admitted the claims of Edward, looked at this question with a more intimate knowledge of the nice limits between feudal submission and national independence than we can possess. They were not the less patriots because they acknowledged the right of Edward, as superior lord, to decide who should fill their vacant throne. When the question of right was resolved into one of might, by the king of England going beyond the just boundaries of his feudal claims, they nobly asserted the independence of their country. As duke of Gascony, Edward himself was a vassal of the crown of France; and had acknowledged the French king's claims to superiority, with great reluctance. We have repeatedly seen how the kings of England were in arms against their feudal superior; and how the independent dominion of territory after territory had been surrendered by them. What Edward had submitted to he was, of all men, the most likely to enforce. When, after a long course of deliberation, the commissioners had reported in favor of John Balliol, and the king of England had confirmed the decision, he resigned the castles which had been put into his hands pending the inquiry. But he required Balliol to do homage to him as his "liege man for Scotland," saying, "which kingdom I hold, and ought of right, and claim to hold by inheritance, for myself and my heirs, kings of Scotland, of you and your heirs, kings of England." Had Balliol not made this submission he would have violated the solemn act done in the green meadow opposite Norham Castle. The whole question assumed a different character when the theory of feudal submission was attempted to be converted into a practical enforcement of humiliating services.

Edward was not slow in the application of his notions of what constituted "faith and loyalty" in a royal vassal of Scotland. It may probably be attributed as much to the anomalies of the feudal system as to the individual character of the man, that we find Edward, in 1293, summoning Balliol to his court at Westminster to answer to charges of maladministration, and refusing himself, in 1294, to appear at the court of the king of France to answer for the alleged misconduct of some of the people of Gascony. Balliol goes to Westminster, and is treated with some indignity. Edward refuses to go to Paris, and his fiefs in France are declared forfeited. A war ensues. Edward renounces his fealty to France, and raises a large army to assert his independence. The Welsh take the opportunity of rising; but they are defeated when Edward postpones his French expedition to put himself at the head of his troops in Wales. The revolt was very serious, and the king himself was besieged in Conway Castle, and reduced to the extremest necessity. His gallant bearing in sharing the last flagon of wine with his few brave men is recorded by the chronicler, Henry Knyghton. Conway was at last relieved; and Edward pursued his stern career of punishing revolters and building castles. At last, having subdued the Welsh, he began to make his dominion felt in Scotland. The Scottish barons now understood what the feudal submission of their king really implied; and they incited Balliol to assert the independence of their country. He resigned the conduct of the war which was impending to twelve guardians of the realm; and a secret treaty was concluded between Scotland and France. In 1296 Edward was on his march to Scotland. The great question was to be brought to issue by a stronger instrument than that of a citation to Westminster.

According to writs which were sent out in December, 1295, a large force assembled at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, on the 1st of March, 1296. There is a very curious narrative of this invasion of Scotland, written by a contemporary, which, however brief the details, presents an authentic chronicle of those events of twenty-one weeks which so materially affected the future of the two kingdoms.* On the 28th of March king Edward crossed the Tweed, with five thousand horsemen and thirty thousand foot. On the 30th he "took the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed by force of arms, without tarrying." This little phrase, "by force of arms," means that this important place—a free port whose customs amounted to a fourth of those of all England—a commercial emporium, full of the wealth which belongs to a large interchange with foreign countries—that this second Alexandria, as it was termed, was taken by assault; its inhabitants, to the number of many thousands, massacred; and the whole place given up to pillage.† The king and his host remained there a month "every man in the house that he had gotten." Many of the Scotch nobles, among others Robert Bruce, sided with Edward. While the king was at Berwick, a messenger arrived with a letter from Balliol, renouncing his fealty, and refusing to obey the summons of Edward to appear before him. "The felon fool," exclaimed the king, "since he will not come to us we will go to him." While at Berwick the king dispatched a portion of his army to Dunbar, which

* "Fœdera," new edit., vol. i. part ii. p. 753.
† "Fœdera," vol. i. part ii. p. 762.

* "The Voyage of King Edward into Scotland," with observations by Sir N. H. Nicolas. "Archæologia," vol. xxi.
† Hemingford, a chronicler who died in 1347, is the authority for this statement. The narrative in the "Archæologia" says nothing of the slaughter.

was in the hands of the Scottish forces. A great battle ensued between the English and Scotch, in which Sir Patrick Graham and ten thousand men were slain. Edward himself arrived at the castle, which was surrendered on the 29th of April. Onward went the "ruthless king," capturing Roxburgh Castle, on his way to Edinburgh, where he arrived on the 6th of June. He immediately commenced a siege of the castle, "having caused there to be set up three engines casting into the castle day and night." The siege was not finished on the eighth day, when the king went forward, leaving "the engines casting still before the castle." On the 14th of June Stirling surrendered without resistance, the garrison having "run away, and left none but the porter, which did render the keys." The king proceeded to Montrose, which he reached on the 7th of July, where he remained till the 10th; "and there came to him king John of Scotland to his mercy, and did render quietly the realm of Scotland, as he that had done amiss." Fordun, the Scottish historian, describes the ceremony as one in which the humiliated monarch, putting off his royal ornaments, and holding a white rod in his hand, resigned, with his crown and sceptre, all the right he had, or might have, in the kingdom of Scotland, into the hands of the king of England. This important act having been accomplished, Edward proceeded to Aberdeen, "a fair castle and a good town on the sea." He probably went farther north, as far as Elgin. Before he returned, he sent the bishop of Durham, and other of the military leaders, "to search the country;" and he himself went into desolate places, such as Interkeratche—"where there was no more than three houses in a row between two mountains." It is unnecessary to trace the victor's cause southward. He returned to Berwick, having "conquered and searched the kingdom of Scotland, as is aforesaid, in twenty-one weeks without any more." At Berwick the king of England held a parliament, and there he received the homage of the bishops, barons, and knights of Scotland. He appointed John Warrenne, earl of Surrey, regent of the subjected kingdom; and moved on to London, with the crown and sceptre which John Balliol had surrendered, and with the sacred stone, "the stone of destiny," on which the Scottish kings were seated at their inauguration. Castles, hostages, regalia were the king of England's. But the heart of the people was not his. The conquest was not accomplished.

Toward the end of the fifteenth century there was living a Scotch minstrel, whom John Major, the historian, saw when he was a boy. This minstrel was Blind Harry, whose spirited poem on the deeds of William Wallace contains some portions of authentic history intermixed with much fable. The Scotch poet, blind from his birth, collected many of the legendary tales which the more ancient minstrels used to recite in hall and castle; and as the stirring theme for several centuries was the independence of Scotland, the favorite hero was the man who had excited a national resistance to the English power, when the whole country was apparently prostrate at the feet of the First Edward. William Wallace was essentially the hero of the people. There was scarcely a Scottish noble who had not sworn fealty to the English king, and exhorted his countrymen to submission. One man, not of noble birth, was hiding in the mountains with a few followers; and out of the partisan warfare which he carried on was engendered the spirit which finally made Scotland free. The early life of William Wallace belongs to legend rather than to history. At the time that Balliol surrendered his crown to Edward, Wallace is supposed to have been about twenty-five years of age. He is said to have been the younger of two sons of Sir Malcolm Wallace of Ellerslie, and his paternal residence was in the neighborhood of Paisley. The youthful deeds of Wallace, as reflected in tradition, mark him from the first as a hater of oppression. He is fishing in the river of Irvine, near Ayr, and some English soldiers attempt to seize his well-filled basket. He kills one of the rude warriors with the butt-end of his fishing-rod, and puts the others to flight. Another tradition is that he slew the son of the English governor of Dundee, who had offered him some insult. A third legend connects his patriotic career with an outrage upon his dearest affections. Walking with his wife in the town of Lanark, an Englishman ridicules his gay garments, and a quarrel ensues, which ends in the death of the man who insulted Scotland in Wallace's person. He flies to a wild bushy glen called the Cartland-crags, and there hears that his house has been burned, and his wife and children put to death, by the ferocious English governor. He collects a band around him; and descending upon the town of Ayr fearfully revenges an act of treachery committed by another English governor. The fame of his exploits goes through the land. Nobles flock to the standard of the obscure man; and Wallace, the outlaw, became the commander of a great army. He was joined by Sir William Douglas, Sir John Graham, and ultimately by Robert Bruce, the grandson of the Bruce who competed with Balliol for the crown. A general revolt against the English authority broke out in the spring of 1297. Edward was in Gascony. But two powerful armies were formed in Scotland; and that on the western coast, under Henry Lord Percy, and Sir Robert Clifford, came in presence of the Scots near Irvine. The high-born who had joined Wallace when danger was afar off, deserted him when the army of England was in their front. Bruce, and Douglas, and other nobles, agreed to acknowledge Edward as their sovereign lord. Sir William Wallace—for he then bore the title which belongs to knighthood—and Sir Andrew Moray, with a considerable body of adherents, retired to the north. The national spirit soon gave him the means of compensating for the desertion of the proud nobles, who dreaded the loss of their estates. Wallace had only honor to lose. But the tenants of many of the Scottish chiefs were secretly encouraged to join the insurgents. After various successes, Wallace met the English army near the town of Stirling. His position was on the north side of the Forth. The English approached the river on the southern bank. Warrenne, the guardian of the kingdom appointed by Edward, offered pardon to Wallace and his followers if they would lay down their arms. The offer was indignantly rejected. The English, on the morning of the 10th of September, began to cross the river by a narrow bridge; and when a portion of the army, horse and foot, had passed, Wallace poured down from the hills upon the separated force, and nearly all the English on the north bank perished by the sword or in the stream. The treasurer of Edward, Cressingham, was one of the slain. The chief loss on the side of the Scotch was Sir Andrew Moray. Warrenne retreated rapidly into England. Every place of strength was abandoned; and Wallace, with the son of Moray, at the head of the army, which they proclaimed to be that of John, king of Scotland, crossed the Tweed, and, for several weeks, made fearful ravages upon Northumberland and Cumberland. It was at this moment that the English barons obtained the Confirmation of the Charters. The Scottish army penetrated as far south as Newcastle. At Hexham, on the 7th of November, a protection of the prior and convent of that place was granted by Andrew Moray and William Wallace, commanders-in-chief of the army of Scotland, in the name of King John, and by consent of the community of the said kingdom. John Balliol was then in the Tower of London. This Andrew Moray was a worthy successor of the friend of Wallace, who fell at the battle of Stirling-bridge. Just before this invasion of England, a letter was addressed in the names of Moray and Wallace to the authorities of Lubeck and Hamburg, stating that their merchants should now have free access to all the ports of the kingdom of Scotland, seeing that the kingdom, by the favor of God, had been recovered from the power of the English. After his return from the invasion of England, we find that, in 1298, as appears in a charter, dated on the 29th of March, "William Walleys, miles," is styled "Custos regni Scotiæ"—he is guardian of the kingdom in the name of King John.

The elevation which Wallace had now attained was not of long endurance. The nobles said, "We will not have this man to rule over us." When Edward, having hurried from France, was once again in Scotland, which he entered in the June of 1298, the attachment of the humbler classes of the people was not powerful enough to sustain the great popular leader in his triumphant course. The nobles kept aloof. He had a numerous army of enthusiastic followers; but these partisans were chiefly on foot. The knightly horsemen were hiding from the wrath of the English king. Edward came on with his mailed chivalry and his terrible bowmen. At Falkirk the unequal forces met. The king, now in his sixtieth year, had lost nothing of his youthful energy, or of that personal courage which especially marked the great leader in the times when it was the business of a commander to possess the sturdy arm as well as the directing head. Advancing to this field of Falkirk, Edward was thrown from his horse, and broke two of his ribs. Regardless of the injury, he led his cavalry forward to meet the whole Scottish army, standing in close array. Wallace knew that the only safety was in the

most desperate resistance; and he said to his men, "I have brought you to the ring, now let me see how you can dance." Matthew of Westminster, who is full of fury against the Scottish leader—which appears to have been excited by the atrocities which his followers committed in the north of England—tells this anecdote, adding, "And so fled himself from the battle, leaving his people to be slain by the sword." Wallace was not a man to fly. He fought in that field of Falkirk, in which his spearmen long stood up against the English knights, till his friends, Stewart and Graham, and thousands who have left no name, had fallen. All was finished. Wallace, according to tradition, hid himself in an oak in the adjoining forest, of which Sir Walter Scott saw the roots when he was a boy. There is another Wallace Oak near Paisley, which is connected with the early life of the hero, whose adventures are still associated with many a glen and woody covert. For seven years after the fatal battle of Falkirk we hear little of Sir William Wallace. He was deprived of his office of guardian of the kingdom. The war was continued; but Bruce, and Comyn, and the bishop of St. Andrews, were joint guardians, in the name of Balliol. Wallace carried on his former system of desultory warfare, which had first roused a general resistance to Edward. Legendary history tells of his mighty deeds; and, though the poetical spirit may exaggerate his physical prowess and his loftiness of heart, Wallace was still animating his countrymen to a resistance of which he did not witness the triumph, but of which his example set forth the first great sustaining principle. That the career of Wallace was one of patriotism, in the loftiest sense of the word, may be doubted; nor was it upheld by those high social considerations by which the opposition to injustice becomes a great moral effort, as in the instance of Washington. It was probably excited originally by the hatred that belongs to race. Wallace was a native of the old kingdom of Strath-Clyde, where the British language and British traditions lingered through many generations; and the spirit that inspired "the land of Wales," and which all the changes of modern civilization cannot wholly eradicate, was probably the source of much of Wallace's resistance to the Anglo-Norman rule. To dress him up in the fanciful garb of pure heroism, as romance, and even history, have attempted to do, is to falsify the character of his age. He was cruel, as all men of that time were cruel. He shrunk not from private slaughter, or general massacre, as few did in the days when ferocity appeared to be an ingredient of courage. The great vindicator of Scottish independence who came after him commenced his career with a murder. Edward the king, though politically lenient and merciful, coolly ordered many butcheries in open warfare, and sanctioned many atrocious revenges upon those who resisted his domination. We must judge all such men with impartiality. We must not exalt them into patterns of virtue, or degrade them into monsters of brutality. The system under which they were born and lived made their actions a perpetual struggle for ill-defined power. Their contemporaries were not in a condition to view these actions through a just medium. In the eyes of the monk of Westminster, William Wallace was "a robber, a sacrilegious man, an incendiary, and a homicide." Posterity has set aside all this prejudice. But the opinion of modern times has not surrendered itself to the belief that the spirit which animated King Edward and his English in their dealings with Wales and Scotland was that of unmitigated tyranny and mere hatred of freedom. There was sound statesmanship in those days, which knew that a small country, physically united as Britain is, could not be safe or prosperous under a divided government. The mistake of that policy was the usual one of endeavoring to anticipate the natural processes of union by the disturbing influences of conquest.

While Wallace was carrying on his desultory warfare, the new regents followed up a measure which the previous government had originated, in appealing to the interference of the pope to protect Scotland from the aggressions of the English king. The envoys of Bruce and Comyn demanded this interference upon the ground that Scotland was a realm which belonged of right to the see of Rome. In June, 1299, the pope, Boniface, set forward this pretension in a letter addressed to Edward, and demanded that every controversy between England and Scotland should be referred to the decision of the pontiff. The delivery of the letter was delayed for more than a year; and upon its arrival Edward returned for answer that he should submit the matter to his parliament. On the 20th of January, 1301, a parliament was accordingly assembled at Lincoln. The sagacity of the king was never more strikingly exemplified than in this proceeding. In the first burst of his passion he vowed that if he heard more of these inordinate pretensions he would exterminate the Scots from sea to sea. The independence of England was threatened in these papal proceedings; and Edward wisely called together the representatives of the nation to speak the nation's voice. To this parliament of Lincoln there came upward of three hundred persons—prelates, abbots, barons, knights, and burgesses. The pope received an answer which was worthy of a great representative assembly. He was told that "it is, and by the grace of God shall always be, our common and unanimous resolve, that with respect to the rights of his kingdom of Scotland, or other his temporal rights, our aforesaid lord the king shall not plead before you, nor submit in any manner to your judgment, nor suffer his right to be brought into question by any inquiry, nor send agents or procurators for that purpose to your court." The English representatives, whether or not they thought their king had just claims as regarded Scotland, showed a spirit which would not brook that insolent assumption of temporal power which the popes had so often attempted to exercise. It is impossible not to respect those bishops and abbots who spurned the pretensions of their spiritual head as boldly as knight or baron or sturdy tradesman. We note the burgesses as tradesmen; for in that parliament sat Stephen Stanham, a merchant of Lincoln, who dealt in sugar and figs and herrings and stockfish, in company with two archbishops, eighteen bishops, and eighty-nine knights and barons.* The pontiff was not in a condition to visit Edward and his parliament with any ecclesiastical penalties. There arose a controversy, in which the king traced back the superiority of his predecessors over Scotland to the days of Brute, the Trojan; and the Scottish envoy replied that they cared not for Brute or his institutions, for they were sprung from Scota, the daughter of Pharaoh. The quarrel, as far as the pope was concerned, evaporated in these learned researches. Edward, in the mean time, had concluded a truce with Scotland, which lasted for ten months of the year 1302. He had been negotiating a peace with France, but a demand was made that Scotland should be included. To this demand the English assent was refused, and the war was renewed at the beginning of 1303. Stirling Castle was taken by the Scots; and the English army was defeated at Roslin. Edward had now made peace with France, and obtained the restoration of Gascony. He was thus ready to carry his personal vigor to the Scottish war. He soon enforced an unwilling submission; and concluded a treaty with Comyn, and the other leaders, on the 9th of February, 1304. Wallace was not included in the capitulation; but it was said that he might, if he pleased, give himself up to the king's will and grace. He was afterward summoned to appear before a parliament of nobles of the two nations; but he continued contumacious, and was pronounced an outlaw. The reduction of Scotland was completed in the summer of that year, by the surrender of Stirling. Edward himself conducted the memorable siege of this important castle. Sir John Oliphant defended the fortress for three months, with a garrison of only a hundred and forty men. The king in the first month had exhausted his stores of warlike missiles, and had to command his English sheriffs to buy up and send him fresh supplies of cross-bows and quarrels. Famine at last compelled a capitulation. There were women in that devoted castle who shared the sufferings of their husbands and brothers. At length the gates were opened, and a sad procession of Oliphant and twenty-five of his men was moving down the hill of Stirling, each barefoot and with a halter round his neck, to kneel before the king. Edward, say some, turned aside to wipe the tears from his eyes, and granted their lives.

Wallace, the most constant of the leaders who had fought in this great war of independence, was at length taken prisoner near Glasgow. He was conducted to Dunbarton Castle; and as the noble outlaw mounted the rocky stair which led to his dungeon, he must have felt that nothing was left for him but to die bravely as he had lived. His two-handed sword was hung up in the keep of Dunbarton, never again to be drawn against tyrannous Anglo-Norman or treacherous Scot. An attempt has been made to disprove the tradi-

* See article on "The Parliaments of Lincoln," in "Proceedings of the Archæological Institute," 1848.

tion that he was betrayed by Sir John Menteith, who was governor of Dunbarton under Edward; but a document has been discovered by which it appears that various large sums were given to persons who had watched Wallace and assisted in his capture, and that land to the value of one hundred pounds was assigned to Menteith.* Strongly fettered, he was hurried on the road to the south on the 5th of August 1305. On the 22d he arrived in London, and was lodged in the house of a citizen, William de Leyse, in Fenchurch Street. On the next day he was conducted on horseback to Westminster Hall, surrounded by the mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen. The undaunted man, crowned with a garland of oak, as a king of outlaws, was arraigned as a traitor to the English crown. "Traitor I could never be, for I was not a subject of king Edward," was his reply. His execution was determined on before this mock-trial. Sentence of death was pronounced against him. He was dragged at the tails of horses through the streets to a gallows standing at the Elms at Smithfield. The horrible barbarities of an execution for treason having been gone through, his head was struck off, and placed upon a pole on London Bridge. His body was divided into four quarters. William Wallace, thus betrayed and outraged, was never so dangerous to the power of King Edward as when his mutilated arms and legs were exhibited to the Scottish people on the public places of Newcastle, Berwick, Perth, and Aberdeen. Sir Simon Fraser, one of the brave adherents of Wallace, was also executed in the same year, and his head was placed on London Bridge beside that of his great leader. There was exultation in London over the fate of these brave men. There was wailing in Scotland; but the lament was smothered in a passionate desire for revenge. In four months Robert Bruce was in arms.

John Balliol, the King John of Scotland, was dead. His son was in captivity in London; and the name of Balliol was held in scorn. Robert Bruce, the grandson of the competitor for the crown, was now twenty-three years of age. He had vacillated between submission to Edward and adherence to the cause of independence. Scotland had been apparently settled by the pacific policy of Edward; and young Bruce appeared to be in his confidence. John Comyn, the son of Balliol's sister, was an object of jealousy to the king of England, for he in some degree represented the rights of the Balliol family, with a boldness which might have been dangerous. Bruce came to Scotland. In the choir of the church of the Minorites, in Dumfries, Bruce and Comyn met in private conference. According to Fordun, the ancient feud between the two families was the cause of the fatal result which ensued from this meeting. Bruce plunged his dagger into the breast of Comyn, and hurried out of the church. The attendants of Bruce completed the murder. The guilt of blood was upon Bruce; and the old Scottish historians have surrounded the mysterious transaction with alleged circumstances of treachery on the part of Comyn, calculated to remove some portion of the odium from the memory of their great patriot. It was an age when human life was held at a cheap rate; and the violation of a sacred place by murder was considered a greater crime than the murder itself. But the deed, whether rash or premeditated, admitted of no hesitating policy. Bruce immediately assumed the title of king, and he was crowned as King Robert of Scotland, at Scone, on the 27th of March. Edward was now failing in health; but at a solemn festival in London he conferred the degree of knighthood on his son Prince Edward, and on many of the young nobility; and at a great banquet, when two swans were placed on the table of the regal hall, the king swore, before God and the swans, that he would revenge the murder of Comyn, and punish the rebels who had thus defied him. Such were the vows of chivalry, which were often thus taken at the feast of the peacock. The feast of the two swans was probably held to be even more important than that of the bird of bright plumage. The prince departed with a large company of knights the next morning. The king, who, apprehensive of his approaching end, had begged that his body might remain unburied till his vow was accomplished by his son, slowly followed. Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, was in the neighborhood of Perth, when the army of King Robert attacked him. The result was defeat. Bruce escaped with a small band of his followers; and for several months the fugitives wandered amid the Grampian hills, sustaining many severe privations. During their leader's retreat the more important of his followers were imprisoned or executed. Among the prisoners was the wife of Bruce, to whom Edward assigned a suitable residence. The sister of Bruce, and the countess of Buchan, who placed the crown on his head at Scone, were confined for several years at Berwick and Roxburgh. In the spring of 1307 King Robert came forth from his retreat. He was again joined by many adherents, and he obtained some successes over the earl of Pembroke and the earl of Gloucester. On the 3d of July King Edward, with a large army, set out from Carlisle on horseback. His impatience to take the field against the insurgents would no longer endure the restraint which was demanded by his bodily weakness. The effort was fatal. Edward I. expired at Burgh-on-the-Sands on the 7th of July.

* "Documents Illustrative of the History of Scotland." Palgrave.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Edward of Caernarvon—His early conduct—Crowned—Piers Gaveston—His murder at Blacklow Hill—Robert Bruce in Scotland—His successes—Reconciliation of Edward and the Barons—Invasion of Scotland—Bannockburn—The Scots in Ireland—The Despensers—Insurrection of the Barons—Fall of Lancaster—Retreat of Edward from Scotland—Final truce—The Templars.

EDWARD of Caernarvon was twenty-three years old when his father died. His elder brother, Alphonso, died the year after Edward was born. His mother, Eleanor of Castile, died when this, her only surviving son, was seven years old. That excellent mother would probably have guided his course better than his stern father. The crosses which were erected on the road by which her funeral passed from Grantham to Westminster, preserved her memory for generations among the English, and called forth many a prayer for the repose of her soul. Edward probably forgot that memory in the wild excesses of his youth Under the year 1300, Fabyan, the chronicler, writes, "This year, the king, for complaint that was brought unto him by master Walter Langton, bishop of Chester, of Sir Edward, his eldest son, for that he, with Piers of Gaveston and other insolent persons, had broken the park of the said bishop, and riotously destroyed the game within it, he therefore imprisoned the said Sir Edward, his son, with his accomplices." On a subsequent occasion, when the prince was in his twenty-first year, he had a quarrel with the same bishop; and the king then forbade him entering his house, and issued an order to the exchequer that sustenance should be denied to him and his followers. There is extant a penitential letter of the prince on this occasion. There are many other letters of the young Edward, which, it is said, "evince his readiness of disposition to assist those who stood in need of his interference and bounty."* This kindliness of nature is not incompatible with his impulsive character—a combination of a weak understanding with a passionate will. He was not wanting in courage; for at seventeen he was leading a battalion against the Scots on the banks of the Irvine. In 1303 he was again with his father in Scotland. In 1306, as we have related, he preceded his father in the expedition against Bruce; and he then marked his course by such unsparing devastation that the king, it is asserted, upbraided him with his cruelty. He had not the wisdom of his father to know that leniency is far more effective than terror, under many circumstances. At this crisis the evil tendencies of the young Edward were manifesting themselves in the most offensive manner; for in February, 1307, at a parliament held at Lanercost, an order was issued that Piers Gaveston should be banished forever from the kingdom, as a corrupter of the Prince of Wales. In five months he had the power, as king, of revoking the sentence of his sagacious father.

On the 8th of July, the nobles and others assembled at Carlisle recognized Edward as king, and there did homage. The death of Edward I. was unknown in London for more than a fortnight. The young king received homage from some Scottish nobles at Dumfries, and then led his army northward. But he suddenly halted at Cumnock, in Ayrshire. He had recalled Gaveston, who joined him in Scotland. The king departed for London, leaving Aymer de Valence guardian and lieutenant. Before the ensuing Christmas the

* Mr. Hartshorne in "Archæological Journal," No. 27, p. 263.

ministers of his father were deprived of their employments; Gaveston was loaded with wealth and honor; was married to Margaret, the king's niece; and was appointed regent of the kingdom, on the departure of Edward for France, to marry Isabella, the daughter of Philip le Bel, the French king. The marriage took place at Boulogne; and on the 24th of February, 1308, Edward was crowned at Westminster. All the old claims to precedence at the coronation of the kings of England were disregarded on this occasion; and the place of greatest honor—to carry the crown and walk before the king in procession—was given to Gaveston. In three days the offended nobles petitioned for the banishment of the favorite. The king referred the matter to a parliament to be holden after Easter; and this tribunal would hear of no compromise. Gaveston was sentenced to banishment, and was compelled to swear that he would never return. In an another month it was learned that the infatuated king had appointed him to the government of Ireland. The favorite appears to have conducted himself in this office with courage and ability. There can be no doubt that this Gascon had many chivalric accomplishments. At a tournament he unhorsed the four great English earls who were his bitterest enemies. He was tasteful amid his prodigal magnificence. The king at length persuaded a party of the nobles to consent to Gaveston's recall; and the pope gave the favorite a dispensation from his oath to remain abroad. Then the court became a scene of perpetual banqueting. Gaveston was supreme; but the great barons looked on in sullen discontent and suppressed hatred. The day of vengeance would come, when Thomas of Lancaster would exact a terrible penalty for the nick-name which the upstart had bestowed upon him of "the old hog;" when the earl of Pembroke would remember that he had been called "Joseph the Jew;" and when the earl of Warwick, "the black dog of the wood," would make the sarcastic favorite "feel his teeth." On the 16th of March the barons came in arms to a parliament at Westminster; and they enforced the appointment of a committee, under the name of ordainers, to provide for the better regulation of the king's household, and to remedy the grievances of the nation. The moving principle of this strong measure was a hatred of Gaveston. The ordainers sate in the capital. Edward went to Scotland, but met no enemy, for Bruce had retired beyond the Forth. The English king wintered at Berwick; and the next spring confided the conduct of the Scottish war to his favorite, who conducted himself with courage and prudence. Edward returned to London to meet the ordainers, leaving Gaveston at the castle of Bamborough. In the articles of reform which were presented to the king, it was proposed that all grants which had been made by Edward, since he had issued the commission, should be revoked; that all future grants made without the consent of the baronage should be invalid; that purveyance, except what was ancient and lawful, should be punished as robbery; that new taxes should be abolished; that the great officers of the crown should be chosen by the advice and assent of parliament; and that parliaments should be held once in each year, and oftener, if needful. Then came a clause decreeing the banishment of Gaveston, for having given bad advice to the king, embezzled the public money, obtained blank charters with the royal seal affixed to them, formed a confederacy of men sworn to live and die with him, and estranged the affections of the king from his subjects. In vain the king struggled with the inexorable ordainers. In vain he protested that he would not consent to what was injurious to the just rights of the crown. Gaveston was exiled, and went to Flanders. In 1312 he was again in England; and the king published a proclamation, stating that the exiled man was a true and loyal subject, and returned in obedience to the royal command. Thomas of Lancaster, the grandson of Henry III., was appointed leader of an association of barons who were ready to resort to force. They assembled a large body of knights at a tournament, and then marched to York, where the king had been joined by Gaveston. Onward they followed the flight of their sovereign to Newcastle, and thence to Scarborough, where Gaveston remained in the castle, while the king returned to York. The earls of Surrey and Pembroke besieged the castle; and Gaveston surrendered to the earl of Pembroke, under a pledge of safety for himself, which had been given to the king. From Scarborough, he was conducted by Pembroke to Dedington in Oxfordshire, the earl leaving him in the custody of his servants. Before the morning dawned the unfortunate favorite was awakened, and commanded to dress himself. At the gate of Dedington he found himself in the presence of "the black dog of the wood," the terrible earl of Warwick. He was placed on a mule, and, surrounded by a numerous force, was carried prisoner to Warwick. As he entered the walls of Guy's lofty tower he found himself in the presence of those haughty barons whom he had despised and insulted. His skill in the tournament, his courage in battle, his magnificent apparel, his jewelled rings, his high-sounding titles, his reliance upon the kingly power—all were worthless in this terrible moment. He stood before his enemies, and they sentenced him to die. Out of that grim fortress—now the most beautiful of castles, combining feudal strength with a more refined grandeur—was Gaveston led to execution. There was a march of a short distance before the cavalcade reached Blacklow Hill, a little knoll on the road near Guy's Cliff, where the judicial murder was to be accomplished. The spot is indicated by a monument not remarkable for elegance. The Avon glides beneath the hill. The towers of Warwick rise above the surrounding woods. The historical interest of the scene associates in striking contrast with its natural beauty. The age of law succeeded to the age of violence; and the change is well evidenced by the peacefulness and fertility which now surround this Blacklow Hill.

During the five years that the peace of England was disturbed by the wretched contest between the king and his barons, which ended in the first signal tragedy of this tragic reign, Robert Bruce was establishing his power in Scotland with a firmness and wisdom that was scarcely to be looked for after the rash murder in the church at Dumfries. But he had endured great adversity. Danger and suffering had taught him prudence and moderation. He had wandered in the Highlands with a few followers, subsisting upon the chance products of the chase. He had traversed the great lakes in leaky boats, sheltering from the storm in the fisher's hovel, and deriving lessons of patience and perseverance from noting the efforts of a spider to fix the first thread on which its web was to be woven. He had been hunted by bloodhounds; he had waded in rapid streams, to elude their scent; he had defied his enemies single-handed in the mountain-pass, and in the river-ford. The fugitive was now an acknowledged sovereign. In 1309 he was recognized as king by the most influential body of Scotland—the clergy—at a general ecclesiastical council held at Dundee. In that year a truce was concluded between England and Scotland, which endured till August, 1310. The renewed war was for some time a succession of contests on the borders, in which exemption from plunder was purchased by the English lords-warden by money payment. In 1312 Bruce besieged Perth, which was in the hands of King Edward's officers. The town was strongly fortified, and was surrounded by a moat. Bruce, in a dark night of October, led his men across the moat, in a manner which is graphically described, according to Barbour, by "a wight and hardy knight of France" who was in Bruce's service. This knight, "seeing the king first try the depth with his spear, and then pass with his ladder in his hand into the water, crossed himself in wonder, and exclaimed, 'Good Lord, what shall we now say of our carpet-companions in France, whose time is devoted to the stuffing their paunches with rich viands, to the dance, and the wine-cup, when so valiant and worthy a knight thus exposes himself to such imminent peril, to win a poor collection of huts.'" One after another the strong places of Scotland were taken by Bruce. He then, encouraged no doubt by the fearful dissensions of England, crossed the Tweed, in 1312, with a large force; burned the towns of Hexham and Corbrigg, and part of the city of Durham, and penetrated as far as Chester. The terrible calamities of war were brought home to the wretched people of both countries. While Bruce was ravaging Northumberland, some English leader or other was wasting Scotland. Famine always followed these devastations. The corn was trodden down in the fields or burned in the barns. The cottage and the grange in flames marked the progress of a fierce soldiery; and when a town was taken, plunder and massacre went hand in hand. To the Scots these invasions were easier than to the English, from the habits of the people. The forces of Edward came on in shining armor; the knights mounted on their heavy war-horses, and the archers and spear-men marching slowly under their cumbrous panoply. Froissart has graphically described the mode in which the countrymen of Bruce carried on their warfare. "These Scottish men are right hardy, and sore travelling in harness and in wars; for when they will

enter into England, within a day and a night, they will drive their whole host twenty-four miles, for they are all a-horseback, without it be the traundells and laggers of the host, who follow after a-foot. The knights and squires are well horsed, and the common people and others, on little hacks and geldings; and they carry with them no carts, nor chariots, for the diversities of the mountains they must pass through in the country of Northumberland. They take with them no purveyance of bread nor wine; for their usage and soberness is such in time of war, that they will pass in the journey a great long time, with flesh half-sodden, without bread, and drink of the river water, without wine; and they neither care for pots nor pans, for they seethe beasts in their own skins. They are ever sure to find plenty of beasts in the country that they will pass through. Therefore they carry with them none other purveyance, but on their horse; between the saddle and the panel, they truss a broad plate of metal, and behind the saddle they will have a little sack full of oatmeal, to the intent that when they have eaten of the sodden flesh, then they lay this plate on the fire, and temper a little of the oatmeal; and when the plate is hot, they cast off the thin paste thereon, and so make a little cake in manner of a cracknel or biscuit, and that they eat to comfort withal their stomachs. Wherefore it is no great marvel, though they make greater journeys than other people do." *

The details of the sieges of the Scotch castles which the English had garrisoned have much of the interest of romance. "Subtlety and stratagem," to use the expression of Barbour the chronicler, often preceded the onslaught and the capture. So Roxburgh Castle was taken, and so Edinburgh. Linlithgow was won through the "subtlety and stratagem" of a peasant named Bennock, "a stout carle and a stour," who had been accustomed to supply the garrison with forage. He concealed soldiers under the hay with which his wagon appeared to be loaded; passed the drawbridge, and, the gates being opened, placed his wagon so that they could not be closed. The concealed men attacked the garrison, and another band who had been in ambush rushed in and completed the work. But these successes were only preliminary to the great blow which was struck for the independence of Scotland.

The king and the nobles of England were at last roused from their intestine quarrels to look at the danger which was gathering around them. It was no longer a war for the conquest of the country which had almost universally acknowledged Bruce as king; it was not a contest for mere feudal superiority. England was in danger. Her towns were burned, her fertile lands were devastated, her people were reduced to the most abject misery, wherever the Scot came with his little hackney, and his bag of oatmeal. At a parliament held on the 15th of October, 1313, King Edward and his barons were in some degree reconciled; and it was "with one accord assented and agreed, that no one, of what state or condition soever he be, in time to come, be appealed or challenged by reason of the taking, detaining, or death of Piers de Gaveston."† At the same time an amnesty was granted to the adherents of Gaveston; and the property which was found in his possession was given up to the king. Nothing can more distinctly exhibit the infatuation of Edward than the inventory of this vast collection of plate and jewels of which the treasury of the crown had been chiefly despoiled. Some of these golden and enamelled chains, buckles, crosses, cups, chaplets, coffers, girdles—set with diamonds, rubies, sapphires, and emeralds—bore the arms of England. Others are recited as gifts to the king from his sister and his friends. There is a ring which Saint Dunstan forged with his own hands; and not even the more sacred relic of an enamelled cup of gold, bequeathed to Edward by his mother Eleanor, was exempted from the rapacity of the favorite. There are a hundred and ninety-six items of such costly property, to some of which a value is affixed. One great ruby, "which was found on Sir Peter de Gaveston when he was taken," is estimated at the worth of a thousand pounds. This extraordinary document is an acquittance to Thomas of Lancaster, Guy of Warwick, Henry Percy, and Robert Clifford, for the valuables of which they had taken possession when Gaveston's head fell under their axe.‡

Edward Bruce, the brother of King Robert, had been besieging Stirling; and the English governor, Philip de Mowbray, agreed to surrender the castle if not relieved by the 24th of June, the feast of St. John the Baptist. King Edward summoned the military tenants of the English crown to meet him at Berwick on the 11th of June; and levies of foot soldiers were made in the northern counties and in Wales. Those from Wales and the Welsh marches were required by the king because he wanted men able to drive an enemy from forest and mountain, and from marshy places, of difficult access to horsemen. On the 16th of June, only a week before the day fixed for the surrender of Stirling, Edward marched from Berwick, at the head of a great army. The numbers of that army were greatly exaggerated by the old chroniclers, Fordun estimating it at three hundred and forty thousand horse, and as many foot. Later historians are more reasonable, and are contented with a hundred thousand, of which forty thousand were cavalry. This vast force arrived in the neighborhood of Stirling on the eve of St. John. The country through which they marched would afford insufficient support and accommodation for such a multitude; and they were accompanied with a vast train of provision-wagons, and of carriages and horses laden with tents and pavilions. Bruce was encamped in an extensive forest lying between Falkirk and Stirling, known as the Torwood; and here, on the 22d of June, it was learned that the English force had reached Edinburgh on the 21st. The Scottish army, therefore, moved into the neighborhood of Stirling. Bruce knew that the first object being the relief of that castle, according to the treaty, he might therefore take up a position without uncertainty as to the movements of his enemy. Mr. Tytler has described the position of Bruce from a personal survey of the field of battle, in 1830. * The extreme left of his army rested upon elevated ground above St. Ninians, and extended through an undulating tract of country called the New Park, the right resting on a stream called the Bannock. The centre was partially defended by a morass, part of which still remains. On the left, on a line which the English would have to cross, Bruce caused pits to be dug, in which were inserted pointed stakes, covered slightly over with turf and rushes. He had need of every precaution for strengthening his position, for his force was greatly inferior to that of the English. It chiefly consisted of infantry. His determination was to fight on foot and to meet the charges of the cavalry with his battle-axes and spears. A few horsemen were with him. On the night of St. John the advanced guard of the English cavalry approached Stirling, with the intention of attacking the Scots in the rear. Bruce's army had fasted from a religious principle. "Thar dynit none of them that day," says the rhyming chronicler. A partial engagement took place, in which King Robert exposed himself as became the daring knight rather than the cautious general. His leaders, however they were rejoiced to see him cleave the skull of Henry de Bohun in single combat, remonstrated with him on his temerity. He only held up the broken shaft of his battle-axe, and expressed his regret for the loss of his good weapon. At daybreak of the 24th of June the great host of the English was in view, with bright shields and burnished helmets, embroidered banners and gaudy surcoats, glittering in the morning sun. The Scotch host heard mass, and the abbot of Inchaffray preceded them with a crucifix as they formed on the field of battle. When they knelt again in prayer, some of the English said, "They beg for mercy." "Deceive not yourselves," said one who knew the people; "it is God only they supplicate, and not you." On came the English archers and infantry, and the conflict was long and desperate. Bruce had a reserve which attacked his enemy in flank. The English knights came on, with the earl of Gloucester, the nephew of the king, at their head. He fell covered with wounds. The horses stumbled in the pits which Bruce had dug. There was confusion in the ranks; and the few Scottish horse which were in the field were led by Sir Robert Keith to a victorious struggle. All the camp-followers of Bruce's army had been stationed apart, behind a small hill, still known by the name of Gillieshill (the servants' hill). There were soldiers, no doubt, mixed with them, for they suddenly abandoned the baggage, and came down the hill in a body of fifteen thousand men, armed with pikes and oxen-goads, with rude pieces of cloth fixed on tent-poles in the place of heraldic banners. The English squadrons, at the appearance of this new and strange army, began to waver. Bruce charged the main body. Then ensued a gen-

* Froissart's Chronicles, Lord Berners' translation, chap. xvii.
† "Statutes of the Realm," vol. i. p. 169.
‡ See "Fœdera," vol. ii. part i. p. 203.

* "Lives of Scottish Worthies," vol. ii. p. 25

eral rout. King Edward refused to fly, till the earl of Pembroke seized his bridle-rein, and hurried him from the field. The king rode to Stirling, with the intention of throwing himself into the castle; but the governor, as the battle was lost, knew that he was bound in all honor to deliver up the castle according to his obligation, and Edward sought other refuge. The band of horsemen fled on, and never stopped till they reached Dunbar. The spoil which remained to the victors was enormous. Fordun describes the herds of cattle, the droves of sheep and hogs, the loads of corn with portable mills, the casks of wine, the military engines—the trebuchets and mangonels. The slaughter of the English exceeded ten thousand. The Scots lost about four thousand.* Numbers of English and Welsh fugitives were scattered over the country—the knights detained for ransom, the humble footmen put to death by the Scottish peasantry. Stirling was surrendered the day after the battle. In exchange for some of his English prisoners, Bruce obtained the release of his wife, sister, and daughter—of the bishop of Glasgow and the earl of Marr. Thus complete was the great victory that made Scotland a nation; which enabled her, gradually approaching to an amalgamation with England in laws and institutions, in customs and literature, long to preserve a distinctive character; and which, when she names the "Bruce of Bannockburn," wakes up many other sacred memories of struggles for freedom, civil and religious, without which memories, long cherished and never wholly relinquished, no people, however prosperous, ever escaped the yoke of foreign or domestic tyranny.

Fabyan records that, after many days, there was a song sung by the minstrels of Scotland which said,

> "Maidens of England, sore may ye mourn,
> For your lemans ye have lost at Bannockbourn."

The maidens, and all the people of England, had many other losses to deplore through these Scotch wars. In 1314 there was a deficient harvest. The price of corn became enormous, and the parliament, with the ignorance of economical laws which was not in any degree confined to those times, fixed a maximum on the price of provisions. The next season was more disastrous. There was a murrain among the cattle, and a general pestilence among the starving people. The brewing of beer from grain was suspended. The nobles expelled from their castles the hungry retainers for whom they could find no food; and the country, necessarily, swarmed with plunderers. The "ordinances" which had been agreed to before the fall of Gaveston, were resisted by the king, while their enforcement was demanded by the barons. In this horrible condition of famine, pestilence, and anarchy was the unhappy kingdom, when the Scots came, again and again, to plunder and destroy. There was no public spirit in the people or their leaders to resist. A war was going on in Ireland between the English and the Scots. Edward Bruce had landed at Carrickfergus in 1315, to drive the English settlers from the island, in concert with the native chiefs. After various conflicts he was crowned king of Ireland, in 1316; and he reigned some time in Ulster. The Welsh were again in insurrection, and formed an alliance with Edward Bruce. Robert, the king of Scotland, had gone over to Ireland to aid his brother. During his absence the war in Scotland had been renewed by the English. But Robert Bruce returned to the land of his triumphs in 1318, and he succeeded in capturing Berwick. The Scots, marching into Yorkshire, burned many towns, and had nearly taken Edward prisoner on one occasion, and his queen on another. An attempt was made to retake Berwick; but it was unsuccessful. At length, in 1320, a truce for two years was concluded "between Edward, king of England, and Sir Robert de Brus, for himself and his adherents." The Irish invasion had been previously terminated in 1318, by the death of Edward Bruce, who was defeated in a battle near Dundalk, and fell on the field with two thousand of his countrymen. But no success and no truce could put an end to the intestine troubles of England. Another favorite had arisen; and another war with the barons was impending.

Many of the important facts in the history of our country are written in its statutes. In three acts of parliament of the 15th of Edward II. we find the distinct traces of a revolution, and of a counter-revolution. In the first of these statutes, that decreeing "The exile of Hugh le Despenser, father and son," we learn that at a parliament held at York in the twelfth year of Edward, Sir Hugh, the son, was named and assented to be in the office of chamberlain of the king. This young man was of high family. His grandfather was killed on the side of the barons at Evesham. His father had served in the wars of Edward I., both in France and Scotland. Edward II. was lavish in his bounties to his chamberlain. He united him in marriage with a daughter of that earl of Gloucester who was killed at Bannockburn, by which marriage he became possessed of the greater portion of Glamorganshire. His material wealth, according to a parliamentary document, was enormous. He had flocks of ten thousand sheep; herds of a thousand oxen and cows; hundreds of pigs; arms and armor for two hundred men. The possessions of the father were more than double those of his son. The young Despenser soon became embroiled with his neighbors, the lords of the marches; who, assembling in arms, attacked his castles, and destroyed or carried off his property. The earl of Hereford, the king's brother-in-law, one of the peers appointed to enforce the "ordinances," encouraged this violence; and the earl of Lancaster, the cousin of the king, joined with him and the lords of the marches and other barons and knights, in an indenture binding them in a common cause against the power and influence of the Despensers. They marched to London, and on their way plundered the manors of the elder Spenser, as they had those of his son. From St. Alban's they sent a message to the king, demanding the banishment of these objects of their hatred; which demand Edward refused with indignation. The confederates advanced to London, where the parliament was sitting; and then was passed the statute of exile of Hugh le Despenser, father and son, "to the honor of God and Holy Church, and of our lord the king, and for the profit of him and his realm, and for maintaining peace and quiet among his people." The offences with which the Despensers were charged are then minutely set forth. They had accroached to themselves royal power over the king and his ministers; they desired to lead the king to act with violence against his will; they kept the king from showing himself to his people, or giving audience to his great men, except at their will and humor; they removed good and sufficient ministers, and appointed false and evil ministers, and unlearned justices; they excited to civil war; they caused the king to impose unreasonable fines; they permitted no bishop or abbot, newly created, to approach the king, till they had paid fines to Sir Hugh, the son. Upon these various grounds, the peers of the realm award that Hugh, the father, and Hugh, the son, shall be disinherited forever, and utterly exiled out of the realm, as enemies of the king and his people.

In this parliament, which was held at Westminster in three weeks after midsummer in 1321, indemnity was granted against all men, of whatsoever state or condition, who had done what might be noted for trespasses and against the king's peace "in pursuing and destroying Hugh le Despenser, the son, and Hugh le Despenser, the father." In a parliament held at York, in three weeks after Easter, in 1322, this statute of indemnity was repealed, it being shown that "it was sinfully and wrongfully made and granted," and that the assent "of the prelates, earls, barons, knights of shires, and commonalty," assembled in 1321, "was given for dread of the great force which the earl of Hereford and the other great confederates suddenly brought to the parliament of Westminster, with horse and arms, in affray and abasement of all the people." In the same parliament of York the exile of the Despensers was annulled. This was a mighty change to be wrought in eight months. During that short period there had been a counter-revolution. In the October of 1321 King Edward took up arms, ostensibly to revenge an affront offered to his queen; and after capturing Leeds castle, in Kent—to which his queen had been denied admission—led his forces northward. It was alleged that before the truce of 1319 the earl of Lancaster had been in traitorous correspondence with the Scots; and that through his complicity with Robert Bruce, Berwick had not been recovered by the English. The truce of two years was now about to expire. The Despensers had returned to England; and Lancaster now kept no terms in his opposition to the government of Edward. There can be no doubt that at this period he and the earl of Hereford were in alliance with Bruce. The Scots army was to enter England, to aid the earls and their confederates in their quarrel, but on no account to lay claim to any conquest; and the earls were to use their endeavors that Bruce should enjoy his

* It is the fashion of Scotch historians greatly to exaggerate these numbers, as if the importance of the victory depended upon the amount of bloodshed.

kingdom in peace. As Edward advanced, Lancaster retired into Yorkshire. At Boroughbridge he was encountered by a strong force, under the governors of York and Carlisle, and here Hereford was killed. Lancaster expected the arrival of his allies from Scotland, but no army came. He was taken prisoner, and was conducted to his own castle of Pontefract, at whose gates he had stood when Edward passed by in returning from the siege of Berwick, and jeered his king with bitter scorn. To that castle Edward now came a triumphant lord; and in his own hall was Lancaster, who at Warwick had adjudged Gaveston to die, arraigned as a traitor. On a gray pony, without a bridle, he was led to execution; and kneeling down on an eminence outside the town his head was struck off. Eighteen others of the confederates were executed in London and other places. Thus it was that the parliament of York, in 1322, passed the statute which we have mentioned. But they did more than this. They revoked all the "ordinances" which had been made ten years before, it being found "that by the matters so ordained the royal power of our lord the king was restrained on divers things, contrary to what it ought to be." But not only these "ordinances" were repealed, but all provisions "made by subjects against the royal power of the ancestors of our lord the king" were to cease and lose their effect forever. Edward II. was now in the plenary possession of sovereign power. He had an obsequious parliament. The great barons who interfered with his will were removed. Hugh Despenser, the son, might reign supreme in the palace, as he had reigned before. Edward would himself wipe out the disgrace of Bannockburn, and win back Scotland to his crown. He addressed a letter to the pope, stating that having put down the earl of Lancaster, he was engaged in preparing to invade Scotland, desiring no peace between the two kingdoms.

The Scots, anticipating the coming war, entered England, and penetrated to Lancashire. They then returned without molestation, laden with immense booty, and driving their wagons bearing the spoil of gold and plate, of furniture and church ornaments, as securely as if they were on a peaceful journey. The king of England was collecting a great army—a machine too cumbrous for effective use. He marched into Scotland, with an ill supply of bread for his men and of provender for his horses; for England was still suffering the miseries of scarcity. As the great host of Edward marched on to the Forth, he found a desert. The stores of corn, the herds of the Lothians, had all been removed northward. The houses were deserted. The English fleet, which had been prepared to co-operate with the invading army, was detained by contrary winds. Famine and sickness were doing the work which Bruce waited to complete. King Edward hastily marched back to the border; and King Robert came forth from his encampment at Culross, in Fifeshire. Douglas began to harass the English in their rear; and Edward, appointing guardians of the marches, retreated to a strong position near Byland abbey in Yorkshire. The greater part of his army was disbanded. Edward felt himself secure. But a body of Scottish knights suddenly appeared before the abbey, and obtaining a victory, the king of England fled precipitately to York. The war of twenty-three years with Scotland was at an end. On the 30th of May, 1323, a truce between the two kingdoms was concluded for thirteen years.

It was during the revolutionary period of which we have been treating that the great military order of the Templars was dissolved, after having attained the highest authority and influence in Europe during nearly two hundred years. One of the charges against the Despensers was, that they prevented justice being done, touching the lands of the Templars. When Philip le Bel, king of France, in 1307, suddenly took possession of the palace of the Temple in Paris, and threw the Grand Master and all his knights into prison, the main object of this despotic act was to obtain possession of the enormous properties of the order throughout France. The total ruin of the body so illustrious for their deeds of arms, so obnoxious for their pride and luxury, was soon accomplished throughout Europe, under the sanction of the spiritual head of the Church. In France, during three years of the most atrocious persecution, the Grand Master, Jacques de Molai, perished at the burning stake, with fifty-four of his knights. Torture had extracted from some of these men frightful confessions, which they afterward retracted. In England, although the order was suppressed, no cruelties were exercised upon the members of the brotherhood, which had numbered some of the most illustrious of the nobles among its knights. In 1308, under sealed directions sent to all the sheriffs in England and Ireland, about two hundred and fifty knights were arrested, and all their property was attached. Before a tribunal of prelates and envoys of the pope, forty-seven of these knights boldly maintained their innocence. The use of torture was urged upon the king, in a letter from the holy pontiff; and the archbishop of York, having ascertained that torture was unknown in England, and that there was no machine for torture in the kingdom, inquired if he should send abroad for such an instrument. None, as it appears, were put upon the rack, or burned. They were imprisoned, and had a daily pittance allowed for their support. Meanwhile the Hospitallers, or Knights of St. John, who had maintained their influence in the East, and continued to make a show of defending Christendom against the Mohammedans, kept their large possessions without molestation, and in their great priory of Saint John, in Clerkenwell, maintained as much state as the Templars on the bank of the Thames. At last came the grand question of the revenues of the Templars. After sixteen years, during which the king, and his favorites, and his nobles, partook of the spoil, a statute was passed, in 1324, which recited that the order of the Templars having been dissolved, the lands and tenements in demesne were seized into the hands of the king and of divers other lords of the fees of them; but that now, as the Order of the Brethren of Saint John of Jerusalem is provided, instituted, and canonized, for the defence of Christians, the lands and all appurtenances should go to that order, to be employed, as the Templars were bound to employ them, in relieving the poor, in hospitalities, in celebrating divine service, and in defence of the Holy Land. England escaped the guilt of France, in abolishing this powerful body without bloodshed. The knights of Saint John held their wealth in England till, two centuries later, their order was suppressed by one before whom lord-priors melted away in the common ruin of monastic institutions. In the reign of Edward III. the students of law took possession of the great house of the Templars in London; and their preceptories, in the rural districts, fell into decay, or became the homesteads and barns of the descendants of the Saxon villeins whom the proud Norman knights had despised and trampled upon.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Mortimer and Isabella in France, with Prince Edward—They return in arms—Fall and Death of the Despensers—Edward II. deposed—Edward III. proclaimed king—Murder of Edward II.—Invasion of the Scots—First campaign of Edward III.—Seizure and execution of Mortimer—Evil times of Edward II.—Transition state of feudal relations—Sir John Froissart—Chivalry—Military spirit of the reign of Edward III.—Edward Balliol and the Scotch War—Claim of Edward to the French crown—Naval victory of Sluys—James Artevelde—Jane de Montfort—Edward lands in Normandy.

One of the principal supporters of the earl of Lancaster, who was beheaded at Pontefract in 1322, was Roger Mortimer, lord of Wigmore. He was spared the extreme penalties of treason, but was confined in the Tower of London. In 1323 he escaped, and proceeded to France. Isabella, the queen of Edward II., was sister to Charles IV. of France; and to reconcile some differences between Edward and Charles in the affairs of Gascony, Isabella was deputed to the court of her brother, with power to conclude a treaty. This she accomplished, upon terms not very advantageous to her husband, in May, 1325. In September of the same year, the king of England was induced to transfer his foreign possessions of Gascony and Ponthieu, to his son Edward, then thirteen years of age; who went to Paris, and there did homage for them to the feudal lord, Charles IV. At Paris, Roger Mortimer joined the queen, and became the chief officer of her household. The return of Isabella and her son to England, as soon as the homage was performed, was expected by Edward. But they came not. After the lapse of more than five centuries, the private remonstrances of the husband and the father are still preserved, in several letters in the French language, which are exceedingly curious. The archbishop of Canterbury had written to Isabella to exhort her to return, to which she had replied that Sir Hugh le Despenser was her enemy, and that she could not come because her life would be in danger. On the 1st of December, 1325, the king

thus writes to the queen: "Dame: Oftentimes we have commanded you, as well before the homage as since, to return to us with all haste, without any excuses. . . . Now, you have sent us word, by the honorable father, the bishop of Winchester, that you will not come, on account of the danger and doubt of Hugh le Despenser; at which we greatly marvel: the more so, that you bore yourself so amicably toward him, and he toward you, in our presence, and even at your departure you gave him especial promises, signs, and proofs of certain friendship; and afterward sent him very especial letters, which he has shown to us." The husband then goes on to say that no evil or disgrace has ever befallen her, except when "we have spoken to you, as we ought, words of chastisement in secret, without any other severity." To his son he writes, under date of the 2d of December: "Most dear son, remember in your youth and tender age what we charged and commanded you, when you left us at Dover, and what you said to us in answer, with which we were greatly pleased; and do not trespass or contravene what we then charged you in any point, on no account. And since your homage has been received, go to our most dear brother, the king of France, your uncle, and take your leave of him; and then come away to us in the company of our most dear companion, the queen, your mother, if she come so soon. And if she does not come, come you, in all haste without longer stay; for we have a very great desire to see you and speak with you. And hereof fail not by any means, neither for mother, nor for any other person, as you regard our blessing." * But still the wife came not, nor the son. On the 1st of March, 1326, the king again writes to the young Edward, commanding him to contract no marriage without his father's consent; defending Hugh le Despenser as his dear and loyal servant; bitterly adverting to the alliance of Queen Isabella with Roger Mortimer, a false traitor, and the king's mortal enemy; and ordering his son immediately to return. In a letter to the king of France, of the same date, Edward says that he truly perceives, as all men may perceive, that the queen does not love him as she ought to love her lord. † These domestic differences were soon brought to a public issue. The king of France invaded Gascony, and Edward declared war against him. William, count of Hainault, received Isabella at his court, for the pope had exhorted Charles to dismiss her from Paris. The young Edward was contracted in marriage with Philippa, the daughter of the count. A force of two thousand men, under the command of John of Hainault, was placed at the disposal of Isabella; and on the 24th of September, the wife and the son of Edward did return to England, landing at Orwell in Suffolk, not as suppliants but as complainants, in arms for the redress of injuries. Isabella came surrounded by nobles who had been banished or fled when the insurrection of Lancaster failed. Powerful lords, including the brothers of the king, the earls of Kent and Suffolk; his cousin the earl of Richmond; and several bishops, joined Isabella. A proclamation was issued, stating that the queen, the prince, and the earl of Kent had come to free the nation from the tyranny of Hugh le Despenser. Edward, having appealed in vain to the citizens of London for aid, fled with the two Despensers and the chancellor Baldock. The populace rose, and murdered the bishop of Exeter, who had been sent by the king as envoy to France, to induce the queen and her son to return. The elder Despenser took refuge in the castle of Bristol. The burghers compelled him to surrender the place to the forces of Isabella; and after a brief form of trial, the old man was executed as a traitor, on the 26th of October. Edward the king had put to sea, with the intention of establishing himself in the Isle of Lundy, which had been fortified. He was unable to reach the island, and landed at Swansea, concealing himself in that neighborhood. Meanwhile the prelates and barons who had taken part with the queen, assumed the powers of a parliament; and, having resolved that by the king's absence the realm had been left without a ruler, they appointed Prince Edward guardian of the kingdom. The king at length surrendered to his cousin, the earl of Richmond; and was conducted to the castle of Kenilworth. The younger Despenser and the chancellor were taken prisoners in Wales. They were carried to Hereford, where Despenser perished as "a wicked and attainted traitor," and his mutilated body was hanged on a gallows fifty feet high. The earl of Arundel and others were beheaded. Baldock died in prison.

* "Fœdera," vol. ii. part i. p. 616. † Ibid., pp. 622, 623.

Thus was a revolution accomplished which, of all the public iniquities of the middle ages, appears to combine the most odious and unnatural circumstances. A wife in arms against her husband; a boy employed as a tool to ruin his father; a people thirsting for revenge upon a king against whom indolence and incapacity were the principal charges. At the parliament which was summoned at Westminster, on the 7th of January, 1327, after a suspense of only one day the young Edward was, by acclamation, declared king. On the 13th of the same month, by a bill of six articles, it was resolved that the reign of Edward of Caernarvon had ceased. The queen affected to believe that the parliament had exceeded its just power; and a deputation was accordingly sent to Edward, at Kenilworth, to bring back his resignation of the crown. The deputation returned with the extorted instrument; having gone through the ceremony of renouncing the fealty of the earls, barons, and others, by Sir William Trussel their procurator. On the 24th of January the heralds proclaimed the accession of Edward III.; and the young king was crowned on the 29th. In these hasty and violent proceedings, in which we cannot find that the unhappy prisoner of Kenilworth had a single friend or supporter, there is undoubtedly some dark mystery. Isabella, who was notoriously open to suspicion in her connection with Mortimer, had yet the support of the leaders of the Church and the nobles. The great body of the people were equally in her favor, and equally opposed to the continued rule of one who had not governed with wisdom, but in most instances without oppression. Let the terrible death of Edward II. atone for those faults of his conduct and character which are manifest, and for those which are unrevealed. He was murdered in Berkeley Castle, with circumstances of horrible cruelty, after having endured the most atrocious indignities. Mortimer confessed, when his own life was about to be forfeited, that he had commanded the commission of the crime; and that Thomas Gournay and William Ogle perpetrated it. The "she-wolf of France" might be privy to the wickedness; and in the forced seclusion to which, after a few years, she was condemned, "the shrieks of death" that rung "through Berkeley's roofs" might haunt her repose—

"Shrieks of an agonizing king."

Of the truce with Scotland, concluded for thirteen years in 1323, scarcely four years had elapsed when an invasion of England was determined on by King Robert Bruce. The Scottish historians justify this violation of the compact by stating that the name of Bruce, as king, was omitted in the instructions given to the English commissioners, for the conclusion of a final treaty of peace between the two kingdoms. This was a small matter upon which to ground a national quarrel. However we may sympathize with the Scottish leaders in their noble attempts to maintain the independence of their country, we must bear in mind that the wealth of England always presented a strong temptation for attack and plunder to the lords and people of the less fertile country. In June, 1327, an army of twenty-four thousand Scots, under Douglas and Randolph—for Bruce was sick—crossed the borders, and ravaged Cumberland. The young Edward, with a precocious heroism, put himself at the head of a great army of English knights and archers, and of foreign soldiers under John of Hainault, which had assembled at York. In the pages of Froissart we find a vivid description, "How the king of England made his first journey against the Scots." Having marched to Durham, he followed the course of the invaders by the smoke of the desolating fires which had marked their progress. Still the Scots wasted the country around; and the large English army, incumbered with a vast camp-equipage, and marching "through marishes and savage deserts, mountains and dales," followed them in vain for two days. It was then determined to leave behind them the baggage and stores of provisions, each horseman carrying a single loaf; and on the third day they crossed the Tyne. Here, suffering great privations, the English host remained seven days, looking in vain for their enemy, whom they expected to cross by the same ford. At length Edward proclaimed a great reward for the man who would discover to him where he would find the Scots; and Thomas of Rokeby led him back by a march of three days to the Wear, where they were encamped in huts, on a neighboring hill. The two armies were ranged in order of battle; and "then some of the lords of England brought their young king on horseback, before all the battalion

of the host, to give thereby the more courage to all his people." But the river was between the armies, and the hill was inaccessible. Heralds summoned the Scots to come into the plain and fight; but the Scots answered, "Here we shall abide, as long as it shall please us." For three days the armies remained in this position; but on the fourth morning, when the English looked upon the mountain, the enemy was no more seen. Edward followed, and found them in a still more formidable position, and for eighteen days, "they lodged each against other." But on the first night two hundred Scots broke into the English camp, with the cry of "Douglas! Douglas! ye shall die, thieves of England," and they nearly captured the young sleeping king, cutting asunder the cords of his tent. At last the Scots again silently retreated by a night-march, and the English, giving up the pursuit in despair, returned to Durham, and thence to York. This was the first lesson in warfare of the great Edward. The youth was out-generalled; and it is recorded that he wept, when he was finally circumvented by the skill of an enemy so inferior in numbers.

In the ensuing spring of 1328 a peace was concluded with Scotland, by which the independence of that country, under King Robert Bruce, was fully recognized, the claim of feudal superiority being wholly renounced. It was also agreed that the Scotch regalia, as well as "the stone of destiny," should be restored. Thirty thousand marks were paid by Scotland, in compensation for the damages caused by the invasion of the previous year. Further, the sister of Edward was contracted in marriage with David, the son of Robert Bruce, who became king, upon the death of his heroic father, in 1328. The treaty with Scotland was unpopular in England; and the Londoners resisted the removal of the famous coronation stone. The ex-Queen Isabella and Mortimer, who was created earl of March, were from this and other causes becoming odious. The young king was not considered responsible for this wise but unpopular settlement of the ancient dispute as to Scotland being a fief of the English crown. In 1328, a few months after his return from his northern campaign, Edward was married to Philippa, daughter of the count of Hainault, to whom he had been contracted by his mother. He was advancing to manhood, and had shown his courage and activity in his march to the Tyne. But Mortimer and Isabella were still the ruling powers in the state. Dangers were gathering around them; and they put on a bold front to their enemies. A confederacy against them was formed between the earl of Lancaster, nominally the head of the regency, and the late king's brothers, Kent and Norfolk. These princes were irresolute, and Lancaster was visited by a heavy fine. The earl of Kent, a weak young man, was persuaded by the spies and agents of Mortimer that Edward II. was still alive; and he was imposed upon to the extent of addressing a letter to the deposed king, under the belief that he was in captivity. The letter was conveyed to Isabella and Mortimer, who summoned a pretended parliament, composed of their partisans, which adjudged the unfortunate victim to die as a traitor; and he was accordingly beheaded on the 19th March, 1330. A little after this Queen Philippa gave birth to a son, Edward, so renowned in coming years as the Black Prince. It was time that the king should assert his own authority against his mother and her favorite. He confided his purpose to the earl of Montacute. A parliament was to assemble at Nottingham; and the ex-queen took up her residence in the castle with Edward and Mortimer. The castle was filled with guards; and the keys of its gates were taken every night to the private chamber of Isabella. But there was a subterraneous passage, leading from the west side of the sandstone rock on which the castle stands, the entrance to which from the road is still known as Mortimer's hole. This communication was made known to Edward and Montacute by the governor. In the silent midnight hour of the 10th of October, Montacute entered, with sufficient force, and being joined by the young king, they proceeded to the rooms of the principal tower, and having seized the object of their search, by forcing his chamber door and slaying those knights who defended the entrance, they carried him off in spite of Isabella's cries of "Spare my gentle Mortimer." The next morning the king issued a proclamation, in which he announced that the affairs of the kingdom had been evil-managed, to the dishonor of the realm, and to the impoverishment of the people; that he had caused the earl of March, and others, to be arrested, as the principal movers of these ills; and that all men should know that for the future he would himself govern his people by right and reason, as became his own dignity, and with the advice of the common council of the realm.* On the 26th of November Mortimer was condemned as a traitor, by a parliament at Westminster. The charges against him were, that he had fomented the dissensions between the late king and his queen; that he had illegally assumed the power vested in the council of regency; that he had caused Edward II. to be put to death; that he had compelled the earl of Lancaster and others to pay excessive fines; and had instigated the plot against the earl of Kent. He was executed on the 29th of November, with four others, as his accomplices. The pope wrote to Edward not to expose the shame of his mother; and she, therefore, passed the rest of her life, twenty-eight years, in confinement at her manor of Risings.

We at length may quit this ghastly region of crime and retribution. In the annals of our country there is no era of twenty years so full of revolution and counter-revolution; of imbecile authority struggling with lawless force; of bitter hatreds and outraged affections; of proscriptions and executions and secret murders. Such a system of misrule, approaching at times to a state of anarchy, must of necessity have been accompanied by widespread corruption and general misery. There is a contemporary English poem, "On the Evil Times of Edward II.," which describes briefly, but emphatically, some of the class-iniquities and national calamities of the days of Gaveston and the Despensers. According to this picture of manners, the fiend showed his mastery, and raised such a strife that every lording was busy his own life to save; each was provoked to murder the other, and would spare none for kindred.† While these great lordings were hurled on a heap, the prelates of Holy Church were blinded with covetousness.‡ And then came a murrain of the cattle, and a dearth of corn, and poor simple men were a-hungered.§ God was wroth with the world; for pride had driven peace and love and charity out of the land.‖ This quaint old rhymer speaks as a bitter satirist, but with a circumstantial precision which shows that he wrote from his own observation. Truth, he says, is forbidden the court of Rome, and truth dare not be seen among the cardinals. Simony and covetise have the world at their will.¶ When a church is vacant, he that gives most to patron and bishop has the preferment.** Abbots and priors ride with horses and hounds as if they were knights, while poor men cower at the abbey-gate all day in hunger and in cold.†† Who is fatter and ruddier than monks, canons, and priors? In each town, says the rhymer, I wot none easier life than is religion.‡‡ Of sin, deans and chapters take no account, and a man who has silver may serve the fiend long enough.§§ As he satirizes the Church, so is he equally severe upon baron and knight. He accuses them even of cowardice; they are lions in hall, and hares in the field. Knightship is debased and lame of foot.‖‖ There is a new cut of squierie in every town—gentle men that should be, that are swollen with pride, and have cast nurture into the ditch.¶¶ Justices, sheriffs, mayors, and bailiffs—they know how to make the dark night out of the fair day. If the king raises a taxation, it is so twitted away that half is stolen ere it is accounted for—there are so many partners. The rich are spared, and the poor are robbed. Every man is ready to fill his own purse, and the king has the least part, and he hath all the curse.*** The pleader at the bar takes forty pence to speak a word or two for no good; and the false attorneys make men begin a suit they never would have thought of, and they get their silver for nought.††† The assizers condemn men for money, and the rich justice will do wrong for a bribe.‡‡‡ Sometime there were chapmen that truly bought and sold; traffic was once maintained with truth, but now is all turned to treachery.§§§ So, concludes the satirist, is all the world blinded. We give a specimen of this curious production of the English language of the 14th century:

"Pride hath in his paunter kauht the heie and the lowe,
So that unnethe can eny man God Almihti knowe.

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* "Fœdera," vol. ii. part ii. p. 799.
† Poem in "Political Songs," verse 423.
‡ Ibid., v. 445.
§ Ibid., v. 415.
‖ Ibid., v. 460.
¶ Ibid., v. 10.
** Ibid., v. 454.
†† Ibid., v. 130.
‡‡ Ibid., v. 153.
§§ Ibid., v. 192.
‖‖ Ibid., v. 251.
¶¶ Ibid., v. 283.
*** Ibid., v. 289, 334.
††† Ibid., v. 342, 350.
‡‡‡ Ibid., v. 470.
§§§ Ibid., v. 358.

Pride priketh aboute, wid nithe and wid onde ;
Pes and love and charité hien hem out of londe
so faste,
That God wole for-don the world we muwe be sore agaste." *

Exaggerated as this picture of society may be, there can be little doubt that, in the transition state from the feudal relations between lord and villein, to a condition in which the commons had attained a certain amount of independence, there had arisen a general desire among the governing classes, ecclesiastical, military, and civil, to substitute cunning for force, and extortion for open plunder ; that the larger cultivators and the traders, aspiring, as they do in all times, to the luxuries of those in higher stations, ground those beneath them with slight regard to justice. The Church had lost its ancient character of the protector of the poor ; and the vices and oppressions of the monks had brought religion into contempt. Amid all this, there was a great stirring of the national intellect. The wars of the crown were now supported by taxation of the people generally, instead of being conducted under the old tenure of knight-service. When the merchant or the yeoman had to draw his purse-strings, he became critical as to the mode in which he was governed. There was small communication between one district of the country and another ; and thus, what we call public opinion could only be imperfectly formed. But in market and fair, in the guild and at the assize, men conferred and disputed ; and whatever oppressions they endured were referred to the king's evil advisers. Thus, there was exultation in the land, when Gaveston, Despenser, and Mortimer fell, one after the other ; and their deaths were considered a just punishment for the wrongs of the commons. In that class of the commons were not included the great body of the laborers. They made themselves heard at a more distant period. Meanwhile a new epoch had opened. A young king had ascended the throne, full of martial ardor, ambitious, graced with all chivalric accomplishments, and gifted with many of the qualities of a sagacious ruler. His wars, however, founded on very doubtful pretensions, which appear to us of the present time manifestly unjust, were so brilliant in their success, that, in the pride of a nation that was now thoroughly English, the evils of administration, and especially the wrongs of the peasantry, were too often forgotten. Now and then a stand was made for liberty, and some just laws were enacted. But the military spirit was the pervading influence of the reign of Edward III. ; and the encouragement of that national temper kept his throne secure. During this reign chivalry put on its most attractive features of courage and courtesy ; and those knightly qualities were never set forth more seductively than by the chronicler of chivalry, Sir John Froissart. The savage disregard of life—the massacres and plunderings that lie beneath this surface of romance—will display themselves as we proceed in our narrative. The condition of the general body of the people, such as it is described in the "Poem on the Evil Days of Edward II.," is not so apparent in the usual historical relations.

Whatever might have been the ferocity and cruelty of the days of chivalry, whose most golden period belongs to the reign of Edward III., we may well believe that the spirit which it engendered had considerable influence in forming the character of what was now the English nation. Froissart delights in setting forth the peaceful graces of the regal and noble life ; the minstrelsy and tales of glee ; the dances and the carols. He goes forth to the chase with hawks and hounds. He sees the fairest maiden bestow the silken scarf upon the victor in the tournament. He hears without any shudder the cries of the herald, "The love of ladies," "Glory won by blood." He sees not the bleeding horse, and the gasping knight. There are death-wounds in the *melée ;* but the wine-flask is in the lighted hall. In the same spirit does he describe the course of warfare—the brilliant charge of the cavalry, the unbroken ranks of the footmen, the fatal aim of the archers—the solemn confession before battle—the elation of heart at the cry of "advance banners"—the knighting in the field. The horrors are passed over in a few brief sentences, containing the emphatic words, "burned"—"robbed"—"wasted"—"pillaged"—"slain"—"beheaded." And yet, out of all this, was engendered a better state of society, which could never have grown among an unchivalrous aristocracy and an unwarlike yeomanry. Out of the Norman oppressors and the Saxon serfs had arisen a great race, whose blood having mingled with that of the first Britons and their Roman masters, had at length produced one nation, "inferior to none existing in the world. . . . Every yeoman from Kent to Northumberland valued himself as one of a race born for victory and dominion, and looked down with scorn upon a nation before which his ancestors had trembled." * This was the spirit which made Cressy, the first great popular remembrance, long cherished with a defying pride ; but which had a positive effect for instant good upon the Englishmen who fought by the side of Edward and his son, as well as upon all who heard of their countrymen's daring and steadiness. Politically, the French war was unjust. Morally, it elevated the whole people The same spirit which won the great battles of the Somme and the Loire had to win many a constitutional fight against the attempted encroachments upon liberty of the powerful monarch who led the English lords and yeomen to victory. As the whole nation rose in military prowess—as the archer in his buff jacket became as important as the knight in his steel hauberk—the physical hardihood and the intellectual vigor of the people were more and more developed. The burgher became more resolved to maintain his free charters with his own right arm ; and the noble found that his own security was mixed up with the liberty and happiness of the commons, and he joined with them in making redress of grievances go hand in hand with the grant of supplies. Then, too, men began to think. Miracles ceased in the presence of holy relics, and dispensations for sin came to be despised. The preaching of Wycliffe found willing hearers. The tales of Chaucer were read in the baronial hall, and in the student's chamber. The universities were filled with scholars. The laws were administered in the language of the nation. The Anglo-Norman had given place to that noble tongue upon which our literature has been built. Five centuries ago, the course upon which the English people had to run their race was straight before them ; and however they have been assailed by tyranny, or however corrupted by prosperity, they are still marching forward on the same vantage-ground.

Edward was twenty years of age in 1332. His great talents, his resolved character, and his towering ambition, were rapidly developing themselves. In him the martial spirit of his grandfather had revived with a loftier and more chivalrous generosity. His public actions were less regulated by his own arbitrary will than those of the first Edward ; and he had a more extended range of opinion to propitiate than that of a feudal aristocracy. His wars were essentially popular. When, in 1346, he resolved upon the invasion of France, he published a manifesto upon the cause of the war, which he addressed to the provincial of the order of Preaching Friars in England, in which he exhorts him to urge his brethren to set forth this cause to their congregations in their sermons.† We shall have to advert to the subject-matter of this address as we proceed ; but we mention it here to show that the great king did not manifest that indifference to the sentiments of his people, which the mere despot, and the agents of despotism, think themselves privileged to assume. His wars involved heavy charges upon the industry of the nation ; but they were nevertheless invariably considered as national undertakings. If these undertakings had been regarded upon strictly reasonable principles by king and people, the young heir of Robert Bruce would not have been disturbed in his succession to the throne of Scotland ; nor the right of Philip de Valois to be king of France disputed. The Scottish wars, whatever form they might assume, were unavoidable, as long as two military nations, undivided by seas or mountains, had aggressions to carry forward and injuries to revenge. The gradual interfusion of races and interests could be the only pacificator. The French wars, prolonged as they were for a hundred and twenty years, had a natural termination, when the plans of continental dominion were found to be utterly incompatible with the prosperity of our island realm. The importance of the Scottish wars passed away, for the most part, when Bruce had fought his great fight of independence. The French wars involve so many passages of the most vivid historical interest ; present so many remarkable points of comparison between the two nations ; and have had such

* *Paunter* is pantry ; *kauht*, caught ; *unnethe*, scarcely ; *priketh*, rideth ; *nithe*, strife ; *onde*, envy ; *hien*, haste : *wole*, will ; *for-don*, destroy ; *muwe*, may *agaste*, afraid.

* Macaulay, "History," vol. i. p. 18.
† "Fœdera," vol. iii. part i. p. 72.

an enduring effect upon the policy of both governments, that these events will require to be related with occasional detail till the extinction of the English power in France was happily accomplished.

The attempt of Edward Balliol to recover the crown of Scotland during the minority of the young king, David, arose out of the discontent of some English lords who claimed lands in that country. The king of England is supposed, with good reason, to have encouraged the attempt; but the passage of armed men though the northern counties was strictly forbidden; and Balliol sailed with his associates from the Humber, and landed in Fife, in August, 1332. His success was marvellous. On the 27th of September he was crowned at Scone. But his reverse of fortune was equally rapid. On the 16th of December he was surprised at Annan, and fled to the marches. During his brief tenure of power, Balliol had acknowledged that the crown of Scotland was a fief held under the crown of England; and Edward had concluded with him a treaty of alliance. Early in 1333 the Scots, under the leaders who acted in the name of King David, invaded England; Balliol commenced the siege of Berwick; and the English king came in May to his aid. On the 19th of July was fought the great battle of Halidon Hill, in which Edward was completely victorious. Here, amid a fearful slaughter of his countrymen, fell the regent Douglas, and many earls and barons. Berwick was surrendered to the English, and Balliol was again seated on his uneasy throne. Then, at a parliament held at Edinburgh, a large portion of the south of Scotland was annexed to England. This impolitic dismemberment of the kingdom was an outrage upon the national feeling, and Balliol was again driven forth, in 1334. Again, in 1335, Scotland was ravaged by the English forces, in concert with Balliol; and for several years a struggle was carried on, with varied success. But Edward had other objects presented to his ambition. The king of France had espoused the cause of the Scottish nation against Balliol and his powerful supporter; and Edward had now an ostensible motive for commencing a great war, for the purpose of asserting his pretensions to the crown of France. In a few years the adherents of David were the winners of fortress after fortress; and the son of Bruce, in 1341, returned to his kingdom.

In the manifesto of the 15th of March, 1346, addressed to the provincial of the Preaching Friars, king Edward states that upon the death of his uncle, Charles, king of France, he being in his minority, by the advice of his lords spiritual and temporal, and of his most skilled councillors, sent ambassadors into France to demand the crown; and that they were compelled to return, their lives having been threatened by Philip, who had usurped the royal authority.* Charles IV., called the Fair, died early in 1328, leaving no male issue. But a posthumous daughter was born five months after his death. In the interval, Philip of Valois, who was cousin to the deceased king, had been appointed regent. Some French authorities state that Edward demanded the regency, but that Philip was appointed by the peers of France. But there can be no doubt that Edward put forward his pretensions in the way which he stated in his manifesto of 1346. In 1329, however, he went to France, and did homage for his lands there to his rival Philip. He was then only seventeen years of age, and was under the tutelage of Mortimer and his mother. But in 1337, after the king of France had taken part in the Scottish war, Edward boldly assumed the title of king of France, and prepared to enforce his claim at the sword's point. His claim rested upon these grounds. What is called the Salic law, by which females in France are excluded from succession to the throne, was an unwritten law; and was not even a well-defined and fixed principle in all its bearings. Although it set aside the female herself, Edward contended that it did not set aside the male heir of such female. His mother, Isabella, was sister to three successive kings; and though excluded from the throne herself, might transmit a title to her son. He was the nearest male heir through his mother. Philip of Valois, although the affinity was through his father, was not so near akin as Edward by one degree. The civilians were greatly divided upon the question, and Edward had, no doubt, abundant counsel to bring his demands to the arbitrament of warfare. In all his proceedings he seems to have conducted this great contest, as if it were a wager of battle, in which Heaven would decide the right by the issue. The waste of life, the destruction of property, never disturbed the course of feudal policy. And yet, in 1340, Edward, addressing Philip of Valois, demanded what he called his rightful inheritance; and added, "to prevent the mortality among Christians, since the quarrel apparently belongs to you and me, we are desirous that the controversy between us may be decided by our own persons, body to body; and in case you shall not vouchsafe this way, that then the dispute may be ended by the battle of one hundred of the most efficient persons of your party, and as many of my liege subjects." The king of France replied, that he had seen the letters addressed to one Philip of Valois, but as they did not come to him, he should return no answer, but as soon as he should think fit would drive out of his kingdom those who had presumed to enter it in arms. Edward had invaded France from Flanders, in 1339, but upon this occasion he returned to England without striking any important blow. He had depended upon foreign alliances, which had failed him in the hour of need.

In 1340 Edward, who had gone over to England, leaving the queen at Ghent, was informed that Philip had collected a large fleet in the harbor of Sluys, at the mouth of the Schelde. He immediately resolved upon encountering his enemy at sea, and set sail from Orwell with a powerful armament. Arrived off Blankenberg, "he saw so great a number of ships, that their masts seemed to be like a great wood."* There was a mighty ship, the Christopher, which had been taken from the English the year before; and the first success in the battle of Sluys was the recapture of this vessel. "This battle was right fierce and terrible; for the battles on the sea are more dangerous and fierce than the battles by land; for on the sea there is no recoiling nor flying—there is no remedy but to fight, and to abide fortune, and every man to show his prowess."† This battle was indeed fierce and terrible; and the number slain and drowned amounted to many thousands. It was a hand-to-hand fight, in which the English archers did fearful execution. The victory was so complete that the French courtiers did not dare to apprise Philip of the event which had transferred his entire fleet to his enemy. His buffoon was instructed to hint to him the issue of his great preparations to stop the passage of Edward into Flanders. The English, said the clever jester, are rank cowards, for they had not the courage to jump overboard like your Majesty's French and Normans did. The naval victory of Sluys was followed by the siege of Tournay. It was at this period that Edward challenged Philip to single combat. But that year a truce between France and England was concluded, which lasted till 1342. In 1343 negotiations for peace were carried on before the pope at Avignon, without any result. In 1344 the war was recommenced.

The character of Edward III. was produced by a combination of the qualities of the knight and the politician. He was ready to take the foremost place in the battle-field; to run great hazards in his own person; to surround himself with all the pomp of chivalry, and to display its occasional courtesy and munificence. But he clearly understood the position of England with relation to the other European states; and he was not insensible to the advantages he possessed in the superior condition of his own people, and, what was of more importance, in their free spirit as compared with the French. France, England, and Flanders, had many points of resemblance, and were drawn closer together than any other European nations. But they had also essential points of difference. The nobles of France did not form a strong collective body like those of England. The people had not been blended with the aristocracy in the common assertion of their liberties. True freedom—that which has been won, and can be maintained—was unknown to France. There were no institutions which could be considered established or sound. There were continual changes of principles of government; no recognized rights, amid alternations of sudden liberty and absolute power. Thus, there was no great popular class upon whom the king and the nobility could rely, and at whose head they could confidently march to victory.‡ On the other hand, Flanders was essentially democratic. The burghers had accumulated riches far above those of the rest of Europe; and their corporations of trades in Ghent, Bruges, and other cities had established a power before which their sovereign counts trembled, and their nobles scarcely exhibited their authority.

* "Fœdera," vol. iii. part i. p. 74.

* Froissart, chap. 50.

† Ibid.

‡ See Barante, who expresses this judgment in his preface to his "Histoire des Ducs de Bourgogne," p. 43.

The great enemy of their liberties was the king of France. He had defeated the revolted burghers at Cassel, in the first year of his reign; and the Flemings, now under their great leader, James Artevelde, were prepared for the strictest alliance with England. This extraordinary man, commonly known as "the brewer of Ghent," was a noble allied to the first families in Flanders. He was "a brewer," as a prince in England is often "a fishmonger." He was a member of the guild of brewers.* Edward knew the value of this alliance with the Flemings and their democratic leader. "He condescended to cultivate the friendship of Artevelde, the celebrated brewer of Ghent," says Dr. Lingard. Their friendship was founded upon something higher than the patronage of the king or the servility of the tribune of the people. Queen Philippa held the brewer's infant son, the famous Philip, at the baptismal font; and Artevelde thought to find a powerful protector for his Flemings against the tyranny of their native rulers, and the jealousy which France felt of a dangerous neighbor, by recommending that the burghers should depose Louis, the count of Flanders, and call Edward, Prince of Wales, to the government. Bruges and Ypres supported the proposition. The populace of Ghent suddenly turned against the man under whose authority they had arrived, in common with the other towns, at an unequalled height of prosperity—an authority far more potent than that of their sovereign count, who had removed himself for safety to France. They murdered Artevelde. At his instigation Edward had assumed the title of king of France. When the king heard of his friend's death, he put to sea in great anger, and returned to England. A deputation from all the trading towns, except Ghent, appeased his wrath, and the alliance was continued. "So, little by little," says Froissart, "the death of Jacques D'Artevelde was forgotten." This event happened in July, 1345. The commercial intercourse between England and Flanders was, at this time, of the greatest importance to both countries. France had scarcely any internal trade, and less foreign commercial intercourse. With Bruges on the north and Bordeaux on the south, the traffic of London and Bristol and the Cinque Ports had become very large. The parliament of England willingly voted large sums for the war with France. While Edward was negotiating with Artevelde, the earl of Derby was winning battles in Gascony. Our armies had also previously found an entrance to France through Brittany, in consequence of a disputed succession to the duchy. Edward supported the claim of John de Montfort, against that of Charles of Blois, nephew of the French king. The defence of the castle of Hennebon by Jane de Montfort, during the captivity of her husband, is one of the most interesting episodes of the wars in which England was engaged. The historian and the artist have delighted to exhibit the heroic duchess, as described by Froissart, with "the courage of a man, and the heart of a lion," showing to the people of Rennes her infant boy and saying, "See here my little son, who shall be the restorer of his father." They have painted her, after the old chronicler, besieged in Hennebon, and at the last extremity looking down along the sea, out of a window in the castle, and crying aloud, smiling for great joy, "I see the succors of England coming." Sir Walter Manny was her deliverer; and the road to France was open through Brittany.

All these attacks upon the French kingdom, conducted with various fortune by England, from 1338 to 1345, were but preludes to the great attempt of 1346; when Edward, relying less upon Gascon or Fleming than upon his English yeomen, landed near Cape La Hogue, on the coast of Normandy. He had with his army, his own first-born son, now sixteen years of age. He had earls of famous name, barons, and knights. But his "four thousand men of arms, and ten thousand archers, besides Irishmen and Welshmen that followed the host on foot," were his main strength. They were the despised "fantassins" of the mounted warriors. They belonged to a novel system of tactics, which the French historian Michelet says "arose out of a new state of society;" and the deeds which they did "revealed a secret which nobody suspected—that of the real want of military power of the feudal world, which was believed to be the only military world." The French nobles, themselves full of courage and contempt of death, despised the infantry and archers taken from the common people. The English earls and knights led them on foot to victory. The French leaders were afraid of trusting the people with the mighty bow. The English twice conquered France with a handful of yeomen. This is the feeling with which Barante, a Frenchman, speaks of Cressy and Agincourt—and he is right.

* See Barante, vol. i. p. 156.

CHAPTER XXX.

Nationality of the English—Landing of King Edward in Normandy—The march to the Somme—Passage of the Somme at Blanchetaque—Position of the English at Cressy—The battle—The victory—Cressy the victory of the yeomen—Scotland—Battle of Nevil's Cross—The siege of Calais—The six burgesses of Calais—English colony founded at Calais—The Order of the Garter—Windsor—The great pestilence—Statute of laborers; scale of wages—Second statute; laborers confined to one locality.

Edward III. assumed the title of king of France in 1337, and in 1340 he quartered the arms of France with those of England. Upon his coins he was king of England and France. In that year a statute was passed which shows how completely the feeling of nationality had now possessed the race of Englishmen, and how jealous they were of the independence of their island. "Know ye," says Edward, "that whereas some people do think that by reason that the realm of France is devolved to us as right heir of the same, and forasmuch as we be king of France, our realm of England should be put in subjection of the king and of the realm of France in time to come. . . . We will, and grant, and stablish, that our said realm of England, nor the people of the same, of what estate or condition they be, shall not in any time to come be put in subjection nor in obeisance of us, nor of our heirs and successors, as kings of France."* All the supposed pre-eminence of the French race over the English had been obliterated in the amalgamation of three centuries. In 1362 it was enacted that all pleas in the courts "shall be pleaded, showed, defended, answered, debated, and judged in the English tongue," and not in the French tongue, "which is much unknown in the said realm."† The English people, speaking the English tongue, had become inspired with the passion for continental dominion. Under the Norman kings and the Norman barons they had been made to feel the yoke of the conquerors. They would now go forth themselves to conquest. There was a great issue to be tried, in a daring adventure for the possession of the noble land that their king demanded as his own. Edward was called by his rival Philip, "the wool-merchant." The growers of wool, the dealers of the staple, would go forth with bow and bill to encounter, at any odds, the chivalry of France. On the 10th of July, 1346, ten thousand archers of England were lodged on the sands near Cape La Hogue. As if the circumstances of the Norman conquest were to be parodied, Froissart says, "The king issued out of his ship, and the first foot that he set on the ground, he fell so rudely that the blood burst out of his nose. The knights that were about him took him up and said, 'Sir, for God's sake, enter again into your ship, and come not a land this day, for this is but an evil sign for us.' Then the king answered quickly and said, 'Wherefore? This is a good token for me, for the land desireth to have me,' of the which answer all his men were right joyful."

The march of the invading army was in perfect conformity with the usual mode of making war in the feudal times. To desolate the country, to burn the towns if they resisted, to plunder the inhabitants even when they peacefully submitted; these were the aspects in which King Edward and his English presented themselves to the people over whom he claimed to rule. Keeping near the coast, they arrived at Barfleur, which was given up "for fear of death;" gold and silver and jewels were found, and "so much riches that the boys and villeins of the host set nothing by good furred gowns." On they marched to Cherbourg, "a great and rich town, but into the castle they could not come, it was so strong." From Cherbourg they proceeded to Carenton, where the castle was taken by assault. During this progress along the sands and marshes of the coast, the fleet kept in view; and the captured burgesses that were worth ransom were sent on board. In this manner the army reached Caen. They entered the city; those who were ready to meet them in the field flying

* "Statutes of the Realm," 14 Ed. III. † Ibid., 36 Ed. III.

to their homes, when they saw the English advancing in three battalions, "with their banners and standards waving in the wind; and the archers which they had not been accustomed to see." But the people of the city cast down stones and timber and iron upon the English who had entered their streets, and killed and wounded five hundred of them. The king was wroth, and would have sacked and burned the whole place, but he was better advised; and after three days marched forward, having won "great riches." Edward was now fully committed to the dangers of his adventure; for he sent his ships home, laden with plunder and prisoners. From Caen he rode in the same order as before, "brenning and exiling the country," till he reached Evreux; and thence marched to Louviers, avoiding the castles and walled towns. His object was to cross the Seine at Rouen, and then march to Calais, expecting to be joined by an army of Flemings. But Philip was at Rouen before him, and was encamped on the right bank of the river, having destroyed the bridge of boats. Below Rouen the passage of the Seine was too difficult to be attempted; and the English army was therefore led along the left bank by Vernon and Mantes, to Poissy—a march of more than sixty miles. The bridge here was partially destroyed. The position of the English was now one of extreme peril. They were separated by two great rivers, the Seine and the Somme, from their Flemish auxiliaries; and Philip was collecting a great force as he proceeded toward Paris in a parallel march on the right bank of the Seine. There was no course but that of fronting the danger. Part of Edward's host marched on to St. Germains, and even to Neuilly; and the people of Paris "were not well assured of themselves, for it was not as then closed." King Philip caused all the penthouses of the city to be pulled down, and took up a position at St. Denis. Meanwhile, the English had repaired the bridge of Poissy, the broken arches and joists of which lay in the river; and Edward rested in the nunnery at Poissy, "and kept there the feast of our lady, in August; and sat in his robes of scarlet, furred with ermine." He then crossed the bridge at Poissy; while Philip, at St. Denis, was preparing to resist an attack upon Paris. The course of the English was now direct by Beauvais, on to the Somme, through Poix. But Philip had made a rapid march upon Amiens, detachments of his men at arms having preceded him along the right bank of the Somme, guarding every ford, and breaking down every bridge. The main body of his army was gradually shutting up the invaders in the nook between the Somme and the sea. Edward had reached Airaines; and he had sent out his marshals with three thousand archers and men-at-arms to find some passage. At Pecquigny they were boldly met and again at Pont de Remy, and could accomplish nothing. They returned to Airaines and made their report, and "the king of England was right pensive." The English marched out of Airaines in the morning, and the French entered the town at noon.

In haste the English had departed from Airaines. When the French marched in, the meat was on the spits, the bread was in the oven, the tables were spread for dinner, the wine-tuns were at hand. There was no time for feasting. Rapidly they marched to Oisemont, where the king took up his quarters. The marshals had ridden to the gates of Abbeville and onward to St. Valery. The bridge of Abbeville was within the walls; the Somme widened and was more dangerous as it neared the sea. Prisoners of the country were brought in to Edward; and he "right courteously demanded of them if there were any among them that knew any passage beneath Abbeville." If any man would show such a passage, he, and twenty of his company, should be quit of his ransom. In the hour of his need, help came from one of those humble men that the tyrannous host had made war upon in their corn-fields and hovels. "A varlet called Gobyn Agace stepped forth and said to the king, Sir, I promise you on the jeopardy of my head I shall bring you to such a place." It was a passage a little above Abbeville, hard in the bottom with white stones, thence called Blanchetaque. Here the river was tidal; and Agace said, that when the flood was gone the stream was so low that it might be passed without danger. The king slept not much that night. At midnight his trumpet was sounded; and at daybreak of that morning of August, the host had departed from Oisemont, led by Gobyn Agace to the much-desired ford. At the sun-rising they had reached it. But the flood was up; and they waited till the hour of prime—the first canonical hour of prayer—until the tide ebbed. But a great company of horse and foot, to the number of twelve thousand, had been gathered under the command of a Norman baron, Sir Godemar du Fay, on the right bank of the river. The French and English struggled in the ford; and the Genoese of Philip's army did great trouble with their cross-bows; but the archers of Edward shot so wholly together that at length the way was cleared, and Sir Godemar du Fay was discomfited and fled. The king having crossed, he thanked God for his army's escape from their great peril; and dismissed Gobyn Agace with a present of a hundred nobles and a horse. The army then marched on, and lodged in the fields near Cressy. The king of France heard that the afternoon flood had come in at Blanchetaque; and so he rested that night at Abbeville.

It was Friday, the 25th of August, when the English army crossed at Blanchetaque. Leaving the valley, they would reach the fertile open country between the Somme and the Authie, "plentiful of wines and other vitaile." Edward knew how closely the French king was following him to fight; and he said, "Let us take here some plot of ground, for we will go no farther till we have seen our enemies." Dr. Lingard says: "With his motives we are not acquainted; but he must have had some powerful inducement to hazard an engagement with such a disparity of force." His motive was probably not the fanciful one that he should fight on his mother's heritage of Ponthieu, as Froissart records; but that he saw "a plot of ground somewhat to his advantage." The village of Cressy, now containing about sixteen hundred inhabitants, is in the valley of the little river the Maye; and behind it the ground gently rises into a broad ridge, whose elevation commands the country through which the French army would advance from above or below Abbeville. About midnight Edward lay down to rest; and he rose betimes in the morning and heard mass with the prince, his son. Then he commanded all the men to draw near the field which he had appointed. He caused a park, or inclosure, to be made by the wood-side, behind his host; and there all the horses and carriages were brought, for every man was to fight on foot. The forest of Cressy, which is now bounded by the Maye, then probably extended toward the ground upon which Edward had taken his position. The English army was formed in three battalions, the first being under the nominal command of the Prince of Wales, who had with him Warwick, and Chandos, and other valiant knights. It consisted of eight hundred men-at-arms, two thousand archers, and a thousand Welsh. The second battalion had eight hundred men-at-arms and twelve hundred archers. The third battalion, of seven hundred men-at-arms and two thousand archers, occupied the summit of the hill, under the command of the king. It has been doubted whether these numbers, as given by Froissart, are not taken too low. The chronicler records that four thousand men-at-arms and ten thousand archers, besides the Welsh and Irish, landed at La Hogue. We find the four thousand men-at-arms diminished at Cressy to two thousand three hundred, and the archers to five thousand two hundred. After the marchings and fightings, the hunger and the intemperance, of seven weeks, we can easily believe that only about half the number were left. At nine o'clock of the morning of the 26th of August, this little army, having eaten and drunk, lay down, each man on the earth, with his bow and his sallet (helmet) beside him; and patiently waited the coming of an enemy ten times their number.

On the same Saturday, the French king and his host, who had crossed the Somme by the bridge of Abbeville, marched betimes out of that town; and when they had advanced two leagues, approaching toward the English, four knights went forward to reconnoitre. The roads were crowded with country people, who cried, "Let us slay them all." The four knights saw the little army motionless on the ground, ready for battle; and they returned and exhorted Philip to rest for that day, for it would be late before they could set their ranks in order. The command was given to halt; but the horsemen in the rear continued to press forward, and those in front, resolved to have the glory of a victory, rode in advance till they saw the battalions of Edward on the high ground, and then suddenly turning back threw the unmanageable multitude into confusion. The Genoese archers, weary of their long march on foot, were unwilling to fight that day; but the king of France became excited amid the tumult about him, and commanded them to begin the battle. These soldiers, fifteen thousand in number, according to Froissart, were tardily coming up to the battle-field when the sky suddenly became darkened. There was a partial eclipse of the sun, and then a

storm of rain and thunder. At five o'clock in the evening the sun again shone out in autumnal splendor; and the Genoese were close to the English. Froissart describes this battle as "the battle between La Broye and Cressy." On the road from Abbeville to La Broye the tableland of Cressy is to the north-west, as seen from Froyelles. As we saw it from that point at five o'clock of a summer afternoon, when the sun was westering, we felt the accuracy of Froissart's narrative, that when the air began to wax clear, and the sun shone fair and bright, "it was right in the Frenchmen's eyen and on the Englishmen's backs." With this disadvantage the Genoese approached, with their cross-bows wound up. They made a great leap and cry; but the English stirred not. A second and a third time they leaped and uttered a fell cry; but the English stirred not. The Genoese at last shot fiercely. Then stepped forth the English archers one pace, and their arrows flew so wholly and so thick that it seemed snow. The cross-bow men fled; and the French king crying out, "Slay these rascals," the men-of-arms dashed in among them, and cut them down. Again the English yeomen drew their bow-strings; and the terrible shafts slew horse and men, the French knights and the poor Italians, and the press was so thick that one overthrew another. Some order at length was restored in the French ranks. The English archers stirred not from their position. At whatever point the French came on they saw "a great hedge before them." The earl of Alençon and the earl of Flanders led their men in some order to skirt the archers, and they joined battle with the Prince of Wales's battalion. The king of France tried to reach them when he saw their banners, but there was the great hedge of archers to interrupt his progress. Once only was the issue of this dread fight doubtful. The king, says Froissart, stood "on a little windmill hill" with his reserve. On the highest point of the ridge is a knoll about fifteen feet above the general level, with an ancient circular stone windmill upon it. Tradition says it is the spot where Edward stood; and there is nothing in the character of the ground to make one doubt the accuracy of this tradition. There is no other "little windmill hill" though there are many windmills around. The one window of the mill commands the road from Abbeville to La Broye.* There then, when the battle was at the hottest, a knight came to the king, and said that Warwick and Oxford and the Prince of Wales were fiercely fought withal and were sore handled, and they desired aid from him and his men. Then the king asked if his son were dead or hurt or felled to the earth; and the knight answered "No." "Say then to them that sent you," replied the king, "that they suffer him this day to win his spurs, and ask me not for aid while my son is alive." This was the spirit of chivalry rather than the caution of sound generalship. It was in the same spirit that the king of Bohemia, who was nearly blind, told his men to lead him so far forward that he might strike one stroke with his sword; and they all tied the reins of their bridles each to the other, that they should not lose him in the press; and they were all slain, the king in the midst. On a cross-road from Cressy to Fontaines-sur-Maye, which was probably in the midst of the battle-field, is a rude cross, where tradition says the blind old man was buried. Before that autumn sun was set the work was done. Alencon was killed, and the count of Flanders; Aumarle, and Loraine, and Louis of Blois, and Auxerre, and St. Pol. Earls and knights, who had come out of the gates of Abbeville that morning in gallant array, with trumpet and banner, were slaughtered or had fled. But "the Englishmen never departed from their battles for chasing of any man, but kept still their field, and ever defended themselves against all such as came to assail them." Before even-song time the French king had not threescore men about him. And then John of Hainault took the king's horse by the bridle, and led him away, till he came to the castle of La Broye; and the king called out in the darkness that they should "open the gate quickly, for this is the fortune of France." There the king stayed not, but rode through the night to Amiens. Upon the field of Cressy torches were lighted, for it was very dark; and Edward the king came down from the little hill, and went to his son, and kissed him, and said, "Fair son, God give you good perseverance. Ye are my good son, that have thus acquitted you nobly. Ye are worthy to keep a realm." And the prince inclined himself to the earth, honoring the king his father. Thus ended the great day of Cressy—a day of terrible slaughter—preceded by weeks of devastation, and followed up by years of contest and suffering. But it was a day on which the steady courage that was the result of the comparatively free condition of the yeomen of England was first asserted on a great scale. From that time the feudal pretension of the iron-clad knights to be the only soldiers was practically at an end. The battles of England were thenceforth to be won by bow and bill. When the ancient weapons were exchanged for the matchlock and the pike, and these again for the rifle and the bayonet, the same spirit which made every yeoman in that field of Cressy stir not one foot, while the great plain before them was filled with ten times their number of men-at-arms, has carried their descendants through many a desperate struggle, and showed from age to age "the majesty with which the British soldier fights."

The slaughter of Cressy was not completed on that last Saturday evening of August, 1346. On the Sunday morning there was a heavy fog; and an English detachment of five hundred lances and two thousand archers went out to scour the country. They fell in with two separate French forces, which they almost annihilated. The heralds of the English went over the great battle-field, and reported that they had found the bodies of eleven princes, eighty bannerets, twelve hundred knights, and thirty thousand inferior persons. On Monday the king departed for Montreuil; and on Thursday the 31st his army sat down before Calais, to commence the memorable siege, which lasted till the August of 1347.

The absence of King Edward in France presented a favorable opportunity to the Scots for a hostile demonstration against England of a formidable character. David II., the son of the great Bruce, had been four years in Scotland, after his long residence at the court of France. He was ready to attend to the suggestions of his friend King Philip as his truest policy. He resolved, therefore, upon an invasion of England, while Edward was besieging Calais, and Derby was winning battles in Gascony. In the beginning of October David entered Cumberland; took the fortress called "the pyle of Liddell;" and, with no exception to the ordinary course of cruelty and devastation, beheaded its governor, and went on into the bishopric of Durham, slaughtering and plundering. But an English army had assembled at Auckland, under the great Norman barons and the military prelates, with which army was Queen Philippa. She went from rank to rank "desiring them to do their devoir—to defend the honor of her lord." At Nevill's Cross the armies met. The battle was won by the English archers. The Scots, with their "great axes, sharp and hard," presented in their close array a fatal mark for the unerring bowmen, of whom, according to Roger Ascham, there was a Scottish proverb, "That every English archer beareth under his girdle twenty-four Scots." David fought with great bravery, and was at last taken prisoner by John Coupland, a squire of Northumberland. He was conducted to London, and lodged in the Tower.

Three days before the festival of All Saints, Queen Philippa joined her lord at Calais. She took with her a great company of ladies; and there was feast and revelry around those beleaguered walls. King Edward was conducting his operations by the slow but certain process of blockade. He warred not against the devoted town with scaling ladder and catapult, nor with the formidable machines which the discovery of gunpowder is held to have called into use at this period. The French king was approaching with a great host to raise the siege. The nobles, and knights, and men-at arms that had escaped the slaughter or captivity of Cressy had been reorganized. Edward would not put the issue of the war upon another battle in the open field. He rendered Calais inaccessible. His fleet blockaded the coast; he established his army in a new town of huts, which rose outside the wall; he threw up intrenchments strongly guarded. The French governor had turned out of the town every inhabitant who had not an independent supply of provisions for several months. Seventeen hundred men, women, and children, thus dispossessed of their homes, approached the English camp. They received each a meal, and two pieces of silver, and went their forlorn course into the highways. Five hundred more unhappy beings were afterward thrust out, and perished between the walls of Calais and the English

* The mill itself, though damaged by long exposure, is of that peculiar fine circular masonry which may be seen in towers of the fourteenth century, of which the Cæsar's tower, now the Bell tower, at Windsor is an example.

lines. At the Whitsuntide of 1347, King Philip hoisted the oriflamme, and led a hundred and fifty thousand men to Whitsand. The approach to Calais by the coast was a dangerous undertaking; for a large fleet, with archers in every vessel, was ready to guard the shore. The other road through the marshes was secured by strong defences, especially at the bridge at Neuillet. For six weeks Philip remained inactive, having sent a cartel to Edward to come forth and fight; and he then took his way to Amiens, and gave every man leave to depart. The governor of Calais immediately hung out the flag of England and asked to capitulate. The garrison had suffered every extremity of misery, having eaten their horses and their dogs. All hope of relief was gone. Edward demanded that they should surrender at discretion. The scene which followed is one which dwells on the mind of every reader of history, when the details of battles and negotiations are passed away, and have left no impression. The story of the six burgesses of Calais and Queen Philippa has been told by Froissart with surpassing dramatic power; and no scepticism of those who fancy that history should reject whatever has the interest of romance, ought to prevent us repeating it, as closely as we can in his own words, with needful condensation.

Sir John of Vienne, the governor of Calais, stands upon the wall of the town, and makes a sign that he would speak with some one of the English host. Thither come to him Sir Walter Manny, and another knight; and the governor makes his request that King Edward would take the town and castle, and all the goods therein, and let them depart. But Sir Walter Manny said that he knew something of the king's mind, which was, that all should submit themselves to his pure will, to ransom such as he pleaseth, and to put to death such as he listeth. Sir John of Vienne answered, that though they had endured much pain, they would endure as much more, rather than consent that the worst lad in the town should have any more evil than the greatest of them all. Sir Walter went back to the king, and, after much debate, the king resolved that all the grace he would award was, that six chief burgesses of the town should come out bareheaded, barefooted, and barelegged, and in their shirts, with halters about their necks; and, with the keys of the town and castle in their hands, thus yield themselves purely to his will, and the rest he would take to mercy. Sir John of Vienne stood again upon the wall to receive the king's answer. He then went into the market-place, and sounded the common bell, and told his sad report, and the people wept, and he himself wept piteously. Then stood forth the richest burgess of all the town, Eustace de St. Pierre, and said, that to save the residue of the people he would be the first to put his life in jeopardy. When he had thus spoken, every man worshipped him, and divers kneeled down at his feet with sore weeping. Then another honest burgess, John Dayre, rose and said, I will keep company with my gossip Eustace. And James of Wyssant, and Peter his brother, and two others, declared the same. Then they went out of the gate, apparelled as the king desired, and stood between the gate and the barriers. And the captain delivered them to Sir Walter Manny, and told him that they were the most notable burgesses of all the town, and begged him to pray the king to have mercy on them; and Sir Walter said, I shall do the best for them I can. And the six burgesses knelt before the king, and held up their hands, and said, We submit ourselves clearly unto your will and pleasure, to save the residue of the people of Calais, who have suffered much pain. The earls, and barons, and others who were there, wept for pity; but the king looked felly on them, for greatly he hated the people of Calais; and he commanded their heads to be struck off, and would hear no man in their behalf for mercy. Then the queen, being great with child, kneeled down, and said: Gentle sir, since I passed the sea in much peril I have desired nothing of you; therefore now I require of you, in the honor of the Son of the Virgin Mary, and for the love of me, that you will take mercy of these six burgesses. The king beheld the queen, and stood still a while in a study, and then said, Ah, dame, I would you had been now in some other place; but I cannot deny you. I give these men to you, to do your pleasure with them. And the six burgesses were brought into the queen's chamber, newly clothed; and she gave them to eat at their leisure; and bestowed upon each six nobles; and caused them to be taken through the host in safety, and set at liberty. This is the relation of Froissart. Some historians would infer that the king was not in earnest in threatening to put the burgesses to death. We take the story as we find it; not believing that it can be improved by any prosaic explanation.

After the surrender of Calais, an armistice was entered into between the rival kings. Within a week after he had taken possession of the town, Edward addressed a precept to the authorities of the principal places of England, commanding them to proclaim that any of his subjects, whether merchants or otherwise, who should come with their goods to the town of Calais, should be provided with habitations at such a rent as might content them, and might dwell there securely with their families in the enjoyment of all their liberties and privileges.* The king desired to found an English colony in this town, which he had won from France at such a heavy cost. For two centuries Calais remained in possession of the English crown; and the people attached the greatest importance to its occupation; believing that, while England was mistress of this nearest port of communication, the keys of France hung at her girdle.

Edward returned to England in October. The victory of Cressy had produced no actual result in the great controversy between the two kingdoms beyond the acquisition of Calais; but the character of the king, and the character of the nation were elevated. The yeoman had taken his proper position side by side with the knight. Cressy became a rallying cry whenever Englishmen thought of battle and dominion. The false ambition engendered a true heroism. Edward was naturally ready to associate the memory of his great victory with the ostentation of chivalry. He had summoned illustrious knights to a feast of the Round Table at Windsor, before his invasion of France. He now solemnly established the statutes of the Order of the Garter. In 1349 there was high festival at Windsor; when the king and twenty-five companions of the order, "all clothed in mantles of fine woollen cloth of blue color, powdered with garters, and each wearing the great collar of the order," went in solemn procession to the chapel of St. George, where the ceremonies of installation were performed. St. George, the archbishop of Alexandria—whose ecclesiastical career of violence and rapacity had been forgotten after the lapse of seven centuries, when the Crusaders adopted him for their saint—St. George the victorious, with all those fabulous accomplishments which made him the dragon-slayer and the virgin-deliverer, became the patron of the Order of the Garter, and the tutelar saint of England. The "Black Book" of the Order, written in the days of Henry VIII., says, that St. George in a dream inspired the lion-hearted Richard to buckle a leather on the legs of each of his most favored companions in arms; and that Edward therefore made the garter the badge of his knightly Order—a symbol of fellowship in chivalry. The romantic legends connect the emblem of the Order with the story which Froissart tells, "how the king of England was in amours with the Countess of Salisbury," and how the noble woman repressed his unhallowed passion. "Evil be to him that evil thinks," says the legend, became the motto of the Order, when the king picked up the garter of her whose "fresh beauty and goodly demeanor" were ever in his remembrance. It is "a vain and idle romance," say some solemn narrators; as if chivalry were not a perpetual succession of vain and idle romances. To test the usages of such times by the thoughts and manners of our own, is to pass over what is characteristic of the feudal age, in which the fierce passions, the daring adventures, the constant restlessness of men without intellectual pursuits, were associated in their few peaceful seasons with an almost childish love of luxurious gratification and senseless pageantry; and when the real courtesy which sought to do honor to the brave and the fair was mixed up with exaggerated compliments and frivolous conceits. Writers who apply a moral scale derived from the present to these exhibitions of the past, speak of Edward as cowardly when he stood on the windmill hill at Cressy, while his son was fighting below him; and of the Black Prince, as assuming the pride which apes humility, when he waited at Poitiers on his royal prisoner at supper. Very truly has a great historian said, "How many pages are written to explain events wholly conforming to the spirit of their age! Whereas, if we left the facts on their true theatre, living, as it were, in the midst of the circumstances which surrounded them, our imagination would receive natural impressions of actions and characters." †

* Fœdera, vol. iii. part i. p. 130.

† Barante, "Ducs de Bourgogne," Preface, p. 13.

Edward III. had a strong affection for Windsor. In a letter to the pope, in which he claims certain privileges for the college which he had there established within his castle, he speaks of it as a place in which he had his birth.* In the same letter he claims similar privileges for his canonical establishment in his palace of Westminster. In the palace of Westminster was the famous chapel of Saint Stephen, completed with unusual magnificence in 1347—the gem of English art, on which "was lavished all that the metropolis could produce most exquisite in the arts of design; and this not in architecture only, but the best works of sculpture and the highest class of painting were put into requisition for its adornment." † In the reign of Edward VI. the sculptured arches and the painted walls were boarded over, and the chapel of the English kings, as beautiful as the Saint Chapelle of Paris, now so exquisitely restored, was made the House of Commons. At the union with Ireland the old wainscoting was taken down, and the curious paintings, then revealed to a tasteless generation, were destroyed. The fire of 1834 completed the ruin. Windsor had a better fate. Edward III., when relieved from the pressure of the French war, applied himself to the enlargement of his birthplace. The old castle, with the exception of three towers on the west, which still remain, was pulled down, and a new castle, over which the standard of England has floated for five centuries, was erected during his reign. In his twenty-third regnal year, 1349, his letters-patent went forth to press hewers of stone, carpenters, and other artificers; and the same principle of impressing workmen was put in force during twenty years. William of Wykeham was his chief architect. The system of impressment offers an illustration of the condition of the people; and is one among the many proofs of the semi-slavery that was attempted to be imposed when the English were fast passing out of a state of serfdom.

When any general misfortune with which a people is visited becomes an epoch from which their legal instruments are dated, we may form an accurate notion of the intensity of the infliction. In this reign there were three terrible visitations of pestilence. The first and the greatest lasted from the 31st of May to the 29th of September, 1349; ‡ and in this year we find many charters and other documents dated, not as the twenty-third of Edward III., but as the year of the Great Pestilence. Within a month after the jousts and tournaments, the banquets and dances of Windsor, the land was suddenly stricken with what was called the Black Plague. According to the best accredited accounts, this disease originated in Upper India and China in 1346; and gradually spreading through Asia, in four years comprehended nearly all Europe. In 1348 Italy was afflicted with the pest, at the same season as England in the succeeding year. Boccaccio, in his introduction to the Decameron, has given the most vivid description of this visitation. He tells us of the rich shutting themselves up in their houses, passing their time in such pleasures as they could obtain; of the licentious abandoning themselves to every intemperance; of the almost general heartlessness with which even the family ties were disregarded, while individuals thought only of their own safety. He tells, too, of the condition of the lowest class, who died by thousands without any aid or solace in their deserted poverty. In England, the pestilence, according to a Register of the Abbey of Gloucester, left scarcely a third part of the population remaining. This is probably an exaggeration. The proportionate account of destruction recorded in Italy was three out of five, of all sexes, ages, and conditions. The effects of this plague are to be traced in the acts of the English government. The great and rich, according to the general testimony, escaped the immediate consequences of the epidemic. But their lands went out of cultivation from the want of laborers; and those who could carry away their capital fled to other countries. On the 1st of December, 1349, the king issued a precept to the mayors and bailiffs of all the ports, stating that no small portion of the people being dead of the pestilence, and the treasury of the kingdom being greatly exhausted, it had been notified to him that many persons were quitting the country with their wealth, which, if tolerated, would leave the land equally destitute of men and money; and upon these grounds he directs that no man be suffered to leave the kingdom, except he be a merchant, notary, or messenger.* But the Black Plague left still more enduring effects than the great mortality—soon to be repaired by hasty marriages—or the emigration, thus forcibly arrested. It produced "The Statute of Laborers"—an arbitrary act, whose principles, however gradually mitigated, pervaded the relations of employer and servant long after the days of feudal despotism, and which still cling to our institutions in the Law of Settlement. The statute was one of unmitigated selfishness. But it appears to be an universal law of such visitations, in times which looked upon them only as manifestations of the divine wrath, and not of the mercy which was to bring good out of evil, that they rendered the powerful more oppressive, the rich more greedy, and the sensual more abandoned. "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." The author of the "Continuation of the Chronicle of William de Nangis" says, speaking of the continent, that after the pestilence men became more covetous and litigious—charity growing more cold, and iniquity and ignorance more abounding. There were few left to teach the young. The generation was demoralized.

The preamble of this remarkable statute states the exigency which demanded it, without any of those attempts to conceal a real motive which modern legislation sometimes resorts to: "Because a great part of the people, and especially of workmen and servants, late died of the pestilence, many seeing the necessity of masters, and great scarcity of servants, will not serve unless they may receive excessive wages." The workmen and servants were practically aware of the natural law which regulates wages—their dependence upon the number of laborers seeking employment. The government set their ordinances in opposition to that natural law. It was enacted that every able-bodied man and woman, not being a merchant, or exercising any craft, or having estate or land, should be bounden to serve, whenever required so to do, at the wages accustomed to be given in the twentieth year of the king, and in five or six common years next before. And that if any man or woman, whether free or bond, should be required to serve at such customary wages, and would not, he or she should be committed to the next jail. It also enacted that laborers departing from their service should be imprisoned; and that those masters who consented to give the higher wages should be liable to be mulcted in double the amount paid or promised. The statute then goes on to apply the same regulations to all artificers—saddlers, skinners, white-tawers, cordwainers, tailors, smiths, carpenters, masons, tylers, shipwrights, carters. But to balance the low wages against the price of commodities, it was also enacted that butchers, fishmongers, brewers, bakers, poulterers, and all sellers of victuals, shall be bound to sell the same for a reasonable price. It was moreover enacted, that no person should give alms to such as might be able to labor, or presume to favor such in their sloth, under pain of imprisonment. But the laws of nature were too strong for the laws of policy. Two years after, we have another statute, which recites that, "it is given the king to understand in this present parliament, that the said servants, having no regard to the said ordinances, but to their ease and singular covetise, do withdraw themselves to serve great men and others, unless they have livery, and wages to the double and treble of what they were wont to take before." A scale of wages is then set forth for laborers in husbandry; and the wages of carpenters, masons, tylers, and others concerned in building, are also fixed. The principle of confining the laborer to one locality is established by enacting, with the exception of the inhabitants of Stafford, Lancaster, Derby, Craven, and of the Welsh and Scotch marches—who may come and go to other places in harvest time—"that none of them go out of the town where he dwelleth in the winter, to serve the summer, if he may serve in the same town." The first "Statute of Laborers," in what regards a fixed rate of wages, could not have been enforced without a limitation of the area in which the laborer should seek employment, as defined by the second statute. That law of God which plants in the heart of man the desire to ameliorate his condition, had gradually, without the sanction of any written law, put an end to the property of one human being in another, to a considerable degree, when this Statute of Laborers was enacted. Had

* "In quo maternus uterus nos eduxit." Fœdera, vol. iii. part i. p. 342.

† Fergusson, "Handbook of Architecture," vol. ii. p. 870.

‡ This term is given by Sir H. Nicolas, upon the authority of Sir Richard St. George, Clarencieux King of Arms in the time of Charles I. It differs from other accounts, which make the duration of the pestilence much longer.

* Fœdera, vol. iii. part ii. p. 191.

the pestilence come a century earlier, when the distinctions between the bondman and the free were in far higher efficiency, no laws for regulating wages, or for binding the laborer to the soil, would have been needed. When the slave had died in the common visitation, the master would have lost the services of the man, but he would have had one mouth less to feed. His land would have been untilled, and he must have borne the infliction, as if it were a murrain of his cattle. The pestilence came when labor and capital had become exchangers. But those who had been used to command labor upon their own terms were impatient of the inevitable alteration, when the pestilence exhibited to the free laborers the natural advantage of their reduced numbers. They demanded a free exchange of their property with the other property of food and money. A free exchange, says the statute of Edward, is "to the great damage of the great men, and impoverishing of all the commonalty." But no selfish legislation could wholly prevent this free exchange. A struggle was then begun, which, however gradually relieved from dire oppression and desperate bitterness, is not yet ended. The chains of the serf of the fourteenth century dropped off; but his descendant was still kept manacled in some form or other till the nineteenth; and the faint mark of the collar is still upon his neck.

But, however we must regard this attempt to limit the rate of wages by statute as unjust and inefficient, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that there was a serious difficulty for the legislature of Edward III. to surmount in some way. The act of parliament says that the laborers withdrew themselves from service unless they had wages to the double or treble of that they were wont to take before. This averment is confirmed by Knyghton, a chronicler of the time, who mentions as exorbitant wages the payment of a shilling a day, with his food, to a mower, and eightpence a day, with food, to a reaper. The shilling a day was equal to fifteen shillings of present money; and if that rate could have been maintained for all husbandry operations, the land must have gone out of cultivation for a time, till the balance of capital and labor had been restored by an equalization of the amount of land to be tilled, and the number of laborers prepared to till it. The parliament stepped in with its rude tyrranical remedy to repress the other tyranny. The statute said that a mower should receive fivepence. According to the same law, which also regulates the payment by wheat or money, at the will of the employer, fivepence was equal to half a bushel of wheat. The average produce of wheat per acre was then less than six bushels.* The extravagant demands of the laborers of the time of Edward III. had no relation to the just proportion that must ever subsist between the rate of wages and the commercial value of the produce out of which the labor is to be paid, and the capital maintained in its efficiency. It was not a time when such questions could be understood by the interested parties on either side. They are not understood even now. The same rude contest has gone on in many forms to our own day—a contest which no legislation can settle, however powerful it may have been, at various times, and some not far distant, to step in with stern repression or weak compromise. The contest will never be wholly settled till a just estimate is formed by every member of the social system of the relative value of every other worker in the field of industry.

* Cullum's "Hawsted," speaking of the year 1390; page 219.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Death of Philip of Valois—Renewal of the French war—King Edward ravages Scotland—Expedition of the Black Prince—The Battle of Poitiers—King John a prisoner in England—The Jacquerie—Invasion of France and Peace of Bretigny—Sufferings of France—Condition of England—Statute of Apparel—Social State indicated by Chaucer—Accession to the French crown of Charles V.—The Black Prince in Spain—Bertrand du Guesclin—War in Gascony—Truce—The Black Prince in England—His death—Death of Edward III.—State of the English Church—Wycliffe.

Philip of Valois, who had held a troublesome possession of the throne of France for twenty-two years, died in August, 1350. It was a period when the war with England was suspended, without any real approach to a permanent peace. Edward had proposed to resign his pretensions to the French crown, on the condition that he should receive the absolute sovereignty of the provinces in France which had been held as fiefs by preceding English kings. This offer presented a secure basis for a friendly arrangement. Philip rejected it; John, his son and successor, consented to it. After several years of negotiation, the French procurators refused to agree to the terms which their king had promised. The cession of Calais, upon which Edward insisted, was probably more repugnant to the French than that of Gascony. In 1355, prince Edward led an army from the walls of Bordeaux; ravaged the country to the foot of the Pyrenees; and, taking a northward course, laid in ashes cities and towns, and filled a fertile land with desolation, which had been unvisited by war for a hundred years. In regarding such proceedings there was no shudder of humanity in those times; and even in later periods the ravage of populous districts, and the destruction of commercial towns, have been defended upon the principle that to weaken the resources of an enemy is to abridge the duration of a time of warfare. But we have lived to see a period when war has been conducted with as little injury as possible to the non-belligerents. The change has been produced by the same general causes which have produced a total alteration in the character of the fighting-man. "The modern soldier is not necessarily the stern bloody-handed man the ancient soldier was; there is as much difference between them as between the sportsman and the butcher.* While his son was ravaging on the banks of the Garonne, king Edward was leading an army from Calais to the Somme. The want of provisions drove him back after a march of ten days. Meanwhile the Scots had surprised Berwick; and the king hastened home. In the depth of winter he marched into Scotland, having retaken Berwick, and he carried havoc through the Lothians. His fleet, laden with provisions, could not make the port of Leith; and he recrossed the border, leaving behind him the feeling of deadly revenge with which the Scots recorded this season of calamity as "the burned Candlemas."

In July, 1356, prince Edward, now known as the Black Prince, marched out of Bordeaux, upon a second expedition of waste and pillage. Ascending the Garonne as high as Agen, he turned to the provinces of Querci, Limousin, and Auvergne. The time of the harvest and the vintage was at hand, but the corn was trodden under foot, and the vineyards destroyed. The little army was now in the very centre of France. King John was advancing from Chartres to drive back the marauders; and he crossed the Loire, at Blois, marching on toward Poitiers. Prince Edward was in a hostile country, and he could gain no knowledge of the line upon which the French were moving. He resolved, however, upon retreat. As the English army marched, also in the direction of Poitiers, "they wist not truly where the Frenchmen were; but they supposed that they were not far off, for they could find no more forage, whereby they had great default of victual in their host; and some of them repented that they had destroyed so much as they had done before."† On the 17th of September, being Saturday, the van of Prince Edward's small band fell in with the rear of King John's army. There was a skirmish, and those English who rode ahead saw all the fields covered with men-at-arms. The French king entered into the city of Poitiers. The locality was full of recollections of the glory of France. Here Clovis defeated Alaric, king of the Visigoths. Here Charles Martel drove back an immense host of invading Moslems. Edward took up his quarters in a strong place, among hedges, vines, and bushes. On the Sunday morning, the French trumpet blew, and every man mounted on horseback, and went into the field, where the king's banner waved in the wind; and there was all the flower of France, with banner and pennons and rich armory. Three knights went out to see the number of the English; and they reported that they estimated them at two thousand men-at-arms, and four thousand archers, and fifteen hundred other men; but that they were wisely ordered, and that they had lined the hedges and banks with archers, by a road on which four horsemen only could ride, and that at the end of that fortified way there were men-at-arms afoot and archers before them, so that they would not easily be discomfited. Cardinal Perigord then solicited the king that he might ride to the prince, and show him what danger he and his handful of Englishmen were in.

* Napier, "War in the Peninsula."

† Froissart, Lord Berners' translation. In this narrative of the battle of Poitiers we must use Froissart's words occasionally, without always attempting to indicate the precise quotations.

The cardinal went, and the Prince of Wales answered to his entreaties, "Sir, the honor of me and my people saved, I would gladly fall to any reasonable way." Between the armies rode the cardinal that Sunday; but could accomplish no agreement. Edward offered to surrender what he had won in that expedition, and to swear not to bear arms against the French king for seven years. But John required, finally, that the prince and a hundred knights should yield themselves prisoners. On the Monday morning, the 19th of September, the cardinal again came; but there was no remedy but to abide the battle. The French marshals approached with their battalions, and their horsemen entered the road where the great hedges were set full of archers. No bow was bent as the columns of cavalry proudly marched up that narrow way. But a command was given; and along the whole extent of that crowded lane, sudden showers of arrows turned what was a procession into a struggle of advance and retreat. At the first flight of the deadly shafts of the English archers, the horses rushed back, and flung out, and fell upon their riders. Then the Gascon men-at-arms went in among the press, and slew the knights and squires in that great disorder. The French also, who were behind, recoiled back, and came on the division of the duke of Normandy; and the men took their horses and fled, when they saw the dreaded archers coming down a little hill, on their flank and rear. Leaping on their horses, the reserve of men-at-arms of England now advanced; for the Lord Chandos said to the prince, "Sir, take your horse and ride forth; the journey is yours." And the prince cried, "Advance banner, in the name of God and of St. George!" Then he saw the Lord Robert of Duras lying dead, and he told his men to take him upon a targe to the cardinal of Perigord, whose nephew he was, and to salute him by that token; for the cardinal's men were out in the field against him, which was not pertaining to the right order of arms. Onward the little army went into the thick of their enemies; and the archers shot so wholly together that none durst come in their danger. At last the king's division encountered the Englishmen. There was Lord James Audley, always in the chief of the battle, and he was sore hurt, but as long as his breath served him he fought; and Warwick was there, and Suffolk, and many knights of Gascony. "King John was that day a full right good knight; if the fourth part of his men had done their endeavors as well as he did, the journey had been his in all likelihood." But the French fled from those fields of Beauvoir and Maupertuis, even to the gates of Poitiers. There was a great press to take the king; and he yielded to Sir Dennis of Morbecque, who promised to bring him and his young son, Philip, to the Prince of Wales. Where was the prince, when John of France could not go forward because of the press around him? "The Prince of Wales," says Froissart, "who was courageous and cruel as a lion, took great pleasure to fight and chase his enemies." But Chandos said, "Set your banner a-high on this bush, that your people may draw hither; nor can I see banners nor pennons of the French; wherefore rest and refresh you, for ye be sore chafed." A red pavilion was set up; and the prince drunk wine; and many lords gathered around him as they came in from the chase. But shortly came up the kingly captive in great peril; for he was surrounded by English and Gascons, who had taken him out of the hands of Sir Dennis Morbecque, and strove which should have him. That night the Prince of Wales made a supper in his lodging to the French king, and to the great lords that were prisoners. "And always the prince served before the king, as humbly as he could, and would not sit at the king's board, for any desire that the king could make, and exhorted him not to be of heavy cheer, for that King Edward, his father, should bear him all honor and amity, and accord with him so reasonably that they should be friends ever after." And the prince praised the king's great valiantness, and said that every Englishman who saw each man's deed plainly accorded to him the prize and chaplet. This scene, so gracefully performed by him who, a few hours before, was "courageous and cruel as a lion," was in perfect accordance with the system of chivalry. It is not a feeling to be despised—that gentleness and courtesy which prompted the words and actions of the prince, after this marvellous victory. The right hand of fellowship to a fallen foe is, happily, a principle that has survived the feudal ages in the wars of England. When policy, as in modern instances, has compelled her government to violate it, the people feel ashamed, and the public opinion of another generation reverses the judgment of those who have played the part of the ungenerous victor. On the day after the battle, the Prince of Wales marched with his royal prisoner to Bordeaux, the great bulk of captive knights having been admitted to easy ransom.

On the 24th of May, 1357, the Black Prince returned to London, in a triumphal procession, with his royal prisoner. In the pageant the captive—as if the spirit of chivalry was set in contrast with the old Roman pride of leading conquered kings in chains—was shown to the people as an honored guest; while the winner of the great field of Poitiers rode humbly beside him. King John was lodged in the Savoy, a pleasant palace belonging to the duke of Lancaster, king Edward's son; and in the winter following there were jousts in Smithfield, in which the kings of England, of France, and of Scotland were present to take part in the feats of arms. King John was then removed to Windsor with his son Philip. It was a festive season in England. In France there was the extremity of suffering. There were heavy sums to be raised for the ransoms engaged to be paid for the prisoners of Poitiers; and the unhappy cultivators were ground down to the lowest point of misery by the lords of the soil, who had fled in terror before the stout English bowmen. On the 21st of May, 1358, commenced that insurrection of the peasants, which was called the Jacquerie, from the nickname which the poor French villain bore of Jacques Bonhomme. Almost a hundred villagers assembled in Beauvoisin, and, without any leader, marched forward, vowing destruction on the nobles and knights of France, who, they said, shamed the realm. Destruction to the gentlemen was their cry. The horrors that followed the march of these wretched people are too awful to be described. Their numbers were soon increased to a hundred thousand. After the first terror, assistance was procured from Flanders and Hainault, and they were slain and hanged upon trees in heaps. But still they went on, destroying, in the words of the chronicler, like enraged dogs. Froissart says, "when they were demanded why they did so evil deeds, they would answer, they could not tell, but that they did as they saw others do." There was an universal movement for plunder and vengeance, at a time when communication between distant places was difficult and uncertain. It seemed as if one great passion had suddenly inspired these scattered thousands, and had swallowed up every feeling of fear or of mercy. All the peaceful population, whether of the towns or hamlets, and the women and children of the châteaux and the farms fled before them. The highways were covered with the bodies of their victims; and the wolves came out from the woods to follow their murderous track. At last a body of knights who were returning from a crusade against the pagans of Prussia, and who were headed by Gaston de Foix, one of Froissart's heroes of chivalry, and by Captal de Buche, one of Edward's Gascon knights, came to the rescue of the duchess of Normandy and the duchess of Orleans, who, with several hundred ladies, had fled to the castle of Meaux. A large body of the insurgent peasantry, with many people of Paris, to the number of nine thousand, had been admitted into the city, so that all the streets were full of them. They were wretchedly armed, and worn with hunger and fatigue. Out of the castle issued the two knights and their company, with spears and swords, and slew them till they were weary. Seven thousand perished on that day. They never rallied again; and wherever a scattered party was met with, the men of war, that now scoured the country, butchered them without mercy.

France had not yet drained the cup of misery to the dregs. During the captivity of John, the government of the dauphin, Charles, was harassed by contending factions; and the kingdom was in a condition little short of anarchy. John settled with Edward the conditions of a peace, to take place upon the expiration of the truce. He consented to the hard terms which the king of England insisted upon; for a prince of the blood, Charles of Navarre, called the Bad, was adding to the distractions of the kingdom, by setting up claims to the crown. But the regency of France rejected the terms which their captive monarch had agreed to. Edward again invaded France in the autumn of 1359, with a more powerful army than he had ever before assembled, and at the end of March he was encamped before Paris. The fatigues of his winter campaign had greatly reduced his numbers; and now, beleaguering a city which was too strong for assault, he was in want of provisions, and was compelled to retire. The route toward Chartres was covered with men and horses that dropped from hunger and exhaustion; and all the superstition that

in those days clung to the firmest minds was called up by a terrible storm, which swept the camp with a deluge of rain, and which made Edward think of that vengeance of heaven that awaited the man of blood. Thoughts of pacification entered his heart. Negotiations were set on foot, and the great peace of Bretigny was concluded on the 8th of May. The king of England resigned his pretensions to the crown of France, and to the territories of Normandy, Anjou, and Maine. He restored all the conquered places, with the exception of Guisnes and Calais. He was content to be lord of Aquitaine, retaining Gascony, Poitou, and other dependencies, in full sovereignty. Three million crowns of gold were to be paid in six years for the ransom of King John. The captive king was set at liberty before the end of the year. But peace with England brought no tranquillity to France. The country was now ravaged by bands of discharged soldiers, the Free Companions, who during a twenty years' war had been fighting in separate bands under their own captains. How they acted when the war was ended, Froissart has told in a few quaint words: "There were many strangers that were great captains, and great pillars (pillagers) that would not depart, as Almains (Germans), Brabanters, Flemings, Hainaulters, Gascons, and bad Frenchmen, who were but poor by reason of the war, whereby they sought to recover themselves with making of war in the realm of France. The whole people persevered still in their evil doing, and so they did often much evil in the realm." Amid their distractions, King John went back to his wasted country. Petrarch had proceeded to Paris upon an embassy to congratulate the king upon his return to his dominions, and he thus describes the scene which met his eyes: "When I viewed this kingdom, which had been desolated by fire and sword, I could not persuade myself it was the same I had formerly beheld—fertile, rich, and flourishing. On every side it now appeared a dreadful desert; extreme poverty, lands untilled, fields laid waste, houses gone to ruin, except here and there one that was defended by some fortification, or which was inclosed within the walls; everywhere were seen the traces of the English, and the dreadful havoc they had made. Touched by such mournful effects of the rage of man, I could not withhold my tears." Petrarch might have added the ravages of the Jacquerie and of the Free Companions, who had been pillaging since the truce of 1357, to the havoc of the English. The sufferings which France endured at this season were such as could only have been recovered from by a country to which nature has been so bountiful, and whose resources always spring up to grapple with social calamities.

The condition of the people of England at the epoch of the peace of Bretigny presents a striking contrast to that of the people of France. With the exception of the miseries produced by the second pestilence of 1361, we may regard the seventh decade of the fourteenth century as a period of English prosperity. France was devoured by the companies of adventurers and brigands who obeyed no law. England was only disturbed by the transition from serfdom to free labor, in which the laborers asserted their own importance somewhat beyond the limits of discretion. France was weighed down by the oppressions through which property was extorted from the industrious classes, whether by the exactions of the nobles, or the unlimited taxation of the government; and the feudal confederacy to obtain money from a country so devastated by war was met by the Jacquerie of the peasants, and the revolts of the burgesses. England, whenever a tax was demanded for carrying on hostilities, had a parliament, which always turned round steadily upon the king, and required extension of liberties or redress of grievances. At the commencement of the war with France in 1340, before a subsidy was given, the king's commissioners had to show letters-patent authorizing them "to grant some graces to the great and small of the kingdom." In 1348 the Commons granted a subsidy on condition that no illegal levying of money should take place. In 1351 a statute was passed that no one should be constrained to find men-at-arms, other than those who held land by such services, except by consent of parliament. There was always a struggle going forward between the king and the parliament; but it was no longer a struggle merely between the king and the nobles. The Commons had obtained an integral share in the government; and before the end of the reign they were strong enough to remove an administration, and impeach those whom they considered evil advisers of the crown. This strength of the deputies of the people is conclusive evidence that the middle classes, during nearly half a century, had attained so much wealth and consideration, that the old feudal relations of society may be deemed nearly at an end. There probably is no better evidence of the many distinctions of rank among the laity, which now existed, than the Statute of Apparel of 1363. It has a few words about regulating the diet of servants; but the chief clauses are intended to restrain "the outrageous and excessive apparel of divers people against their estate and degree."

The statute begins with servants, called grooms—as well servants of lords as of artificers and tradesmen. They and their wives are to wear cloth of a certain low price, with no gold, or silver, or silk, or embroidery. This enactment shows that there was an amount of luxury among this class, which ill accords with the notion which some entertain, that below the aristocracy all was rude and miserable. The first enacting clause about dress thus comprises mechanics and commercial servants; the last relates to laborers in husbandry—carters, ploughmen, shepherds, cowherds. If they had not forty shillings of goods or chattels, they were to wear only blanket and russet, and girdles of linen, according to their estate. In these two classes must have been comprised the bulk of the population. Chaucer, the shrewdest observer and the truest painter of manners—who, although he wrote the "Canterbury Tales," twenty years after this period, would naturally in his retirement describe the social state of which he had been a busy member—has little notice of the humbler classes of the community, the peasants, the servants, and the working artisans. Chaucer's ploughman was a man of "goods and chattels," who though he had spread many a load of dung, and would thresh and ditch, yet paid his tithes and was kind to the poor. He was the small farmer, of whom the land was full—the humble tenant, who was no longer at the bidding of his lord. He was the parson's brother. The attendant of Chaucer's knight was a yeoman. The Statute of Apparel places the yeomen under the same regulations as the people of handicraft, and they were to wear no vesture of higher price than forty shillings the whole cloth, without things of gold and silver and costly fur. Chaucer's yeoman comes in his coat and hood of green, with his sheaf of peacocks' arrows, and his mighty bow. He knows all the usage of woodcraft, for he is a forester; and in spite of statute he has a silver image of St. Christopher, the patron of field-sports, on his breast. He is a specimen of the bold race that won Cressy and Poitiers—men who were shooting at the butts on every common in England, while the French peasantry, who were not intrusted with the cross-bow till after the peace of Bretigny, and then again were forbidden their manly exercises, were playing at dice and draughts in imitation of their lords. Chaucer's men of handicraft are the haberdasher, carpenter, weaver, dyer, and tapiser (tapestry maker). They are clothed each in the livery of his "solemn and great fraternity." Fresh and new is their gear, and the knives at their girdles are mounted with silver. They have chattels and rent enough to be aldermen, a dignity to which their wives look forward, in the hope to be called Madame. The prentice to such worthies has been painted in one of the "Canterbury Tales"—a proper stout fellow, full of jollity, loving the tavern better than the shop—a dancer at bridals, and a dice-player. The cook of Chaucer so describes the dissolute youth, probably of gentle blood, who aped the manners of the great in an age when luxurious indulgence was becoming common to all ranks. The amount of individual wealth gave privileges which were not accorded to the mere social condition. There were degrees of permitted luxury among people of handicraft, citizens and burgesses, which the law recognized then, as much as individual homage does now. The tradesman who possessed five hundred pounds might wear cloth of silk, and a reasonable decoration of silver trimmings; and their wives and daughters might wear fur turned up with minever—even as gentlemen and esquires of a hundred a year. The citizens of Chaucer, who had chattels enough to be aldermen, were thus lifted out of the less wealthy class—whose wives might wear no silken veils, and must be content with cat-skin fur.

The gentlemen and esquires of the statute correspond with the franklin of Chaucer—he of the beard as white as a daisy—the great householder, whose hospitality was so abundant that "it snewed in his house of meat and drink." In his hall stood his table ready covered all the long day. He gave no sanction to the recent innovation of "the privy parlor," in which the lord of the mansion sometimes

now sought to evade the duties of the festive hall.* The franklin was a public man—a sire at sessions, a knight of the shire. He was only below the knight in rank and raiment, according to the statute. The knights possessing four hundred marks by the year might wear what they pleased except ermine ; and their wives might have pearls and precious stones on their heads. Chaucer's knight comes in his soild cassock, and his coat of mail. He had late returned from fighting in mortal battles, and was about to perform his pilgrimage. His son, the young squire, had been warring in companionship with his father ; but his locks are now curled, and his short gown, with sleeves long and wide, is embroidered with white and red flowers, as it were a mead. The sergeant at law, who no doubt takes rank with the great of the land, appears not to have been proud of his dress ; for he rode but humbly in a medley coat, girt with a sash of silk, with small bars. But his deportment was far more impressive than his dress—"his words were so wise"—a busy man, and yet one that appeared busier than he was. The physician was by his side, in his bright purple cloak and his furred hood—one who, although he talked of the ascendency of the planets and of magic natural, was learned in Æsculapius and Galen. Of the laity of this goodly company we have not forgotten the Wife of Bath, in speaking of apparel. She was a cloth-maker, with great custom ; but her coverchiefs or headdresses were of the finest quality, and her hosen were of scarlet. What were ordinances of apparel to her, who "husbands at the church-door had she had five"? If the statute affected her she would despise it, as most others did—for it was repealed within a year of its enactment.

Of this company of Chaucer who travelled from the inn of Southwark to St. Thomas's shrine at Canterbury, seven of the characters belong to the ecclesiastical establishment of England—the prioress, the monk, the friar, the clerk of Oxford, the parson, the sumptnour (summoner), and the pardoner. Of such individual representatives of a great class we shall have briefly to speak before we close this period of our domestic history. Looking at them generally in connection with the other classes that the Statute of Apparel indicates, and that our first great English poet describes, we cannot but be impressed with this general view of a condition of society in which the distinctions of rank are so clearly marked, but in which there is no slavish submission either to high blood, or great wealth, or outward sanctity, or professional distinction. Henry Bailey, the host of the Tabard, is the director of the pilgrimage. He presides over the supper that precedes the departure of the pilgrims, and he suggests that to shorten the journey each "should tellen tales alway." The "very perfect gentle knight" feels no humiliation at agreeing to this proposal ; and he relates his noble romance of chivalry as readily as the miller tells his tale with its broad jests. The prioress and the nun have no false shame in being under the safeguard of the courtesy of the knight, who is "meek as is a maid." The sergeant at law, who sits as judge at assize, and the solemn physician, are wayside and board companions with the haberdasher and the other worthies of the London guilds. The lordly monk, looking with some pity upon the meek parson and the studious clerk of Oxford, has no scorn of his poor unworldly brothers in their humility. The prosperous franklin listens to the slender and choleric reve, who might be his neighbor's steward ; and the merchant, in his Flanders hat, "sounding alway the increase of his winning," has no fear of his position being compromised by the familiarity of the rough shipman, on his wretched hackney, dressed in his gown of faldings or coarse cloth. The cook, and the manciple, a provider of commons for the inns of court, make mirth for the company by their quarrels and their jokes ; and the friar tells a story of diablerie in dispraise of the sumptnour. Surely in this fellowship, in which there is no arrogance and no servility, we may recognize a state of society where class distinctions were so marked that haughtiness and reserve were not thought necessary for the assertion of individual dignity ; but in which there was a natural respect of man for his fellows—the spirit which had made England great, and which may yet survive the modern tendency to a grovelling prostration before rank and riches.

England was not permitted to remain many years at peace. If the chivalrous King John had lived—he who, when the treaty of Bretigny was not faithfully kept by the French, came again to England, and yielded himself prisoner—it is probable that the high regard of the two kings for the courage and courtesy of each other might have cemented a friendship which would have extended to the people of each realm. John returned to England in 1363, leaving France under the government of the Dauphin. He died in 1364, at Savoy ; and the Dauphin became king of France, as Charles V. Without the chivalrous qualities of his father—for his prudence had been too conspicuous at Poitiers, where he left his young brother, Philip, to fight alone by the side of the king—he possessed a sagacity of more practical value in a sovereign than personal bravery. "There never was a king," said Edward III., "who cared so little about arming himself, and yet gave me so much to do as this Charles." The Prince of Wales, with the title of Prince of Aquitaine, was appointed to the possession and government of the southern provinces which had been ceded to Edward at the peace of Bretigny ; and with all the splendor of his reputation, and the high qualities which he really possessed, he disgusted the nobles of Gascony by his haughty bearing. The people of the ceded provinces were indignant that they should have been transferred in complete sovereignty to England. They clung, as Frenchmen, to the feudal superiority of France ; and they resolved to obey the English king with their lips, but never to forget their allegiance to the crown of which English kings had been the vassals. Their discontent was smouldering, when the Prince of Wales took up the cause of Peter I., king of Castile and Leon, who had been driven from his throne by his half-brother, Henry, assisted by a strong band of Free Companions, under the command of the great adventurer, Du Guesclin. Peter has been branded with the name of "the Cruel." His private history is so complicated with his public character, that we must content ourselves with stating that his imprisonment and supposed murder of his wife, Blanche of Bourbon, provoked the invasion of Castile by the French forces in 1366, and the dethronement of the unpopular king. Peter had previously made an alliance with Edward III., and he now fled to the court of the Black Prince at Bordeaux. It is difficult to understand the motive which induced the policy of attempting the restoration of Peter to his throne, beyond hostility to a cause which Charles of France had espoused. In 1367, the Black Prince led a great army of English, Gascons, and Normans from Bordeaux ; and entering Navarre, by the pass of Roncesvalles, met the army of Henry in Castile, near the right bank of the Ebro. The battle of Najara was a complete victory, in which the Black Prince displayed the resources of a great commander even more remarkably than in his previous successes. This was not a battle in which the proud and pampered nobles of France were intoxicated by their own superiority of numbers, as at Cressy and Poitiers. It was a battle of real soldiery on both sides—the English yeomen against the Free Companions—Chandos against Du Guesclin. It was a victory not only useless to the Prince of Wales, but injurious in many ways to himself and his country. The faithless Peter, when he had been restored, refused to abide by his promise of paying the cost of the war. Edward's army was reduced to the utmost misery by the want of provisions ; and the prince had contracted a fatal malady which in a few years terminated his career of glory. He hastily returned to Gascony. The ingrate king was in six months hurled from his throne, and murdered by his half-brother. The greatest trophy of this campaign was the capture of Du Guesclin. An old writer has related a scene at Bordeaux singularly illustrative of the manners of this age. The Prince of Wales sits with his barons after dinner, served with wine and spices, and talking of deeds of arms, of love passages, of prisons, and of ransoms. The Sire de Lebret ventures to say that men report that there is a prisoner whom the prince dare not deliver ; and the prince swears that he knew no knight in the world whom, being his prisoner, he would not deliver for a fair ransom. De Lebret asks the prince if he forgets Bertrand du Guesclin. His color changes, and he commands Bertrand to be brought before him. And certain knights go to Bertrand, who orders wine for them, and they tell him, that they thought he would be ransomed. "I have neither half-penny nor penny," says Bertrand, "and owe ten thousand livres which I have spent in this city.

* In "The Vision of Piers Ploughman," the innovation is thus lamented :

> "Elenge (mournful) is the hall each day in the week ;
> There the lord nor the lady liketh nought to sit.
> Now hath each rich a rule to eaten by himself
> In a privy parlor."

I have eaten, drunk, given, and played at dice with it." Then Bertrand goes to the prince, in the gray coat which he wears, and the prince cannot keep from laughing when he sees him, and says, "Well, Bertrand, how fare ye?" Bertrand bows a little, and replies, "Sir, when it shall please you, I may fare better; many a day have I heard the rats and mice, but the song of birds it is long since I heard. I shall hear them when it is your pleasure." The prince tells Bertrand he may go, if he will swear never to bear arms against him, or to assist Henry of Spain. Bertrand refuses, and reproaches the prince that he had gone to Spain through covetousness, and in hopes to have the throne after Peter's death; but that Peter had cheated him, for which he thanked Peter heartily. "By my soul, he is right," saith the prince. And then he tells Bertrand he shall go, but not without a good ransom. He answers that he is a poor knight, that his estate is mortgaged, that he owes ten thousand florins besides, and that the prince ought to be moderate. Edward replies that what Bertrand himself fixes he would be content with. Then Bertrand says that he ought not to value himself too low, and that he would engage to give for his freedom one hundred thousand double golden florins. "You cannot pay it," said the prince, "nor do I want it;" and Bertrand protests that he would not give less than sixty thousand, and if Henry of Spain and the king of France would not lend them, all the sempstresses of France would spin the ransom for him. The prince would have quitted him for ten thousand double florins. All the barons marvel greatly, and Chandos says to Du Guesclin, "If you have need of any help, I will lend you ten thousand." "Sir," quoth Bertrand, "I thank you; but before I seek anything of you, I will try the people of my own country." *

In 1368 the Spanish campaign was producing much public evil for the Prince of Wales. He imposed a heavy tax upon the people of Gascony; and the great lords carried their complaints to the throne of Charles V. The interference of France was a violation of the treaty of Bretigny; but Charles ventured to summon the prince of Aquitaine to answer the complaint, assuming the position of his feudal lord. The prince said he would come with sixty thousand lances. The great war was now renewed. Edward III. reassumed the title of king of France. There can be no doubt that it was the settled policy of Charles to obtain possession of Gascony and the other ceded districts. King Edward was growing old. His son was in feeble health. The government of the English was a yoke of which the Gascon nobles and people were impatient. In that age of military adventurers, the leaders changed their sides without much scruple, and many of the fighting Gascons went over to the banner of France. The French king adopted a bold policy, and assembled a fleet at Harfleur for the invasion of England; and Philip of Burgundy was to be its commander. When he was a captive boy at Windsor, he asserted his title to the name of Le Hardi by striking the cup-bearer of Edward III. for serving his master before the king of France. But Philip gave up the attempt to invade England; and he showed no rash disposition to encounter the duke of Lancaster, who had landed at Calais with a great army. The king of France would not allow a battle to be risked, which might terminate as other great battles had done. He suffered Lancaster to march through the northern provinces. But in 1370 the French entered Gascony. The Black Prince took the field, and the royal princes of Anjou and Berne retired before him. Limoges had been betrayed to these dukes by the inhabitants; and during a month's siege Edward, sick almost to death, was carried in a litter from one point to another of the attack. The capital of Limousin was at length taken by storm. The last warlike act of the Black Prince was one which associates his name with the infamous system of cruelty, that makes the individual bravery, endurance, and courtesy of the later feudal times look like a hollow mockery—a miserable imposture of self-glorification, trampling upon the higher principle that unites strength with mercy. Three thousand men, women, and children were butchered in cold blood when Limoges was taken. A few knights, resolved to battle to the last, placed their backs against a wall, and long fought against superior numbers. These Prince Edward ordered to be received to ransom. This was chivalry. Such contradictions show how unsafe a guide it was for the rulers of mankind; and how blessed were the people who the soonest escaped from its accursed dominion.

The Black Prince, in broken health, comes back to England. His brother, John of Gaunt, the duke of Lancaster, succeeds him in the government of Gascony. Du Guesclin is now at the head of a daring band; and those of Bordeaux who said of him, whom they called an ugly fellow—which in truth he was—"There is no castle, however strong, that would not soon surrender if he went thither to assault it," were true judges of his character. Wherever the English banner was displayed, Du Guesclin was there at the head of his adventurers. There were no great battles fought, for the French always avoided them. In vain Lancaster marched through France, from Calais to Bordeaux, in 1373. The French were ready to harass him by skirmishes, but not to fight in any general engagement. In vain Sir Robert Knowles led an army from Calais to the walls of Paris. A sagacious policy determined the French government to prolong an indecisive but most effective war. One by one the English lost many of their strong places. A truce was concluded in 1374, which lasted till 1377. The possessions which had been surrendered by the treaty of Bretigny were all lost, with the exception of Bordeaux, Bayonne, and Calais. Too much of France was surrendered by that treaty to a foreign rule; and it was in the natural course of events that the feeling of nationality, to which its provisions were repugnant, and which an unwise rule had rendered more odious, should assert itself; and, gaining strength by every small success, leave England at last a very limited dominion, as the costly purchase of the ambition of forty years.

In 1369, King Edward lost his queen, Philippa, the faithful wife of his boyhood and his age. In 1376 her first-born, the great Prince of Wales, never rallying from the fever of his Spanish campaign, and worn out by the excitement of wars and conquests which had begun from his earliest years, also died. To the old king remained John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, his third son (Lionel, the second, had died in 1368); Edward of Langley, duke of York; and Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester. After the death of Queen Philippa, the happy fortune of the king seems to have deserted him. When the Prince of Wales returned to England, he regained the popularity which he had lost in Gascony, by opposing his father's government. The expiring passions of "dotage," more miserable than its "tears," had thrown the conqueror of France under the dominion of a mistress, Alice Ferrers. To her influence, and that of her creatures, the eldest son of the king was naturally opposed. With the support of the Prince of Wales, the parliament, in 1376, forced a measure upon the king, in which her name is mentioned in connection with unlawful suits prosecuted by way of "maintenance." But it was also clear that the Black Prince looked with jealousy upon the power of John, duke of Lancaster, who was thought to aspire to the crown. Edward had the interests of his son to maintain, Richard of Bordeaux. The friends of Lancaster were accused of misdemeanors in the parliament of 1376; but the Prince of Wales died, and Lancaster regained his influence.

It would be tedious for us to follow the ill-understood contests of the remaining span of Edward's life. Richard, then ten years of age, was presented to the houses of Parliament as the successor to all the rights of his father. But the influence of the duke of Lancaster was all-powerful. The speaker of the Commons, William de la Marc, who had led the opposition supported by the Prince of Wales, was imprisoned; and William of Wykeham was deprived of his temporalities, and dismissed the court. His merits will be ever associated with his splendid educational foundations of Winchester and New College, Oxford. Lancaster took up the cause of John Wycliffe, who was under prosecution for his opinions; and when the reformer was called to defend himself at St. Paul's before the bishop of London, the duke accompanied him, and a violent quarrel ensued between the laymen and the ecclesiastics. A riot, in which the citizens of London took part against the king's powerful son, ensued. Thus were the last few months of the life of Edward disturbed. He had completed the fiftieth or jubilee year of his reign in February, 1377, and he published a general amnesty for all offences—evidently an act of the ruling power in the state, for Wykeham was excluded. He died on the 21st of June, 1377, with none to soothe his last hours but Alice Ferrers. She took the ring from his finger, and the mighty victor was alone with the all-conqueror:

* See the excellent translation of this passage from "Mémoires de Messire Bertrand Du Guesclin," in "Historical Parallels," vol. i.

"Death came dryvinge after, and al to duste passhed
Kynges and knyghtes, kaysers and popes." *

The state of the English Church will be more clearly developed in the next reign than in that of Edward III. During the half century in which he sate upon the throne, the outward magnificence of the ecclesiastical hierarchy had reached its height. The great churches were finished with a refinement of taste which has left succeeding ages to wonder and copy. Then were completed the cathedrals of Lincoln, Wells, Peterborough, Salisbury. The abbey church of Westminster lifted up its glorious arches in rivalry with those of Winchester, which its munificent bishop, Wykeham, had remodelled. London was covered with the houses of the Mendicant Orders, who have fixed their names upon the localities which they inhabited—Black-Friars, and White-Friars, and Crutched-Friars, and Austin-Friars. Parish churches were in almost every principal street of the metropolis. The rural parishes were as bountifully supplied for the ministrations of religion. But amidst all these external indications of a power which it might be supposed would never die, there was a growing conviction that this house was built upon the sands. A quarter of a century before the death of Edward III.—in 1353—a law had been passed against provisors—those who obtained from the pope a reversion of benefices and church dignities. In 1356, Wycliffe began his career as an ecclesiastical reformer, by writing his treatise called "The Last Ages of the Church." In 1365, the pope having demanded the arrears of the tribute known as "Peter's pence," it was refused by the parliament, and Wycliffe strenuously supported this resistance to the demand. But there was something more formidable to the papal authority, and to the system which was founded upon it, than the acts of the legislature. There was a public opinion forming, which, before the circulation of books by printing, and with the imperfect communication of one district with another, was diffused in a very remarkable way through the country. A general feeling began to spread that the church dignitaries, and the religious orders, were more intent upon their own aggrandizement, and the gratification of their own luxury, than the upholding of the faith and duties of the Gospel. The mass of the people were ignorant of the essentials of religion, though they bowed before its forms. In the universities there were young men who were like Chaucer's clerk:

"Sounding in moral virtue was his speech,
And gladly would he learn and gladly teach."

To such the covert licentiousness of the monks, and the open profligacy of the mendicant orders, was a deep humiliation. They went forth, each to his small country cure, to speak of a holier religion than belonged to the worship of relics or the purchase of indulgences. The sumptnours, who were the ministers of the extortions of the ecclesiastical courts, and the pardoners, who hawked about dispensations for sin, were their especial aversion. The satire of Chaucer was a reflection of the prevailing estimate of the monk, "full, fat, and in good point;" of the friar, "a wanton and a merry;" of the sumptnour, who thought "a man's soul was in his purse;" of the pardoner, with his wallet "full of pardon come from Rome all hot." In their sermons, secular priests now freely quoted the Holy Scriptures in the common tongue; and they looked forward to the work which their great leader Wycliffe, the honored professor of theology at Oxford, was preparing—the translation into English of Christ's Testament. His citation for heresy in the last year of Edward III. was the tribute to his importance. In a few years the preaching of Wycliffe and his disciples would go through the land, scattering the corruptions of the Church with a power that for a time seemed likely to shake the whole fabric of society. The age was not ripe for the great Reformation that then seemed impending. But out of Wycliffe's rectory of Lutterworth seeds were to be borne upon the wind which would abide in the earth till they sprang up into the stately growth of other centuries.

* "Piers Ploughman," v. 14126 in Mr. Wright's admirable new edition.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Constitutional principles developed in the reign of Richard II.—Coronation of Richard—Council of Regency—Wars with France and Scotland—Capitation Tax—Poll Tax—Insurrection of 1381—The insurgents in London—Suppression of the insurrection—Wycliffe's opinions coincident with the insurrection—Preachers of heresies—Translation of the Bible into English—Contest with the Pope—English literature and language—Statutes of Wages—Laborers in husbandry—Games—Sanitary Laws—State interference in social affairs.

Rymer, our laborious historiographer, describes the reign of Richard II as "a reign which affords but little matter that may shine in history, and cannot boast of any one great and distinguished captain, any one memorable battle, nor one important siege; no proceeding to St. Paul's, no Te Deum for victory." * To us, who regard battles, and sieges, and processions, and Te Deums, as less important matter for history than the progress of the people, the reign of Richard II. is one of the most interesting in our annals. In this reign, the great constitutional principles of our government were most strikingly exhibited in their practical efficiency. In this reign the power of the Commons was more signally displayed than at any previous period, in demanding administrative reform as the condition of voting supplies; in the impeachment of those who were considered as the evil advisers of the crown; and in strenuously insisting that the public liberties, secured by statutes and charters, should not be infringed upon by a king who had manifest tendencies toward despotism. At one period this despotism was nearly successful. For two years Richard was an uncontrolled tyrant. By what was unquestionably a national act, however, accompanied by treachery and violence, the despot was deposed. In this deposition all the forms which might appear to belong to a more advanced state of society were most carefully observed. The king, who neglected the duties of his station, and aimed at arbitrary power, was treated as a public delinquent; and the general good was set forth as the ultimate end of all government. But this reign is also remarkable for the great insurrection of the humblest classes of society against the remnant of feudal oppressions; and although the revolt was suppressed, and happily so, from that time the condition of the serf underwent a real mitigation; and as serfdom gradually became altogether extinct, the free laborer, although subject to much injustice, gradually acquired some of the rights of an independent citizen. In the revolution of 1399, which placed Henry IV. upon the throne, we no longer see the violent act of a factious nobility, united as a caste, but the result of a general agreement of various orders of society, having a common interest in the maintenance of freedom. In that revolution, and in many other occurrences of this reign, we may trace the influence of a public opinion, emanating from men of different degrees, accustomed to manage their own affairs, and now more awakened than ever to think upon the relations in which the governed stood to the governing. How far the agitation of great religious questions impelled the political and social movements of the end of the fourteenth century, is also an interesting matter of consideration. But we cannot look back from this period to that of the Norman conquest, and still farther back to the Anglo-Saxon times, without being impressed with the constant operation of the law of progress—that law by which great changes of society are steadily effected, as the minds of men become more and more capable of receiving them. Long before the feudal system had entirely passed away, the ancient constitution was again and again modified by those principles which, without historical research, look like new elements of society. It was this gradual introduction of the popular element which saved England from the despotism which, in other countries, grew out of the institutions of the Middle Ages. One of the ablest reasoners of our time has said of the period of which we are now treating, "a multitude of analogies may be traced between the political institutions of France and England, but then the destinies of the two nations separated, and constantly became more unlike as time advanced." † To use the words of the same writer, it was given to the English "gradually to modify the spirit of their ancient institutions without destroying them." The French lost the great principle of freedom when, at the same time as that in which the Commons of England would permit no tax to be levied without the consent of the people, the nobility of France suffered the crown to impose taxes at its will, provided they themselves were exempt. "At that very time," says M. de Tocqueville, "was sown the seed of almost all the vices

* Dedication to Queen Anne of vol. vii. of the Fœdera.

† Alexis de Tocqueville, "On the State of Society in France before the Revolution of 1789," translated by Henry Reeve, 1856, p. 181.

and almost all the abuses which afflicted the ancient society of France during the remainder of its existence, and ended by causing its violent dissolution." *

Edward III. was within a few hours of his last mortal agony, when a deputation of the citizens of London came to his grandson, Richard, and offering their support of his right to the crown, invited him to take up his residence in the Tower. The prince was then in his eleventh year. The same day, June 21st, Edward died. On the 22d, the boy king made his triumphal entry into London, amid pageants and devices in every street, and conduits running with wine. The obsequies of his grandfather having been performed, Richard on the 16th of July was crowned at Westminster. The ceremonial was one of unusual magnificence ; and the beautiful son of the idol of the people, receiving the homage of his uncles and the barons, and at the subsequent banquet creating earls and knights, may, in that solemnity, have been impregnated with those impressions of his own irresponsible greatness which appear to have clung to him through life. Some of the circumstances attending the accession of Richard may be attributed to the apprehensions that were entertained of the ambitious designs of his uncle, John of Gaunt, the duke of Lancaster. The haste of the citizens of London to proffer their lives and fortunes, and the exaggeration with which the young king was gravely spoken of by great officers in church and state as a miracle of wisdom, were evidently calculated to reconcile the people to this shadow of a sovereign. The duke of Lancaster probably expected to be sole regent ; but a temporary council was appointed, in which he took no part. A parliament met in October, when, at the request of the Commons, the Lords, in the king's name, appointed nine persons to be a permanent council of the king ; and it was resolved that, during the king's minority, the appointment of all the chief officers of the crown should be with the parliament. There was ill-concealed jealousy of Lancaster ; and a speech which he made, demanding the punishment of those who spoke of him as a traitor, is upon the Rolls of Parliament. It was a serious time, when men's minds were excited by impending danger. The truce with France had recently expired ; and not an hour was lost by Charles V. to renew hostilities in the way most offensive to the English. Commerce was interrupted ; the sea-ports were burnt and ravaged ; the Isle of Wight was plundered. To meet the expenses of a foreign armament, and of naval and land forces, to protect the kingdom, a subsidy was granted. But two citizens of London, William Walworth and John Philpot, were sworn in parliament to be treasurers of the same, and strictly to apply the produce of the taxes to the support of the war. In this and immediately succeeding parliaments, the state of the nation was declared to be alarming. The wars of Edward III. had produced no permanent advantage ; but had engendered a spirit of revenge which threatened the safety of England. There were enemies all around. France was active in her hostilities, in concert with Spain. The Scots, in 1378, burnt Roxburgh and captured Berwick. The great border-fortress was soon retaken, and a small gain was obtained by the cession of Cherbourg and Brest. But the duke of Lancaster was unsuccessful in an attack upon St. Malo, to whose relief the vigilant Du Guesclin came with a large army, and compelled the duke to retire to his ships. All the foreign enterprises of the English were futile and disastrous ; and their cost produced general discontent. In addition to heavy duties on wool and leather, a capitation tax was granted in 1379. In principle this was an income tax, touching every person, from the duke, who was assessed at 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, to the laborer, who was called upon to pay 4*d.* for himself and his wife. The poll-tax of the next year was mainly granted for the support of a fruitless expedition to assist De Montfort, the duke of Brittany, against France. The earl of Buckingham, who had the command of this expedition, returned home with his army in great discontent ; for De Montfort had concluded a pacific treaty with the French king. The expedition had no results. Its charges were very fatal. The poll-tax was essentially different from the direct tax of 1379. It was a tax of "three groats of every person of the kingdom, male or female, of the age of fifteen, of what state and condition soever, except beggars ; the sufficient people in every town to contribute to the assistance of the less able, so as none paid above sixty groats, including himself and his wife." † How far the "sufficient people" contributed to the assistance of "the less able" may be inferred from the fact that very speedily "the less able" were in a state of insurrection. The pressure of the tax upon the humblest portion of the community, and the brutal manner in which it was enforced by the king's collector at Dartford, were the main causes, according to the chroniclers, of the revolt headed by Wat the Tyler. The tax was indeed as the match to the mine. The explosive materials had long been accumulating.

In the statutes of the first parliament of Richard II., we have the earliest direct indications that the system of villanage was tottering to its fall. Complaint is made by lords and commons and men of Holy Church that in many seignories and parts of the realm the villeins and land-tenants in villanage, who owe services and customs to their lords, do day by day withdraw such services and customs ; and by color of certain exemplifiations made out of the Book of Domesday of the manors and towns where they have been dwelling, and their evil interpretations of the same, affirm themselves to be utterly discharged of all manner of serfage, due as well of their body as of their said tenures. The act goes on to point out the riotous assemblies and confederacies incited by counsellors and abettors, wherein it was agreed that every one should aid the other to resist their lords with strong hand. Such proceedings are to be put down by special commissions. We learn by this statute that it was not only the villeins who resisted their lords in claiming "the franchise of their bodies," but the land-tenants, who sought "to change the position of their tenure and customs of old time due." There was an agitation of the social state which extended even farther than the serfs and tenants in villanage. In the same parliament a statute was passed against "liveries ;" by which we learn that "divers people of small revenue of land, rent, or other possessions, do make great retinue of people as well of esquires as of other, in many parts of the realm, giving to them hats and other liveries, of one suit by year, taking of them the value of the same livery, or perchance the double value, by such covenant and assurance that every one of them shall maintain the other in all quarrels." The "divers people of small revenue" were banding themselves together against the oppressions of the great proprietors. Serfs, petty tenants in villanage, freemen of small revenue, were all discovering that—as the country grew in wealth, as comforts were more diffused, as the citizens and burghers were for the most part free from feudal exactions, as even the serf who had lived a certain time in an incorporated town became free—the cultivators, whether yeomen, or tenants, or laborers, had rights to maintain, and those who in rank and possessions were greatly above them had duties to discharge. We must especially notice the circumstance that those who claimed manumission relied upon their interpretation of the Domesday Record—which, to a great extent, had reference to the times of Edward the Confessor. They would go back to the Anglo-Saxon days to set aside the more extensive and more burdensome feudalities of the days since the Conquest. It was a demonstration of that national principle which has ever sought to build civil rights upon ancient foundations.

The insurrection of 1381, like most other attempts to obtain political justice by a tumultuous appeal to arms, was set on foot for the assertion of moderate demands, and became an occasion for havoc and bloodshed. The insurrection, however prepared by the confederacies for manumission, broke out in Kent through that manslaughter of the royal tax-collector by Wat the Tyler, which was the consequence of an outrageous insult, by the collector, on Tyler's daughter. The whole rural population of that district, in which the Saxon principle of personal independence had been cherished from generation to generation, flew to arms. The statistics, upon which the amount of taxes to be collected were founded, had always gone upon false estimates of the population. It could not be otherwise at a period when there was no system of registration. The collection of the poll-tax fell short of the required supply ; and commissions were appointed to overlook the collectors, and rigidly enforce the levy. Men of Essex refused to answer the inquiries of the commissioners, and murdered officers of the commission. The same spirit of revolt existed in Suffolk and Norfolk. At Gravesend a burgher had been claimed by his lord as a bondman, and was sent as a prisoner to Rochester Castle. The insurgents took the castle and liberated the burgher. But the great resistance to authority was under the leadership of Wat the Tyler, who associated with himself an itinerant preacher

* De Tocqueville, p. 182.
† "Parliamentary History," vol. i. p. 162.

John Ball, who, fourteen years before, had been excommunicated for preaching "errors, and schisms, and scandals against the pope, the archbishops, bishops, and clergy." To him is attributed the famous couplet,

"When Adam delved and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman?"

Another priest, who assumed the name of Jack Straw, was connected with the insurgents of Essex. Gathering large numbers of adherents from various parts, a vast body at length reached Blackheath. Some of the band had compelled the mayor and aldermen of Canterbury to swear fidelity to their cause, and many of the citizens had joined them in their march toward London. This was no sudden tumult of an isolated body of men, for the revolt extended from the coast of Kent to the Humber, and was organized in a remarkable manner by correspondence in letters which bore the signatures of Jack Milner, Jack Carter, Jack Trueman, and John Ball. The course of the insurgents was marked by the accustomed atrocities of ignorant men with weapons in their hands. It was not very likely, in an age when regular warfare was conducted without the slightest regard to the rights of humanity, that these rustics would exhibit the virtue of mercy which the lords of chivalry never cultivated. But in their destruction of property they would allow of no plunder for individual gain. As this rude army of a hundred thousand men approached London, there was, necessarily, universal consternation. The king, with members of his council, were in the Tower. The conduct of the royal youth was bold and energetic. He had left Windsor to meet the danger. On the 12th of June he descended the river in his barge. He was met with shouts and cries by the insurgents on the Rotherhithe bank, and his attendants would not permit him to land. That night, Southwark and Lambeth witnessed the demolition of the houses of the Marshalsea and of the King's Bench, and the sack of the palace of the archbishop of Canterbury. Out of Southwark they passed over London Bridge into the city on the following morning. They demolished Newgate, and burned the duke of Lancaster's palace of the Savoy, and also the Temple. With the usual prejudice against foreigners, they butchered the Flemish artisans, wherever they were found. During this fearful day the king remained in the Tower. On the 14th of June, when Tower Hill was filled with this multitude, a herald made proclamation that the king would meet them at Mile End. They moved off; and young Richard rode out of the Tower gates with a few followers, who were unarmed. He received the petition which the insurgents had drawn up. They demanded the abolition of slavery; the reduction of the rent of land to fourpence an acre; free liberty to buy and sell in all markets and fairs; and a general pardon for offences. Looking at the moderation of these demands, it is difficult to believe that the objects of the insurrection were the destruction of all distinctions of rank and the division of all property. Slavery was an unnatural condition, the more onerous where it existed at a time when it was gradually passing away, and which could not be long upheld by force. To limit the rent of land to fourpence an acre—a rate not much, if anything, below the average rental—was not more absurd than laws to limit the rate of wages and fix the price of provisions. To claim a liberty to buy and sell in all markets and fairs was to assert a freedom of commercial intercourse which was greatly impeded by the charters of towns, and by the tolls which the lay and ecclesiastical lords exacted in every city and borough. These demands were agreed to by the king. The remaining hours of the day and the succeeding night were employed by many clerks in drawing up charters to the effect of the petition, for every parish and township. They were sealed the next morning; and the great body, chiefly the men of Essex and Hertfordshire, retired, bearing the king's banner. But the Kentish Tyler remained in arms, with a body of the insurgents. He led his men into the Tower. They murdered the archbishop and other dignified persons, and drove the king's mother out of her lodgings. On the 17th the king rode into Smithfield. The leader of the Kentish men, who had become insolent and ferocious in the hour of success, refused the charters which were offered to him. When he saw the king coming he halted his followers, and rode up to meet the youth, whose noble bearing would unquestionably have commanded the respect of Englishmen, and turned the tide of favor against the rebel. During their parley, Tyler put his hand upon his dagger, and touched the king's bridle. Walworth, the Lord Mayor of London, immediately stabbed him. The insurgents, when they saw their leader fall, bent their bows; but Richard, with the heroism of his race, galloped up to the astonished band, and exclaimed, "Tyler was a traitor—I will be your leader." They followed him to the fields of Islington, where a considerable force of citizens and others hastened to protect their king. There the insurgents fell on their knees and implored his mercy. Richard commanded them to return to their homes; but would allow no attack to be made upon them by the forces which were gathering around him. In the eastern counties the insurrection was put down by Henry Spenser, known as the fighting bishop of Norwich. In a fortnight the charters were revoked by the king, and then followed, in every county, trials and executions to an enormous extent.

That the insurrection of 1381 was, in many districts, put down by means as violent and illegal as the outbreak, may be judged by the fact of a statute of indemnity being passed in parliament, for those who "made divers punishments upon the said villeins and other traitors without due process of the law, and otherwise than the laws and usages of the realm required, although they did it of no malice prepense, but only to appease and cease the apparent mischief." In the same statute all compulsory manumissions and releases were declared void. The parliament had been informed by the king that he had revoked all the charters of emancipation which he had been compelled to grant; but he submitted whether it would not be expedient to abolish the state of slavery altogether. That Richard was in this honestly advised by counsellors who were far-seeing statesmen, we may well believe. With one accord the interested lords of the soil replied that they never would consent to be deprived of the services of their bondmen. But they complained of grievances less inherent in the structure of society—of purveyance; of the rapacity of law officers; of maintainers of suits, who violated right and law as if they were kings in the country; of excessive and useless taxation. These were evils which touched themselves. Slavery was an evil which to them was profitable, as they believed. We need not think too harshly of men to whom injustice had been familiarized by long ancestral usage.

In all the insurrectionary proceedings which so clearly indicated a condition of society in which those lowest in the social scale met with little consideration and no immediate redress, we cannot perceive, what has been maintained with a confidence very disproportioned to the evidence—that the "theory of property" expounded by Wycliffe, was a main cause of this anarchy—that "the new teaching received a practical comment in 1381, in the invasion of London by Wat the Tyler of Dartford, and a hundred thousand men, who were to level all ranks, put down the church, and establish universal liberty."* This unqualified statement is founded upon the very doubtful narrative of the chronicler Walsingham, as interpreted by Dr. Lingard. That historian says, "They (the villeins) were encouraged by the diffusion of the doctrines of Wycliffe, that the right of property was founded in grace, and that no man, who was by sin a traitor to his God, could be entitled to the services of others."† Mr. Froude holds that "the theory, as an abstraction, applied equally to the laity as the clergy." Men like the rustics of Kent and Essex are not prone to act upon abstractions. Wycliffe taught, as others have taught after him, that "the clergy had no right to their tithes and temporal endowments except so far as they discharged faithfully their spiritual duties."‡ The reformer considered the clergy as holding property as a direct recompense for service, the property being forfeit if the service were unperformed. A richly endowed church would necessarily take another view of the question, and denounce such doctrine as heretical. The experience of modern times has shown that it was not politic. Wycliffe's paramount grievance was the arrogance and the unchristian character of many who called themselves Vicars of Christ. To denationalize the clergy, by making them stipendaries, was at that period to throw them completely under the influence of the papacy. Their landed possessions offered the best security for their patriotism and their civil obedience. But that Wycliffe's theory, so distinctly limited to ecclesiastical affairs, should have suggested the notion—if the insurgents of 1381 ever did entertain such a notion—that all property should be in common, appears to us irreconcilable with the ordi-

* "History of England, by James Anthony Froude, M.A.," vol. ii. p. 19.

† Lingard, vol. iv. p. 236.

‡ See "An Apology for Lollard Doctrines, attributed to Wycliffe." Edited by J. H. Todd, D.D. Introduction, p. xxiv.

nary course of human action. It is irreconcilable with their demand of a maximum for rent. The assumed connection of "the new doctrine" with the insurrection may be attributed to the hostility with which the Lollard opinions were assailed by the misrepresentations of the apprehensive ecclesiastics and their historians. The agitation of Wycliffe and his followers was coincident with the insurrection of the villeins, but it was not of necessity a cause. Agitation of any kind begets other agitation. But this was not the direct effect which some impute to the dissemination of Wycliffe's tenets.

Within a few months after the accession of Richard II., the rector of Lutterworth, in consequence of letters from the pope, was summoned before the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London, to answer for his opinions. He defended his doctrines, and was dismissed, with a direction to be cautious for the future. After the insurrection of 1381 had been quelled, a synod of divines was called, in which many of Wycliffe's opinions were censured as heretical, erroneous, and of dangerous tendency. To follow up their triumph, the prelates procured an act to be passed by the Lords to the following effect: That divers evil persons, under the dissimulation of great holiness, go about from county to county, and from town to town, "without the license of our holy father, the pope, or of the ordinaries of the places, or other sufficient authority, preaching daily, not only in churches and churchyards, but also in markets, fairs, and other open places." The sermons so preached, it is alleged, have been proved before the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishops and prelates, and a great part of the clergy, to contain heresies and notorious errors. Further it is said, "which persons do also preach divers matters of slander, to engender discord and dissension betwixt divers estates of the said realm, as well spiritual as temporal, in exciting of the people, to the great peril of all the realm." The act then directs the sheriffs to hold such preachers and their abettors "in arrest and strong prison, till they will justify themselves according to the law and reason of holy church." This victory over the "poor preachers" was very short-lived. Wycliffe petitioned against the act. The Commons represented that it had been passed without their consent. It was immediately repealed; and we hear nothing more in the legislative records about preachers of heresies, till, eighteen years afterward, a law was passed to burn them. To us it appears manifest that, in repealing this act, the parliament asserted its conviction that the heresies, the notorious errors, the matters of slander, which were preached in open places, had solely reference to the alleged corruptions of the Church, and that to subject the kingdom to the jurisdiction of the prelates, as the act proposed, was to surrender the civil freedom which their ancestors had maintained. The men who refused to assent to the proposal of the king that slavery should be abolished would have been ready enough to sanction the imprisonment of the preachers of universal equality, if such had been their doctrine. Undoubtedly Wycliffe himself did not hesitate to maintain that the revenues of the Church, applied, not to the service of the altar by its diligent ministers, but to the upholding the excessive pride and luxury of prelates and abbots and other "possessioners," were superfluous, and were truly the patrimony of the poor. Wycliffe is also reported to have said, although he attempted to explain his meaning away, that "charters of perpetual inheritance were impossible." In contending that the preachers of the Gospel were bound to lead a life of self-denial, like that of their great Master, he naturally provoked a fiercer indignation than was excited by his more abstract doctrines regarding the Eucharist and the sacrament of matrimony. He was at last compelled to submit himself to the judgment of his ordinary, and he withdrew to his rectory. But he had accomplished a work which no ecclesiastical censure could set aside. He had translated the Scriptures into the English language. Whenever he and his disciples were assailed by the higher ecclesiastics, he had appealed to the Bible. His translation of the Bible was now multiplied by the incessant labor of transcribers. The texts of the Bible were in every mouth as they were re-echoed in the sermons of his preachers in churches and open places. The poor treasured up the words of comfort for all earthly afflictions. The rich and great meditated upon the inspired sentences which so clearly pointed out a more certain road to salvation than could be found through indulgences and pilgrimages. During the remaining years of the fourteenth century the principles of the Lollards took the deepest root in the land. Wycliffe died in 1384, but his preaching never died. His Bible was proscribed; his votaries were imprisoned and burned. But the sacred flame was never extinguished. The first English reformer appeared in an age when civil freedom asserted itself with a strength which was never afterward subdued or materially weakened. He fought a brave fight for religious freedom with very unequal forces against a most powerful hierarchy. But such contests are not terminated in a few years. The reforms which in the eternal laws are willed to be permanent are essentially of slow growth. When the "poor preachers" had slept for a century and a half their day of triumph was at hand.

The period during which Wycliffe promulgated his doctrines and his followers continued to teach them without encountering any extreme penalties of the law, was eminently favorable to a successful attack upon the ecclesiastical system through the general spirit of disaffection to its head. In the reign of Edward III. there had been a legislative resistance to the claim of the pope to appoint to benefices in England. In the third year of Richard II., 1379–80, it was declared by parliament that the statutes in this regard were not effectual; and that "benefices have been given against the will of the founders to divers people of another language, and of strange lands and nations, and sometimes to the utter enemies of the king and of his realm." Such persons, it was alleged, never made residence, nor were able to hear confession, to preach, and to teach the people. It was therefore provided that none should farm benefices for such aliens, nor remit them money, or merchandise, or letters of exchange, without license of the king. But in a few years the court of Rome came to an open rupture with England upon this question. In 1389–90 a statute was passed, declaring that if any one brought into the realm any summons, sentence, or excommunication arising out of the statute of 1379–80, he should be punished with pain of life, and forfeiture of goods. Pope Boniface was obstinate. He appointed an Italian cardinal to a prebendal stall at Wells, to which the king had previously presented. A suit was instituted in England, in which judgment was given for the king. The bishops had supported the decision of the king's court, and had executed judgment accordingly. The pope, in consequence, excommunicated the bishops. Then the Commons of England said, in that voice which has made foreign tyranny, ecclesiastical or civil, tremble from that hour to this, "The said things so attempted be clearly against the king's crown and his regality, used and approved of the time of all his progenitors; wherefore they and all the liege commons of the same realm will stand with our said lord the king, and his said crown, and his regality, in the cases aforesaid, and in all other cases attempted against him, his crown and his regality, in all points, to live and to die." The Commons desired the king to seek the opinion of the Lords. The lords temporal declared that they would support the crown. The lords spiritual said, being separately examined, that they could not deny or affirm that the pope might not excommunicate bishops nor translate prelates; but that in the cases before them they would be with the king, "loialment en sustenance de sa corone"—loyally upholding his crown—and in all other cases touching his crown and his regality, as they were bound by their allegiance. An act was passed that all persons suing at Rome, and obtaining instruments against the king, and all who brought them within the realm, should be put out of the king's protection, and all their lands and goods forfeited. The defiant attitude of England triumphed over this attempt at papal usurpation. But if we consider how the whole ecclesiastical system was intertwined with the authority of Rome, we may judge how favorable was the season for earnest men to assail every abuse in the Church. It has been said that, of this generation, one third of the English people became Lollards, as the followers of Wycliffe were now termed. The ecclesiastical hierarchy held them as the tares (*lolium*) among the wheat. In the next generation the futile process commenced of attempting to weed out the tares. The gradual reforms by which the ancient State of England was preserved and invigorated were resisted by those who had directed the fortunes of her ancient Church. In the fulness of time it fell—a warning to those who dwell in the edifice reconstructed out of its materials, precious even in their occasional incongruity.

The age in which "the poor preachers" dissemipated their opinions was an age in which knowledge began to spread and literature was to some extent cultivated. The abstract doctrines of the Lollards had been enforced by the satires of "Piers Ploughman"—full

not only of sarcasm and invective, but of real poetry. Chaucer had arisen with his various knowledge, his familiarity with courtly and with common life, his acquaintance with the writings of Dante and Petrarch and the Italian fablers. He gave to his native English a copiousness and elegance which it had not previously possessed. He cast aside the use of Latin, which limited literature to the few. He brought his translations and adaptations within the reach of the many. From Boccaccio he borrowed his "Knight's Tale," "as olde stories tellin us." To this romance he added vigorous descriptions and graceful fictions, which are wanting in his model. He invented the English heroic couplet—the fruitful parent of a noble poetical progeny. His "Romaunt of the Rose" is of French origin. His "Troilus and Cresseide," as he tells us, is from "myne auctor Lollius," an Italian of Urbino. His poems contain frequent allusions to the great Latin writers. "The House of Fame" has not been traced to a distinct origin. "The Canterbury Tales," with their Arabian fiction and philosophy—their reflections of mediæval splendor, and of mediæval injustice as exhibited in the clerk of Oxenford's tale, which, written by Boccaccio, he learned of Petrarch at Padua—their wonderful pictures of English life, so thoroughly founded upon his own genius and powers of observation—would appear miraculous performances if we were to fall into the common notion that the end of the fourteenth century was an age of ignorance. Ignorance, very gross, no doubt, there was; but the national mind was awake, or such works could never have been produced. They were meant to be popular—and they were popular. Limited in their circulation by the necessary expense of their multiplication in manuscript, they found their way to the noble's privy-chamber, the franklin's fireside, and the student's cell. Most men, with any pretensions to knowledge, had some acquaintance with the novelties of literature and the current European fables. In the inventory under the will of a clerk of Bury, in 1370, we find his service-book, a law-book, a book of statutes, and a book of romances.* The passion for fiction existed before printing multiplied the possession of works of amusement. The French romances were the courtly reading, before Chaucer and Gower came with their more attractive English. Gower, "the moral Gower," was far inferior in genius to Chaucer. In him that great attribute of genius, humor, was wholly wanting. His "Confessio Amantis," full indeed of affectations, the pedantry of love, contains many interesting narratives and wise disquisitions. The early writers of fiction, without the creative power which has made Chaucer universal and enduring, used their stories as the vehicle for imparting the most recondite knowledge—and Gower was of this class. But in him we may trace the large range of inquiry that belonged to his time, destitute of scientific exactness, but leading into wide regions of speculation. The demand for poetry and fiction is strikingly exemplified by an incident connected with Gower's "Confessio Amantis." Richard, the luxurious king, is in his barge on the Thames. He sees the poet in a boat, and inviting him to come on board, desires him to 'book some new thing." When Froissart came to England, in 1394, he brought a French romance to Richard, which he laid ready on the king's bed. "When the king opened it, it pleased him well, for it was fair enlumined and written. . . . Then the king demanded me whereof it treated, and I showed him how it treated matters of love; whereof the king was glad, and looked in it, and read it in many places, for he could speak and read French very well." Froissart's commendation of the king's French shows that English was now commonly read and spoken; and that Chaucer and Gower had adapted themselves to that change which has carried our tongue to the ends of the earth. Upon Wycliffe's Bible our present translation is mainly founded. Sir John Mandeville, in 1356, wrote in English his travels, so full of apocryphal marvels. Trevisa translated the "Polychronicon" of Higden in 1385. From him we learn that at the time he wrote, gentlemen had "much left off to have their children taught French." The change had been gradually coming, for John Cornwall, a schoolmaster, in 1356, made his boys translate Latin into English. By the end of the fourteenth century we were a nation, in language as well as in heart.

But there was yet much to do before that expressive word "nation" could be said to comprehend the whole people. It could not embrace all ranks while any portion remained in bondage. That the serfs were making efforts to procure that enfranchisement which their king desired for them, and which their lords denied, may be collected from an act of parliament of the ninth year of Richard, 1385. The statute says that "divers villeins and neifs, as well of great lords as of other people, spiritual and temporal, do flee unto cities, towns, and places enfranchised, as the city of London, and feign divers suits against their lords, to the intent to make them free by answer of their lords." The villeins, we thus see, were becoming free before the law. There was a time when their condition of bondage would have closed the ears of justice against any complaint from them against their lords. The law now listens to their complaints, and their lords must answer. But a special statute is necessary to limit this exercise of the right of freemen. "It is accorded and assented that the lords, nor other, shall not be forebarred of their villeins, because of their answer in the law." The influence of religion and the progress of equal justice are steadily working together for the manumission of the serfs. Their great stronghold of freedom is to be found in the enfranchised cities and towns. The cultivators, whether tenants or laborers, provide for their children an escape from oppression by apprenticing them to handicrafts. The continuance of bondage, loose as the bonds are becoming, deprives the soil of its necessary labor. The land capitalists are forcing labor into other channels. Then step in the statute-makers, and enact, in 1388, "that he or she, which use to labor at the plough and cart, or other labor or service of husbandry, till they be of the age of twelve years, from thenceforth shall abide at the same labor, without being put to any mystery or handicraft, and if any covenant or bond of apprentice be from henceforth made to the contrary, the same shall be holden for none." Another enactment of the same parliament is to the effect that artificers and men of craft, servants and apprentices, shall be compelled to serve in harvest, to cut, gather, and bring in the corn. The laborers in husbandry are not sufficient for the demand. The expedient of the former reign of confining the rural population to one place is again resorted to. Male and female servants and laborers are not to depart at the end of their term, to go to another place, without letters testimonial under the king's seal, intrusted for that purpose to some good man of the hundred, rape, wapentake, city, or borough: wandering without such letters, they are to be put in the stocks. In this same year, 1388, we have a glimpse of a poor-law, in the description of "beggars impotent to serve." These are to abide in the cities or towns where they dwell; but if the people of these cities or towns "may not suffice to find them"—are not able to support them—they may go to other towns within the hundred, rape, or wapentake, or to the place where they were born, and there constantly abide. Such enactments are symptoms of a transition state of society. The word "villein" is now generally giving place to the word "servant." The law now provides for the martial array and sports of every servant of husbandry, laborer, or servant of artificer. They are to bear no buckler, sword, nor dagger, except in the time of war for defence of the realm; but they shall have bows and arrows, and use the same on Sundays and holidays, leaving all idle games of tennis, football, quoits, skittles, dice, and casting of the stone. It was unwise, and no doubt it was useless, to attempt thus to cultivate the use of the great national weapon by a limitation of the games that made every village-green resonant with mirth and manly contention. The dice would be secretly used in the winter evenings, and the draught-board attract customers to the victualler's settle. The principle of interference in social affairs has, from the days of the Plantagenets to the days of the Stuarts—and indeed much later—been the crying evil of our legislation. The regulation of the rate of wages went on from the time of the pestilence in the reign of Edward III.; but it was now found out that "a man cannot put the price of corn and other victuals in certain;" and it was therefore enacted that the justices of peace in every county shall make proclamation, by their discretion, according to the dearth of victuals, how much every craftman and laborer should take as wages, according to his degree. We now understand the impossible things which were attempted by these ancient legislators, and how they carried on an unequal strife against the laws of nature. The principle of their legislation—that of prescribing by authority what the social instincts would accomplish far more effectually—is not yet worn out. In some of their enactments, however, they exhibited a wisdom which their successors might have done

* Wills from the Registers of Bury: Camden Society.

well to imitate. Whoever knew the sanitary condition of London generally and of other great towns at the beginning of this century, and partially within the last twenty years—whoever penetrates the obscure places of many towns at the present hour—will marvel that a law of 1388 should have fallen into disuse at the end of four centuries and a half: "For that so much dung and filth of the garbage and entrails as well of beasts killed, as of other corruptions, be cast and put in ditches, rivers, and other waters, and also within many other places, within, about, and nigh unto divers cities, boroughs, and towns of the realm, and the suburbs of them, that the air there is greatly corrupt and infect, and many maladies and other intolerable diseases do daily happen"—it is enacted that proclamation be made through the realm that all they which cast and lay such annoyances shall immediately remove them, upon pain to forfeit to the king twenty pounds. To the mayors and bailiffs was intrusted the execution of this act; and in their default the Court of Chancery was open to any complainant.

In looking at the old arrangements of society, most persons, naturally enough, consider those only valuable which have some general agreement with the principles of our modern life. Those which are in direct opposition to the system of independent action in the common transactions between man and man, are, in the same way, regarded as useless or injurious. That wages should be regulated by statute or proclamation of justices—that the prices of articles of necessity should be also so regulated—that sumptuary laws should determine the diet and apparel of all classes—that not a piece of cloth or a hide of leather should be sold without the mark of the searchers—that no money should be carried out of the country, whatever quantity of goods came in—all these official interventions appear to us in the highest degree absurd and tyrannical, when we regard them from the economical point of view. But we are really not in a position absolutely to judge of the imagined necessity which called them forth. We cannot sufficiently place ourselves in the midst of the decaying feudal institutions, and say that such laws, the scaffoldings of a new social edifice, were wholly unnecessary. But we can say that all such expedients are entirely unsuited to modern times; and that, whatever be the insufficient working of the natural law of labor and capital—whatever the power of traders to elevate prices, or deteriorate quality—whatever the evils of extravagance in diet or apparel—no state laws can give the people higher wages, or cheaper food, or more frugal manners, as these old regulations of society attempted to do. Political philosophy, after the experience of five centuries, has discovered that the great duty of the state is to permit the laws of demand and supply to pursue their natural course; and to leave individual follies, which are not positive wrongs, public or private, to their own certain penalties. But there is an exceptional school, which, seeing a large amount of suffering and crime in existing society, appears somewhat too much enamored of the ancient principle of perpetual interference, acting under the system by which "the discipline of an army was transferred to the details of social life." * It is held that under this discipline, "in the distribution of the produce of land men dealt fairly and justly with each other; and in the material condition of the bulk of the people there is a fair evidence that the system worked efficiently and well." † To determine the state of the producing classes, a comparison is entered into of the rate of wages with the price of food; and it is held that in the old time a laborer with a penny could buy more bread, beef, beer, and wine than the laborer of the nineteenth century can do for a shilling. Be it so. But what shall we say of the system when we regard the excessive fluctuations of price?—the result of the complacency with which "statesmen did not care for the accumulation of capital." "They desired," says the encomiast of the past, "to see the physical well-being of all classes of the commonwealth maintained at the highest degree which the producing power of the country admitted; and population and production remaining stationary, they were enabled to do it." ‡ The producing power of the country was so variable that, in 1387, wheat at Leicester was sold at two shillings a quarter—in 1390 at sixteen shillings and eightpence. § Where, with this imperfect and irregular production, was the stationary population? Dying of famine, to maintain the due proportion between population and production. The whole theory of "population and production remaining stationary" is a paradox utterly opposed to any condition of society which could by possibility exist after the abolition of slavery. The instant at which the lords of the soil could no longer control the amount of the population upon their own demesnes—the instant that the system of free labor superseded serfage—the instant that the towns were ready to absorb the superabundant population of the country, and to increase their own population, with no restraint but the ordinary laws by which the number of mouths to eat is proportioned to the amount of profitable labor to be performed—that instant there was an end of any possible power to keep population and production stationary. If, as the historian we have quoted believes, the population in the middle of the sixteenth century was five millions, the evidence is equally clear that it did not exceed two millions and a half at the end of the fourteenth century. The data for calculating the population at either period are exceedingly uncertain. Less than a million and a half were assessed to the poll-tax of Richard II., but which number did not include the people of Durham, Chester, and Wales. Undoubtedly there was a considerable increase in a century and a half. But what increase would there have been could the system of interference, founded upon the principle of keeping population and production stationary, have been successful? In our view, there was an end of the system when its broad foundation of slavery was at an end; and all subsequent laws for regulating wages, for fixing a maximum price on articles of necessity, and for surrounding trade with every species of arbitrary regulation, in the vain endeavor to prevent fraud, were very useless attempts to prolong a controlling power when its vital principle had perished. It is of little consequence that for several centuries after the foundations of the mediæval feudality were utterly gone, endeavors of every kind were made to preserve the same regulating powers of authority which grew out of the original relations of lord, vassal, and serf. One by one they crumbled away in England; and as they more and more lost all vitality, and became mere incumbrances of legislation, the great body of the people more and more felt the possibility of increased production keeping pace with increased population; and their various comforts—positive luxuries when compared with the average household conveniences and gratifications of the fourteenth century—went on increasing, in the exact proportion of the national advance in wealth and knowledge under the self-regulating action of modern society.

But we venture to believe that we should fall into a grievous error if we were to accept the enactments which imply an organization assigning to every man his certain place, and regulating all his dealings with his fellow-men upon an absolute scale, as a complete evidence of the real condition of the people. The enactments themselves prove that they were, in a great degree, inoperative. We have mentioned the Statute of Diet and Apparel of 1368, and that it was repealed in the following year.* Is not this proof that "grooms and servants" could not be limited to meat once a day, and cloth of two marks the whole piece for their dress? The ordinance which regulates apparel regulates also the price at which the cloth is to be sold. Could the varying cost of the material of cloth allow this enactment to attain the slightest permanency? After the next session of parliament, the people, as to diet, apparel, and the price of cloth, became, in the words of the repealing act, "as free as they were before." After the pestilence, the act of the 25th of Edward III. regulates wages. By the 12th of Richard II. wages are again regulated, because "servants and laborers will not serve and labor without outrageous and excessive hire." In the 7th year of Henry IV. laborers and artificers are to be sworn to serve after the form of these two statutes of Edward III. and Richard II., and if they refuse to do so to be put in the stocks. Need we go farther to show that all such enactments were but blind devices to struggle against the only laws that could be operative in such matters? In less than a century after the first act regulating wages of Edward III., a very different scale is given by the 23d of Henry VI., but with this important condition—"that such as deserve less shall take less." The statute does not say, "that such as deserve more shall take more." But the exception to the scale, in favor of the payers of wages, proves that the whole scheme was a fallacy. Of the same flimsy construction was all the

* Froude, "History of England," vol. i. p. 13. † Ibid. p. 19.
‡ Ibid. p. 26. § "Chronicon Pretiosum."

* Vol. i. p. 143.

boasted protection of the humbler classes, by state supervision, against what is termed "the money-making spirit" of the traders. They had far higher need of protection against those who went on seeking, however vainly, to beat down wages by scales and penalties. Out of the exercise of the spirit of exchange, throwing off its state shackles one by one, have grown all the material blessings of modern civilization. When England became commercial, which it did rapidly in and after the reign of Edward III., the feudal organization of society was thenceforth an impossibility. In every attempt to maintain that organization, by what has been called "a higher code" for the production and distribution of wealth than the laws of supply and demand, we see only the dissolving shadow of a power once supreme, retreating and diminishing before a great expanding reality.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Family dissensions—Conduct of the war with France—Suspicions of Lancaster—Scots and Frenchmen cross the Border—Projected invasion of England by France—Disputes of the king and the Parliament—Commission of Regency—Secret council of the king—Gloucester and other nobles take arms—The king's advisers declared traitors—Battle of Otterbourne—Richard assumes the government—Truce with France and Scotland—Richard in Ireland—His marriage with Isabella of France—The king becomes despotic—*Coup d'état*—Murder of Gloucester—Quarrel of Hereford and Norfolk—Their banishment—Wretched condition of the country—Death of John of Gaunt—Richard seizes his possessions—The king goes to Ireland—Henry of Lancaster lands at Ravenspur—Betrayal of Richard by the Percies—A parliament called—Richard's deposition—Henry claims the kingdom.

The political intrigues of the reign of Richard II. are so complicated, and have been so obscurely related, that from the first days of his accession, when John of Gaunt, in parliament, indignantly repelled some vague accusations against himself of designs upon the throne, till, twenty-two years afterward, the king was deposed by the son of the same John of Gaunt, we are walking in a labyrinth of family quarrels, accompanied with a more than usual amount of hatred and dissimulation. At the age of twelve Richard was placed on the throne. For ten years he had little share in the government, though he was put forward, as in the instance of the insurrection of 1381, to act in his personal character of king. In 1382 he married Anne of Bohemia, a prudent and amiable princess, who restrained many of the impulses of his levity and fitful passions. But he surrounded himself with favorite ministers, who evidently fomented the jealousy which he constantly felt of his uncles. John, the duke of Lancaster, appears to have possessed many of the high qualities of a statesman—prudent, but not an enemy to improvement—generous without prodigality—having great wealth and influence, but not employing his power in any proved disloyalty to his royal nephew. Thomas, the duke of Gloucester, was less scrupulous in the modes by which he controlled the immature king; and the early impatience of Richard under his stern tutelage, and the cherished hatreds of his adult age, were at last terminated by open hostility and secret murder. During the twenty-two years in which Richard bore the name of king, for one half of the period he was an unwilling puppet in the hands of austere guardians; and when he broke loose from their authority in the second half of his reign, he had been so long controlled by others that he had never acquired the power of self-control; and thus, with many qualities which might have made him respected in any other position, he became a tyrant without the force of character that makes tyranny successful, and perished through the consequences of his own violence and rashness.

The war with France was feebly conducted, previous to a short truce in 1384. Henry Spenser, the bishop of Norwich, led an expedition into Flanders, in 1383, ostensibly for a crusade against the pretensions to the papacy of Clement, a Frenchman. The expedition was, in reality, to support the Flemings in that resistance to the government of their duke which, in the previous year, had received such a check by the intervention of France. The Italian pope, Urban VI., was supported by England, and by the Flemings and German States. Part of the cost of this adventure was voted by parliament; part was raised by voluntary contributions. Had this expedition given assistance to the burghers of Bruges and Ghent and Ypres, before the fall of their great leader Philip Artevelde at the battle of Rosebecque, the democratic cause might have had a different issue. The martial bishop took Gravelines and Dunkirk, and defeated the forces of the count of Flanders; but the French again crossed the frontier, and the bishop fled to England, to be censured in parliament and fined, for having failed in this partisan warfare. In that year Richard proposed a measure for the conclusion of the war with France, which gives to this great quarrel an air of the ludicrous, ill-assorting with the miseries which it brought upon both countries. The king of England was seventeen years of age. There is a letter in the public records from Richard to the duke of Lancaster, in which he gravely proposes that the quarrel between England and France should be determined by a single combat between himself and the French king, Charles VI., who was then in his fifteenth year. It does not appear that John of Gaunt gave any encouragement to this precocious heroism. He concluded the truce with France in 1384, in which Scotland was comprehended. But the Scots refused to desist from warfare, and the duke led an army across the border, burning towns and cutting down forests. On his return to England he was again assailed by suspicions of disloyalty. A Carmelite friar put into the hands of Richard a paper, professing to disclose a conspiracy to deprive him of his crown, and give the kingdom to his uncle. Lancaster maintained his innocence, and demanded that the slanderer should be committed to safe custody. Sir John Holland, the king's half-brother, undertook the charge; and the next day the friar was found dead—strangled, it was said, by his knightly keeper. Whether he was put out of the way to prevent disclosures against Lancaster, or to conceal the treachery by which he had been suborned to make a false accusation, is one of the mysteries of this obscure period. The young king now began to exhibit that dissimulation which subsequently he was too ready to exercise. He professed his complete satisfaction; and Lancaster went abroad to obtain a prolongation of the truce with France. Preparations were made to arrest him on his return; but he secured himself in his castle of Pontefract. The storm blew over for a time. France had sent men-at-arms into Scotland, and had advanced a large sum of money to induce the Scots to invade England. In Froissart's relation of these circumstances there are many curious details of the state of Scotland. The French expedition was commanded by Sir John de Vienne. At Edinburgh the Frenchmen waited for the king of the Scots, who was in "the wylde Scottysche" (the Highlands). They were lodged about in the villages, for in the town there were not four thousand houses. Their aid was not popular, for the people cried, "We can do without their help. What devil has brought them here? They will rifle and eat us up." Nor were the Frenchmen more satisfied with Scotland. The barons and knights, who looked for goodly castles and tapestried halls, said to their admiral, "What pleasure hath brought us hither? We never knew what poverty meant till now." Horses were scarce and extravagantly dear; bridles and saddles there were none. The pride of chivalry was at fault. At last King Robert came to Edinburgh; but he produced in the Frenchmen no great reverence, for he came "with a pair of red bleared eyen—it seemed they were lined with sendal."* The united armies then marched into England, and had advanced toward Newcastle, when they learned that King Richard was coming with a great army. They then retreated; and Douglas took the French admiral to a mountain, and showed him the mighty force of the English, and how unequal the Scots were to fight with them. But while Richard advanced into Scotland, took Edinburgh, and marched toward Aberdeen, the French and Scots entered Cumberland and Westmoreland, burning and plundering on every side. The duke of Lancaster knew the advantage which this inroad had given to the English army, and how surely the retreat of the Scots and French might be cut off. But the young king's favorite, De la Pole, filled his mind with the suspicion that his uncle, in advising a return to the borders, intended to expose him to the dangers of a winter campaign in a mountainous region, from which he would never escape alive. Richard refused to march into Cumberland with the duke; and returned with his army to England through Northumberland. The campaign of 1385 terminated without any trial of strength in battle. The Scots and French wasted England, and the English wasted Scotland. When the ill-assorted allies returned to

* Sendal was a thin silk, of a reddish color.

Edinburgh, the Scots required to be paid the expenses of the campaign; for they said that the war was made for the profit of France and not for themselves; and they kept the admiral in pledge till their demands were satisfied. On his return from this expedition, the parliament ratified the honors which Richard had conferred on his favorites. Michael de la Pole was created earl of Suffolk, and Robert de Vere earl of Oxford. To neutralize the jealousy of his own relations, his uncles were created dukes of York and Gloucester; Henry, the son of the duke of Lancaster, was made earl of Derby; and Edward, the son of the duke of York, earl of Rutland. At the same time Roger, earl of March, was declared presumptive heir to the throne. He was the grandson of Lionel, the second son of Edward III., who died in 1368, and whose daughter, Philippa, married Mortimer, earl of March.

In 1386 the dreaded duke of Lancaster left England to assert his claim to the crown of Castile, in right of his second wife, Constantia, daughter of Peter the Cruel. The duke was more successful in his negotiations than permanently fortunate in his wars. He married his eldest daughter, by his first wife, to John, king of Portugal; and his daughter Catherine, who had succeeded to her mother's claims, was espoused, in 1387, by Henry III. of Castile. The quarrel of the rival families was terminated by this union; and thus the issue of John of Gaunt bore sovereignty in Spain for many generations. In the absence of Lancaster, enormous preparations were made by France for the invasion of England. The insurrections of Flanders had been put down; and the time seemed most opportune for revenging the injuries which France had received in the invasions of Edward III. and the Black Prince. In September, 1386, a larger fleet was collected than had ever before been seen in Christendom. In the port of Sluys were twelve hundred and eighty-seven vessels. Another fleet was assembled at Tréguier, in Brittany. The great lords of France and Burgundy rivalled each other in the magnificent decorations of the ships which were to bear them to the devoted English shores. If painted and gilded masts, emblazoned sails, and silken banners, could have insured success, no fleet was ever more grandly appointed. From all parts knights were arriving, for several months, in the towns of Flanders and Artois. They collected immense stores, as if they were about to found some distant colony. The young king of France set out from Paris with great pomp, and joined the duke of Burgundy at Arras. The lords and knights were full of gladness. They were going against the hated English, to avenge the blood of their fathers and their brethren. As they had traversed France, the whole country had been stripped by them. Little had been left to the cultivators to give, for an enormous tax had been levied for this war. The lords and the knights seized upon everything that remained. "We have no money," they said, "but we will pay you when we return." The unhappy people muttered, "Go, and may you never come back." But they did not go. The king came to Sluys. He thought he should make a good sailor. He was ready to sail. But his uncle, the duke de Berri, still lingered at Paris. The vast army was eating up everything. The season was becoming cold and stormy. The soldiers and the people of the towns were quarrelling; and a general revolt of the bold Flemings was again apprehended. At length the duke de Berri arrived. He found the season too far advanced for the attempt, and the great enterprise was postponed till the next year. The furious lords and knights dispersed homeward. The next year came, and the invasion was again postponed. The leaders quarrelled; and, instead of England being subject to invasion, the French coast was assailed, and the French and Flemish fleets destroyed, from Brest to Sluys.

Richard in 1386 was twenty years of age. A contest is coming on between the king and the parliament, which, partly the result of the family jealousies, and partly the desire of a self-willed youth to free himself from constitutional control, appears to threaten a political revolution. It is really of small consequence to us, at the present time, to think, according to one set of partisan historians, that Richard was an innocent and oppressed sovereign, and Thomas of Woodstock a most unprincipled usurper of the royal functions; or with another set, that the young king was engaged in a constant struggle for despotic power, and that all the parliamentary enactments by which he was opposed were just and sagacious assertions of the liberties of the country. We may seek our way through this maze of suspicion and accusation—of stern control and passionate resistance—without adopting the prejudices with which all such historical questions were regarded in the last century, from one point of view or from its opposite. The statutes and rolls of parliament are but imperfect expounders of the real causes of the shifting events of this reign; and the contemporary historians were necessarily possessed of very limited information. In one thing the State records and the chroniclers are agreed—that Richard was unbounded in his personal expense. In 1386 the Commons petitioned the king "that the state of his household might be looked into and examined every year, by the chancellor, treasurer, and clerk of the privy-seal, and what was amiss to be amended at their discretion." The answer was, "The king will order it when he pleaseth." Harding, the chronicler, says that Richard's household consisted of ten thousand persons; that he had three hundred in his kitchen; and that all his offices were furnished in like proportion. If we trust these accounts, we may well believe that there was a perpetual conflict between the royal demands for taxes and the indignation of the Commons, who felt that their supplies were spent in folly and favoritism, and that little was done in foreign warfare, upon which the honor of the country was held to depend. The king's private counsellors were the encouragers of his extravagance, and his inciters against those whom he supposed to be his enemies. Knyghton, a contemporary, affirms that when the Commons resolved upon the impeachment of the earl of Suffolk, and communicated their resolution to the king, he replied that he would not, at their instance, remove the meanest scullion in his kitchen. The earl of Suffolk was impeached, and the king was compelled to part with one for whom he would probably have sacrificed the whole ten thousand of his household. But the Commons went farther. They petitioned the king to appoint a Commission of Regency for one year, with very large powers; the most formidable of which was that those who advised a revocation of their authority should incur the penalties of treason. Richard unwillingly complied. "The king," says Hume, "was in reality dethroned; the aristocracy was rendered supreme." He adds, "The intentions of the party were to render it perpetual." Mr. Hallam replies to the historian "with a Tory bias," "that nothing less than an extraordinary remedy could preserve the still unstable liberties of England."* In the summer of 1387 Richard made progresses in Cheshire and Yorkshire, and received marks of popular favor. In August he held a council at Nottingham, consisting of the archbishop of York; De Vere, now created duke of Ireland, the earl of Suffolk; the chief justice, Tresilian; and Sir Nicholas Brember lord mayor of London. They tried to tamper with the sheriffs of the adjacent counties, to induce them to return no knights and burgesses to the next parliament but such as the king should nominate. This plan was unsuccessful. The judges were then summoned; and the king procured from them a declaration in answer to questions drawn up by the chief justice, that the commission to which he had reluctantly assented was illegal; and that those who interfered with his rights in procuring it to be passed, or enforcing his consent to it, were traitors; with other assertions tending to the upholding of his unlimited prerogative. Of these opinions, given under an obligation of secrecy, the duke of Gloucester was soon apprised. Richard meanwhile was concerting measures for the arrest and indictment of those who had been designated as traitors by judicial opinions, extorted, as was asserted by the majority of the judges, under menace. On the 10th of November, nine days before the commission was to expire, Richard entered London, and was received with acclamations. Sir Nicholas Brember had influenced the voice of the citizens. On the next day it was known that an army of forty thousand men was advancing to the capital under the command of the duke of Gloucester, and the earls of Arundel and Nottingham, the constable, admiral, and mareschal of England. The earls of Derby and Warwick joined them the next day. These noblemen, lords appellants as they were called, on the 17th of November, accused of treason before the king at Westminster those five of his obnoxious counsellors who had assembled at Nottingham. The earl of Suffolk fled to France; the archbishop of York eventually found refuge in Flanders; De Vere raised an army by authority of royal letters; but was defeated at Radcot Bridge, and escaped to Ireland. The other two who were denounced by the appellants—Tresilian, the chief justice, and Sir Nicholas Brember—

* "Middle Ages," part iii chap. viii.

were executed as traitors. There were other executions, with banishments and confiscations, and these penalties were all enforced under the authority of parliament. For about a year the government appears to have been in the hands of the parliamentary council, without any intervention on the part of the humiliated king.

In 1388, on the 10th of August, was fought the famous battle of Otterbourne, upon which is founded the ballad of "Chevy Chase." That ballad, and the earlier one called "The Battle of Otterbourne," treat this remarkable conflict as a border-feud. Froissart has a most minute description of this great fight between the Percy and the Douglas, which also shows that it was essentially an affair of the feudal lords, and not of the Scotch and English governments. Lord Henry Percy was appointed by the Council to keep the frontier of Northumberland against the Scots; and the Scotch lords and knights, seeing "the Englishmen were not all of one accord," gathered together at Aberdeen, and concerted a plan for meeting near the border. With a large army they crossed the Tyne, and went on to Durham, but soon retreated. At Newcastle they were encountered by the younger Percies, with their host; their father, the earl of Northumberland, keeping the pass of Alnwick. The leaders appear to have met as if at a tournament. Earl Douglas and Lord Henry Percy fought hand to hand, and Douglas won Percy's pennon, and told him that "he would set it on high on his castle of Dalkeith;" and Percy said Douglas should not carry it out of England. After the skirmish, the Scots, the next day, marched to Otterbourne, about thirty miles from Newcastle. The castle has perished which Douglas assailed; but there we may trace the marshy valley and the little mountain where the Scots fixed their camp, and where Harry Percy came on, with the moon shining as bright as day, to win back his pennon. It was no skirmish now. Douglas was killed on one side, and Percy and his brother taken prisoners on the other, the victory being to the Scots. Douglas was buried at Melrose. Percy was soon ransomed. Froissart says of this battle, "Englishmen on the one part, and Scots on the other part, are good men of war; for when they meet there is hard fighting without sparring. There is no love between them, as long as spears, swords, axes, or daggers will endure; but they lay on each upon the other, and when they be well beaten, and that the one part hath obtained the victory, then they glorify so in their deeds of arms, and are so joyful, that such as be taken they shall be ransomed ere they go out of the field, so that shortly each of them is so content with the other that, at their departing courteously, they will say, God thank you." The long but graphic narrative by Froissart of this border-feud is suggestive of striking contrasts of mediæval and modern times. While the Scots had marched on beyond the Tyne, "all the English knights and squires of the county of York and bishopric of Durham were assembled at Newcastle." Froissart adds, "The town was so full of people, that they wist not where to lodge." Little is left in that town to remind us how often it was crowded with the chivalry of England, going to or returning from the Scottish wars. Nearly all its ancient buildings have been destroyed. The railway-train sweeps over the Tyne, and over the steep streets, at a prodigious elevation. Trim edifices, fresh and montonous, have obliterated the traces of the past. One relic, the Black Gate, and its dungeon-looking houses, show how the Percies, and Mowbray's, and Greys lodged, when they filled Newcastle with their men-at-arms.

In 1389 the government of England appears to be acquiring some consistency, under the more immediate rule of the king. At a great council in May he suddenly asked the duke of Gloucester, "How old am I?" His uncle replied, "Your highness is in your twenty-second year." Upon this Richard declared his opinion that he was old enough to manage his own affairs. There was no resistance, and he dismissed the chancellor and the treasurer. Gloucester retired into the country. Lancaster returned to England. The struggle of parties seemed to be at an end. A truce was concluded with France, which, several times renewed, lasted through this reign, and Scotland was included in the pacification. William of Wykeham was apointed chancellor, although he had been one of the council of 1388; and the duke of York and the earl of Derby, although active in the proceedings of that year, regained their influence under the king. In the parliament of 1390 the chancellor declared the king to be of full age, and that he intended to govern his people in peace and quiet; to do justice to all men; and that clergy and laity should enjoy all their liberties. In 1394 the queen died. She was called "the good queen Anne" by the people. In that year Richard went to Ireland, with a large army. He took with him four thousand knights, and thirty thousand archers, and he remained there nine months. There had been revolt of the native chiefs and discontent of the colonists; but the mere demonstration of the English force prevented any battle. The king was thoroughly in his element—giving sumptuous entertainments, and displaying his regal magnificence to a wondering people. Four of the principal kings of Ireland, as they were called, came to Dublin, and submitted themselves to him without constraint. Of the quality of these kings Froissart had a curious account from Sir Henry Cristall, an Englishman, who had been a captive among the native Irish, and having been kindly treated, married and long resided with them. He was appointed to attend on the four kings who submitted themselves to Richard. It was Richard's wish that in manners and apparel they should conform to the usages of England. It was his purpose to create them knights. But they were wedded to their ancient customs. They would sit at the same table as their minstrels and servants, eating out of the same dish and drinking out of the same cup. They were ill at ease with gowns of silk, furred with minever, and disdained the linen breeches that the good Cristall provided for them. They perhaps showed their sense in despising the absurd costume of the court of Richard. At last they were properly attired, and were made knights by the king, with all solemnities of the Church; and sate with him at the banquets, and "were regarded of many folks, because their behaving was strange to the manner of England."

In 1396 Richard took a step which was unpopular. He resolved upon an intimate alliance with France, by seeking in marriage Isabella, the daughter of Charles VI., a child of eight years old. A magnificent embassy was sent to Paris, and the French court was willing to secure a pacification through this alliance. The earl marshal of England knelt to the little girl, and said, "Fair lady, by the grace of God ye shall be our lady and queen of England," and Isabella answered, without counsel of any person, "Sir, an it please God and my lord my father that I shall be queen of England, I shall be glad thereof, for it is showed me that I shall then be a great lady." The negotiations were at length concluded. Froissart relates a remarkable conversation between Richard and the count of St. Pol, who came to England to make arrangements on the part of the French king, which in some degree throws a little light upon the mysterious events of the next three years. The king said that his two uncles, Lancaster and York, were inclined to the alliance, but that his uncle Gloucester was opposed to it; that he did all he could to draw the Londoners to his opinion; that if he stirred the people to rebellion the crown were lost. St. Pol answered Richard that he must dissimulate; win Gloucester with sweet words and great gifts, till the peace was made, and his bride was come to England. "That done," said the wily politician, "ye may take other counsel. Ye shall then be of puissance to oppress all your rebels; for the French king, if need be, shall aid you; of this ye may be sure." The king answered, "Thus shall I do." It was a fatal resolve. The two kings, accompanied by hundreds of nobles and knights, with all the pomp of the gorgeous ceremonials of that age, met between Calais and Ardres, and there embraced, and drank spiced wine out of jewelled cups. Again they met on another day, at the boundary of the two camps; and then the child-queen arrived with a calvacade of golden chariots and silken litters, with ladies wearing garlands of pearls and diamonds; and she was conducted by her uncles to Richard, who promised to cherish her as his wife. The duchesses of Lancaster and Gloucester received her; and she set forward to Calais, where the marriage was celebrated on the 4th of November.

The dangerous advice of the count St. Pol seems to have sunk deeply into Richard's heart. He had conducted himself with moderation since 1389; there were no plots to diminish his lawful power, and no attempt on his part to go beyond the authority of a constitutional king. In January, 1397, a parliament was called. On the 1st of February the Commons desired a conference with the king's officers; when, among other matters, they asked for a bill for avoiding the extravagant expenses of the king's household, complaining that many bishops who had lordships, and many ladies with their servants were supported at the king's expense. Richard was indignant, and demanded the name of the member who had introduced the bill,

and thus dared to interfere with his prerogative. It was Sir Thomas Haxey, a clergyman. On the 3d of February the Commons came most humbly before the king, and declared that they only intended to request him to consider the matter himself, and make what regulations he should think proper. Two days afterward a law was made, that whoever moved, or should move, the Commons of parliament, or any others, to make remedy or reformation of any kind appertaining to the king's person, rule, or royalty, should be held for a traitor. Under this ex-post-facto law Haxey was condemned to die; but his life was spared, and he was subsequently pardoned. The vessel of the state was now drifting fast upon the quicksands of arbitrary government.

The statute of the 21st year of Richard II., 1397–8, is a solemn record of the establishment of a despotic power under the sanction of parliamentary forms. This remarkable document takes an historical view of the events of 1387–8, when the Council of Regency was triumphant, and exhibits to us the first remarkable example of the aid which tyranny derives from a corrupt and cowardly exercise of the sanctions of popular representation. Richard and his advisers appear to have discovered how effectually a subservient parliament may render despotism more easy and secure than through its own unconcealed workings. The statute recites, with great minuteness, the commission granted to the duke of Gloucester and others, ten years before; and then, at the desire of the Commons, repeals the same, as a thing done traitorously, and against the king's crown and dignity. The statute then describes, with equal minuteness, the questions put to the judges regarding that Commission, with their answers. These answers not only affirmed the procurers of the Commission to be traitors, but declared that all who attempted in parliament to proceed in other business than that limited by the king were traitors, and that parliamentary impeachments of the king's officers were treasonable. These answers were now declared "good and lawful" by the subservient Lords and Commons. The king then gives a general pardon for all offences in consideration of a subsidy having been granted him for life, and sweeps away the small remaining power of the Lords and Commons, by nominating certain nobles and commoners to legislate upon "all petitions and matters contained in the same, as they shall think best by their good advice and discretion." Thereupon the king, by the assent of eight lords and three commoners, makes certain ordinances and statutes upon matters of general import to the safety of the realm and the good of the people.* Nothing further could be desired to render Richard the king absolute. The junta thus created superseded parliamentary government altogether.

The mode in which this revolution was accomplished was by such a proceeding as we know in modern times as a *coup d'état*. With consummate duplicity, Richard, on the 10th of July, 1397, had the earl of Warwick to dine with him, and the same evening Warwick was arrested and sent to Tintagel Castle, in Cornwall. The archbishop of Canterbury was solicited to bring his brother, the earl of Arundel, to a conference with the king. The earl was seized at this conference, and was hurried away to Carisbrook Castle, Richard having promised, upon oath, that he should not be injured in person or property. The great blow was still to be struck. The Rolls of parliament say that the duke of Gloucester was arrested at his castle of Plashy, when he came forth in procession, humbly to meet the king. The account which Froissart gives of the duke's arrest is somewhat different; but is very consonant with the sudden boldness and habitual cunning which belonged to the character of Richard. The king set out from London, as if he were going to hunt. He rode to Havering Bower in Essex; and after dinner again went forward, with a small company, till he came to Plashy, about five o'clock in the afternoon. The duke of Gloucester had supped; and when he heard of the king's coming he went forth, with his duchess and his children, to meet him in the court and welcome him. The king entered into the hall, and then into a chamber, where a supper was laid for him. But he sate not long, but said, "Fair uncle, cause five or six horses of yours to be saddled, for I will pray you to ride with me to London, for to-morrow the Londoners will be before us, and upon their requests I will be ordered by your counsel." On the way, the king rode on a great pace, when he came to a place where he had placed his earl marshal in ambush. The duke was arrested in the king's name on that July night. "He cried after the king, yet the king made a deaf ear, and rode on before." Richard lodged that night in the Tower of London. Gloucester was hurried to a barge in the Thames, and then into a ship, and the next night was in safe keeping at Calais.

The proceedings of the king appear to have struck terror into the hearts of those who were bound to Gloucester by the ties of the nearest relationship, and of those who had to dread the king's revenge upon themselves for the proceedings of 1387. By constraint or artifice they put their seals to an instrument appealing Gloucester, Arundel, and Warwick of treason. On the 17th of September Richard met his subservient parliament. The assembly, according to an anonymous authority, was surrounded by the king's troops.* The Commons impeached the archbishop of Canterbury of high treason, and he was banished for life. The earl of Arundel was condemned, and beheaded. The earl of Warwick was condemned, but his life was spared. A writ was issued on the 21st of September to the earl marshal, governor of Calais, commanding him to bring his prisoner, the duke of Gloucester, before the king in parliament. On the 24th—a wonderfully short interval for an answer to be returned in those days—a letter was read from the earl marshal, who wrote that he could not produce the duke, for that he had died in the king's prison. No inquiry was made; no surprise expressed. Lancaster and York, his brothers—Derby, his nephew—appear to have yielded without resistance to the o'erpassing tyranny. The lords, who were so ready to condemn—the traitors of ten years previous, themselves having participated in the publicly pardoned treason—were rewarded by new honors. Derby was created duke of Hereford, and Nottingham duke of Norfolk. A confession of Gloucester was read, which had reference to the proceedings which procured the commission of regency, and to those solely. And yet his own brothers joined in pronouncing his attainder of treason. There is no solution of these inconsistencies but the fact that Richard "kept in his wages ten thousand archers." Shakespeare truly makes the widowed duchess of Gloucester attribute the "patience" of Lancaster and York to "despair."

Richard is now supreme. He wants no parliament to grant him subsidies. He is provided with taxes for the term of his life. He has no dread of remonstrances against his profligate expenditure. It is treason of any person to suggest the necessity of control. Some of those whom he most dreads have been executed, or murdered, or banished. One more act of bold tyranny was necessary for the quiet of his suspicions—"imaginative prince as he was."† "The king kept still in his wages ten thousand archers, night and day, that waited on him;" and "there was none so great in England that durst speak against anything that the king did or would do." But although "the people durst not speak," there were "many great lords who would speak and murmur when they were together."‡ Of such were Hereford and Norfolk. They were the only two who remained of the lords appellant, who had given such dire offense in the eleventh year of Richard. They were riding between Brentford and London, when they began to speak in whispered innuendoes. What they said was divulged to Richard. Of this treachery Hereford has been suspected. Norfolk was sent for by the king, and commanded to declare before the council what had passed. The obsequious parliament had been adjourned to Shrewsbury, where they met in January, 1398. Hereford was now called upon to declare what was the talk between Norfolk and himself. Norfolk did not attend. According to Hereford's written account, as given in the Rolls of parliament, the following was the discourse in that ride between Brentford and London.

Norfolk. "We are on the point of being undone."

Hereford. "Why so?"

Norfolk. "On account of the affair of Radcotbridge."

Hereford. "How can that be, since he has granted us pardon, and has declared in parliament that we behaved as good and loyal subjects."

Norfolk. "Nevertheless, our fate will be like that of others before us. He will annul that record."

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* "Statutes of the Realm, from Original Records," etc., vol. ii. p. 94.

* "Life of Richard II.," published by Hearne. See Hallam, "Middle Ages," chap. viii. part iii. † Froissart. ‡ Ibid.

Hereford. "It will be marvellous indeed if the king, after having said so before the people, should cause it to be annulled."

Norfolk. "It is a marvellous and false world that we live in."

Norfolk then related a plot of certain of the king's council to undo six other lords, among whom were Lancaster, Hereford, and himself.

Hereford. "God forbid! It will be a wonder, if the king should assent to such designs. He appears to make me good cheer, and has promised to be my good lord. Indeed, he has sworn by St. Edward to be a good lord to me and the others."

Norfolk. "So has he often sworn to me by God's body; but I do not trust him the more for that."

After this Norfolk surrendered. The two dukes knelt before the king, and Norfolk said, "My dear Lord, with your leave, if I may answer your cousin, I say Henry of Lancaster is a liar; and in what he has said, and would say of me, lies like a false traitor as he is." Both were ordered into custody; and it was resolved that the dispute should be referred to a Court of Chivalry. The Court sat at Windsor. Hereford would not withdraw his statement. Norfolk persisted in his peremptory denial. Wager of battle could alone determine the quarrel; and the judgment of God was to be appealed to, in the lists of Coventry, on the 16th of September.

To that ancient city, the favorite seat of the Black Prince, comes his son, with all the magnificent retinue which exhibited the feudal pomp without its ancient prowess.* The silken pavilions are bright with the gaudiest colors. The king, surrounded by nobles, and guarded by thousands of men in harness, sits on an elevated stage. Henry of Lancaster makes the sign of the cross on his forehead, and entering the lists, alights from his horse, and takes his velvet chair. Thomas Mowbray hovers about the lists, and then enters, crying, God aid him that hath the right. They have each previously sworn that this quarrel is just and true. The heralds make proclamation. The champions are mounted. The beavers are closed, and the spears are in rest. But the king casts down his warder, and the heralds shout, Ho! Ho! Hereford and Norfolk will not fight that day. The king affects to consult his council; and the dangerous combatants are each banished, Hereford for ten years, Norfolk for life.*

Upon the departure of Hereford and Norfolk from the kingdom, Richard appears to have pursued the most reckless course. In the face of his declared amnesty for all offences, he extorted fines from seventeen counties, to whose population he imputed crimes connected with the levying arms in 1387. Under forced confessions of treason done at that period, he compelled rich individuals to give blank obligations, which his officers filled up with large sums, having no limitation but their despotic caprice. The ordinary course of justice was interrupted. Robbers in great companies kept the fields and highways, despoiling merchants, and plundering the cultivators of their produce. The people said, "In the days of good King Edward III. there was no man so hardy in England to take a hen, or a chicken, or a sheep, without he had paid truly for it; and nowadays all that we have is taken from us, and yet we dare not speak." They complained that they had a king who attended to nothing but his own pleasure, and cared not how things went as long as he had his will. Thus writes Froissart, who is generally more tender toward Richard than other contemporary chroniclers. But it was not only the common people who complained; the nobles showed their displeasure by ominous avoidance of the regal pageantries. At this juncture John of Gaunt, the duke of Lancaster, died. He did not survive the banishment of his son more than three months. The king was perfectly aware of the deep love which the Londoners and the nation generally bore toward Hereford, whose popular demeanor had won their hearts. Thousands waited on him, weeping when he rode out of London. And yet Richard chose this time to seize upon the property of that powerful house; and to decree that the banishment of Hereford had rendered him incapable of succeeding by attorney to the estates of his father, revoking the letters-patent which had been granted to enable the son to claim livery of his inheritance should his father die during the period of his banishment. No crime had been imputed to Hereford. He was banished by the arbitrary will of the king, who, first decreeing his exile for a term of ten years, had subsequently revoked the sentence to an exile of six years. In the spring of 1399 Richard suddenly determined to go to Ireland, to avenge the loss o the earl of March, who had been surprised and slain by a party of th natives. He previously proclaimed a great tournament at Windsor of forty knights and forty esquires against all comers. The king an his child-queen sat there in more than wonted splendor; but fe came to the feast, whether "lords, or knights, or other men, fo they had the king in such hatred." Then Richard appointed hi uncle, the duke of York, regent; and he parted with Isabella at th door of St. George's chapel, where they had heard mass; lifting he up in his arms, and kissing her, and saying, "Adieu, madam, adieu till we meet again." The Londoners were prophetic. They said "Now goeth Richard of Bordeaux the way to Bristow, and so int Ireland, which will be to his destruction. He shall never retur again with joy, no more than did King Edward the Second, his grea grandfather, who was foolishly governed by too much believing o the Spensers. In like wise Richard of Bordeaux hath believed s much evil counsel that it cannot be holden nor suffered any longer." At the beginning of the year 1399 Henry of Lancaster is at the cour of France. Although he has been banished by Richard, the son-in law of the French king, he is in favor with Charles VI., and the prin ces and nobles. With the duke of Orleans he has entered into compact for mutual support in all their undertakings. He seeks i marriage the widowed daughter of the duke de Berri; Mary de Bo hun, the mother of Henry of Monmouth, and of five other children being dead; and his pretensions are favorably received. The king of England grows jealous of his cousin's influence, and sends th earl of Salisbury to hinder the marriage, denouncing Henry as a trai tor. The marriage is postponed. It is found that the son of John o Gaunt, although now duke of Lancaster, has nothing but his bar title to offer to a princess of France. At this juncture a pilgrim monk arrives in Paris, and obtains an interview with Henry. It i the banished Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, who has travelled thus disguised from Cologne. He brings intelligence of great impor from England. Richard is gone to Ireland. He has quarrelled wit the Percies, and has decreed their banishment. Nobles and Commons are alike discontented. The duke and the ex-prelate unite thei fortunes. They pass together into Brittany, hire three small ves sels, and with no further aid than that of the son of the late earl o Arundel, and a few men-at-arms and servants, sail from Vannes, an land at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire, on the 4th of July.

At the midsummer of 1399 King Richard is leading a large army into the Irish bogs and thickets, to chastise the presumption of some of the chiefs. As he advances, they retreat; and draw him on till provisions fail, and the murmurs of his men compel him to march back. The usual accompaniments of the earlier feudal wars are not wanting. By command of the king everything is set on fire. The pageantries of chivalry are also displayed in the Irish deserts. Henry of Monmouth, a boy of eleven years old, is with the army; and he, with others, is knighted by Richard. But the Irish chief, Mac-More, will submit to no terms; and the king, "pale with anger," swears by St. Edward that he would never depart from Ireland till he had Mac-More in his power, alive or dead. He marches to Dublin, having accomplished nothing by his expedition. Here the king and his retinue now live in great plenty and magnificence for six weeks. No news has arrived from England, for the winds have been contrary. At last, as an eye-witness tells us, "a barge arrived, which was the occasion of much sorrow."† Henry of Lancaster is in England. The people are in insurrection. Towns and castles have been yielded to the invader. Richard again grows "pale with anger," and exclaims, "Good Lord, this man designs to deprive me of my country." A council is held, and the earl of Salisbury is dispatched to raise the Welsh. He landed at Conway, and soon collected a considerable force. Richard, irresolute, remained eighteen days longer in Dublin. When he put his foot upon Wales the revolution was nearly accomplished.

When the duke of York had knowledge of the landing of Henry at Ravenspur, he assembled the retainers of the crown, and raised a

* See the pompous description of the Lists of Coventry, in Hall's Chronicle.

* Froissart.

† "Histoire du Roy d'Angleterre Richard. Composée par un gentilehom'e François de marque, qui fut à la suite du dict Roy." This manuscript of the French knight, which bears the date of 1399, is published in the "Archæologia," vol. xx., with a translation.

numerous force. But he found a general disaffection, instead of a willingness to oppose the duke of Lancaster. The signs of approaching change were so alarming that three members of the committee of parliament, who had been most obnoxious to the people—the earl of Wiltshire, Bussy, and Green—fled to Bristol. York led his doubtful army westward. The road to London was open from the north. Lancaster, when he arrived at the capital, had sixty thousand followers. "The people of London," says Froissart, "were so joyful of the earl's coming that there was no more working in London that day than an it had been Easter day." Lancaster tarried not for feasts and gratulations. He marched rapidly into the west, and at Berkeley met the duke of York. Either the force of Henry was so overpowering, or his professions so plausible, that resistance or argument were unavailing; for the interview ended in the regent espousing his cause. Together they marched to Bristol, the castle of which was surrendered to the duke of York. The next morning the earl of Wiltshire, Bussy, and Green were executed without a trial. York remained at Bristol. Henry marched on to Chester. Richard, meanwhile, had landed somewhere in Wales. But the troops which he brought with him quickly abandoned him. The army which the earl of Salisbury had raised had dispersed, there being "no tidings of the king." With a few followers Richard wandered from castle to castle, and at length found a resting-place at Conway. His brothers, Exeter and Surrey, were dispatched to Chester, to ascertain Lancaster's resolves. He prevented their return, having obtained a knowledge of the place where the king was to be found. The earl of Northumberland undertook to secure him. He marched from Chester with men-at-arms and archers; took possession of the castles of Flint and Rhuddlan as he advanced; and, approaching Conway, concealed his forces behind a rock, and rode forward with a few attendants. Admitted into the castle, he proposed certain conditions to the king, which were willingly agreed to, as they impaired not his royal authority; and to the observance of these Northumberland swore. It was promised that Lancaster should come to Flint, and having asked pardon on his knees, should be restored to the estates and honors of his family. The earl left Conway to prepare for this interview at Flint, and the king followed him. Descending a steep hill, Richard suddenly exclaimed, "I am betrayed. Do you not see banners and pennons in that valley?" Northumberland then came up, and seized the king's bridle. In the evening the prisoner and his escort reached Flint Castle. The next morning Richard went upon a tower to watch for the arrival of Lancaster; and when he saw him coming along the sea-shore, with his mighty host, he shuddered and wept. Lancaster entered the castle. The French knight, who was present, has recorded what then took place. "Then they made the king, who had dined in the donjon, come down to meet Duke Henry, who, as soon as he perceived him at a distance, bowed very low to the ground; and, as they approached each other, he bowed a second time, with his cap in his hand; and then the king took off his bonnet, and spake first, in this manner: 'Fair cousin of Lancaster, you are right welcome.' Then Duke Henry replied, bowing very low to the ground, 'My lord, I am come sooner than you sent for me; the reason wherefore I will tell you. The common report of your people is such, that you have, for the space of twenty or two-and-twenty years, governed them very badly and very rigorously, and in so much that they are not well contented therewith. But if it please our Lord I will help you to govern them better than they have been governed in time past.' King Richard then answered him, 'Fair cousin, since it pleaseth you, it pleaseth us well.' And be assured that these are the very words that they two spake together, without taking away or adding anything: for I heard and understood them very well."

The French knight then relates the progress of the captive and his enemy from Flint to Chester, and from Chester to London. At Chester Henry dismissed many of his followers. At Lichfield Richard attempted to escape by night, letting himself down through a window of the tower where he lodged. The knight then records, what Froissart also mentions as having previously occurred, that Henry told a deputation of Londoners, who demanded the head of the king, that the king should be judged by the parliament. Slowly the cavalcade advanced by the north road, till, on the 1st of September, they came within six miles of London. Here they were met by the mayor and principal citizens; and as they went on the people shouted, "Long live the duke of Lancaster." They entered the city at the hour of vespers; and Henry alighted at St. Paul's, and went all armed before the high altar to make his orisons. He wept much at the tomb of his father. The king was lodged in the Tower.

During a sojourn of three days at Chester, writs had been issued in the king's name to summon a parliament on the 30th of September. A month of captivity had to be passed by the unhappy Richard. There is a manuscript in the Royal Library of France which details an interview between the king and Lancaster in the Tower, at which York and Aumerle were present, when Richard in a violent rage exclaimed, "I am king, and will still continue king in spite of my enemies." But this passionate and irresolute nature was quickly subdued. On the 29th of September, according to an entry on the Rolls of parliament, Richard, in the presence of nobles and prelates, knights and justices, subscribed a deed of resignation of the crown, absolving his subjects from their allegiance, and adding that if he had the will he would choose his cousin of Lancaster as his successor. Froissart thus describes the surrender. "On a day the duke of Lancaster, accompanied with lords, dukes, prelates, earls, barons, and knights, and of the notablest men of London, and of other good towns, rode to the Tower, and there alighted. Then King Richard was brought into the hall, appareled like a king in his robes of estate, his sceptre in his hand, and his crown on his head. Then he stood up alone, not holden nor stayed by no man, and said aloud, 'I have been king of England, duke of Aquitaine, and lord of Ireland, about twenty-two years, which signiory, royalty, sceptre, crown, and heritage, I clearly resign here to my cousin, Henry of Lancaster; and I desire him here, in this open presence, in entering of the same possession, to take this sceptre:' and so delivered it to the duke, who took it." The parliamentary record most suspiciously adverts to the cheerfulness with which Richard made this surrender. Henry, a few years afterward, was denounced by Northumberland as having compelled the king thus to abdicate under threats of death. The parliament met on the 30th of September, in Westminster Hall, which was crowded by people of all ranks. The throne was empty. The duke of Lancaster sat in his place as a peer. The resignation of the king was read, and each member expressed aloud his acceptance of it, amid the shouts of the multitude. The Act of deposition was next read. The articles of impeachment were thirty-three in number. All the circumstances connected with the events of 1387–8 were now objected to the king. The murder of the duke of Gloucester was imputed to him, as well as the convictions of Arundel, Warwick, and others—the banishment of Henry, and the seizure of his estates. His despotic tendencies were affirmed, for that when he was asked to do justice according to the laws, he would say, that "his laws were in his mouth;" that "the laws were in his breast;" that "he himself alone could make and change the laws of his kingdom;" and that he maintained that the life of every one of his subjects, and his lands and goods were, at his will and pleasure, without any forfeiture. It was added that he was "so variable and dissembling in his words and writings that no man living, who knew his conditions, could or would confide in him;" and that his unfaithfulness and inconstancy were scandalous to himself and to the kingdom, especially among foreigners. After the reading of this voluminous document, the Act of deposition was solemnly pronounced by eight commissioners. Henry then approached the throne; and, having crossed himself, in the language of England thus said: "In the name of Fader, Son, and Holy Ghost, I, Henry of Lancaster, challenge this rewme of Ynglonde, and the crown with all the members, and the appurtenances, als I that am descendit, be right line of the blode, comying fro the gude lord king Henry therde, and thorghe that right that God of his grace hath sent mee, with helpe of my kyn, and of my frendes to recover it; the which rewme was in poynt to be ondone for defaut of governance, and undoyng of the gude laws."* Henry of Lancaster was then led by the archbishops of Canterbury and York to the royal chair of state, "all the people wonderfully shouting for joy."

In his prison of the Tower the deposed Richard had to go through one more humiliation. On the day after his deposition, Sir William Thirnyng, one of the justices, with other procurators, came before him, and said, that in an assembly of all the states at Westminster, they declared and decreed and judged him to be deprived of the es-

* Parliamentary History, vol. i. p. 267.

tate of king, and of all the dignity and worship, and of all the administration that belonged thereto. The broken-down man mildly answered that, after all this, he hoped that his cousin would be good lord to him. The murder of Thomas of Woodstock is now avenged. But in that hour of retribution the grave closes over the evil fortunes of that house. Humphrey, the only son of the duke of Gloucester, was with Richard in Ireland, in companionship with Henry of Monmouth. Upon the news of Henry's landing they were both shut up in the castle of Trym. Henry was released, to become Prince of Wales. Humphrey died before he reached England. Eleanor Bohun, his desolate mother, sank under her accumulated sorrows, four days after her husband's avenger ascended the throne.

KNIGHT'S POPULAR HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

A HISTORY OF SOCIETY AND GOVERNMENT FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO OUR OWN TIMES.

By CHARLES KNIGHT.

VOLUME II.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Hereditary pretensions of Henry of Lancaster to the crown—Edmund Mortimer—Conspiracy against Henry defeated—Revolt of the Welsh—Owen Glendower—Alleged murder of Richard II.—Doubts as to his death at Pontefract—Statute against the Lollards—Burnings for heresy—Hostility of France and Scotland—Battle of Homildon-hill—Revolt of the Percies—Battle of Shrewsbury—Revolt of Archbishop Scrope, Nottingham, and others—Rival factions in France—The king's jealousy of the Prince of Wales—Henry's death.

THE claim to the crown which Henry of Lancaster made "in his mother tongue," was a well considered form of words. The averment that "the realm was on the point to be undone for default of government and undoing of the good laws," was the true foundation of the deposition which the parliament had pronounced upon Richard. But the legal advisers of Henry took care to introduce a statement of hereditary right: "I, Henry of Lancester, challenge this realm of England, because I am descended, by right line of the blood, coming from the good lord King Henry Third." He took the same great seal as Richard, with the single alteration of the name on the legend. The badges of the house of Lancaster—the crowned and chained antelope, the swan, the red rose, and the columbine—decorate the illuminated MSS. of the Lancastrian period. The claim of Henry was equivocally put. Richard being deposed, Henry was not the next in the line of inheritance, as the grandson of Edward III. The posterity of Lionel, duke of Clarence, the second son of Edward III., had a prior claim to that of the heir of John of Gaunt, the third son. At the time of Richard's deposition the hereditary claim of the Clarence branch was vested in Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, who was the grandson of Philippa, the daughter of Lionel. But he was only ten years of age. In the sermon which the archbishop of Canterbury preached when the parliament deposed Richard and chose Henry, he took for his text "A man shall reign over my people;" and he descanted on the theme that when the King of kings threatened his people, he said, "I will make children to rule over them." Nothing could more distinctly point to the young earl of March. John of Gaunt, when Roger Mortimer, in 1385, was declared presumptive heir to the throne, asserted that his own son was the true heir, as descended from Edmund Crouchback, the eldest son of Henry III., who was set aside on account of his deformity. This claim by blood from "the good King Henry Third," would have stood Henry of Lancaster in little avail, had he not been known as a man of vigor and ability; at the head of a powerful army; supported by the chief nobles; the favorite of the people. Edmund Mortimer, set aside by the revolution of 1399, died without issue in 1424. He had a sister, Anne, who married the second son of Edmund Langley, duke of York; and in her son arose the pretension to the crown of the house of York. The chronicler, Hall, quaintly but most justly said, "What misery, what murder, and what execrable plagues this famous region hath suffered by the division and dissension of the renowned houses of Lancaster and York, my wit cannot comprehend, nor my tongue declare, neither yet my pen fully set forth." This is the tragical story that arises out of the deposition of Richard II. It is a story well known to the English people, for it has been told in the dramatic form by a great historical teacher. History, strictly so called—the history derived from rolls and statutes—must "pale its ineffectual fire" in the sunlight of the poet.

When the deposed Richard hoped that his cousin would be "good lord to him," he hoped for an impossibility. To retain some portion of his state, to be served by an expensive household, to appear in public, would have been fatal to the quiet rule of the house of Lancaster. To permit him to reside abroad would have been dangerous to the safety of the kingdom. The lords in parliament attempted to meet the difficulty, by a resolution, which was to be kept secret, that it seemed advisable to them that the late king should be put under a safe and secret guard, in a place where no concourse of people might resort to him; and with no attendant who had been familiar to him about his person. When the question was put to the lords, the earl of Northumberland said, "The king would have his life saved." It is related that, on this occasion, Thomas Merks, bishop of Carlisle, delivered a speech protesting against the deposition of Richard and the accession of Henry.* Four days afterward the king came to parliament; and it was determined that Richard, late king of England, should be adjudged to perpetual imprisonment, in safe and secret ward. Froissart truly says, "Every man might well consider that he should never come out of prison alive." In the parliament of October, 1399, all the old hatreds and jealousies were revived, in the discussion of the conduct of the lords who had appealed Gloucester, Arundel, and Warwick of treason. The most violent disputes took place. The terms, so odious to honorable ears, of "liar" and "traitor" were freely exchanged, and gauntlets were thrown on the floor of the house. The lords appellants lost the honors and the lands which Richard had bestowed on them for their subserviency. But they escaped all other punishment. The duke of Albemarle (Aumerle) sank down to earl of Rutland; and the dukes of Exeter and Surrey, Richard's half brothers, to earls of Huntingdon and Kent. Violent as this parliament was, it wisely sought to restrain future violence. It limited treason to the offences enumerated in the act of Edward III., in which that chief crime against civil government was taken out of the hands of the king's justices, and "what are treasons" was declared in parliament. It referred the accuser in a case of treason to the courts of law, abolishing those appeals of treason which had been productive of such evil effects. It forbade any delegation of the powers of parliament to a committee. It tried to restrain the quarrels of great nobles, by forbidding any person, except the king, to give liveries to his retainers. All this was indicative that the reign of justice was come back. In less than three months, in a confederacy of nobles, it was determined to attempt the restoration of Richard, and to drive Henry from power. The plot became known to the vigilant king, disclosed to him unwillingly by Rutland, who was one of the confederates. Windsor Castle was surprised; but the forewarned Henry was in London levying an army. The conspirators marched to the west, proclaiming king Richard. At Cirencester they were attacked in their quarters by the burghers, and the earls of Kent and Salisbury were seized and beheaded. The citizens of Bristol, in the same way, secured and executed lord Lunley, and lord Despenser. Huntingdon was put to death by the tenants of the duke of Gloucester at Plashy. The pop-

* The speech is given by Sir John Hayward, who wrote during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. Its authenticity is very doubtful.

ular attachment to Henry was thus signally manifested. There were a few executions under the legal judgment of the courts of law. The insurrection was at the beginning of January. Before the expiration of a month it was stated that the late king had died at Pontefract. The body was conveyed to London, and there shown, with the face exposed, so that those who knew Richard might identify him. The obsequies of the deposed king were performed in St. Paul's, Henry being present; and the corpse was subsequently interred at Langley. Henry V., upon coming to the throne, caused it to be removed to Westminster Abbey.

During the latter years of the reign of Richard, however distasteful his rule might have been in England, there was a strong attachment to him in Wales. When he sailed from Ireland to meet his enemy, he landed in Wales, confident that he should there find a powerful army. His procrastination alone caused the dispersion of that army. The statute-book shows how obnoxious was the revolution of 1399 to the Welsh borderers. A parliament was held at Westminster in the second year of Henry's reign, 1400–1 when the Commons complained of the ravages of the Welsh in the countries joining upon the marches of Wales, by carrying off cattle and arresting merchants. Various strong measures were then enacted, quite sufficient in their severe injustice to produce a general revolt. It was not enough to sanction reprisals upon Welsh property and persons; but it was ordained that no Welshman should be permitted to purchase land in England, and that no "whole Englishman" should be convicted at the suit of any Welshman within Wales, except by the judgment of English justices. To make the separation of the two nations complete, it was also ordained that no Welshman should be thenceforth chosen to be citizen or burgess in any English city or town. The next year another parliament passed more stringent measures, among which it was enacted that no Welshman should bear arms nor defensible armor. The country was in insurrection; the Welsh had found a leader. "It is ordained and established that no Englishman married to any Welshwoman of the amity and alliance of Owen of Gleindour, traitor to our sovereign lord, or to any other Welshwoman, after the rebellion of the said Owen, shall be put in any office in Wales, or in the marches of the same."

Owen of Gleindour—or as we now write, Owen Glendower—was one of the most remarkable men of this period. Claiming descent from the ancient British princes, being the great-grandson of the famous Llewellyn, he might still have remained a peaceful landowner in Wales, but for the deposition of the master whom he had served as an esquire of his household. Educated at one of the inns of court in London, he possessed an amount of knowledge which made him regarded as a necromancer by his simple countrymen. His property was contiguous to that of Lord Grey de Ruthyn; and the Anglo-Norman baron claimed and seized some portion of it. Glendower petitioned the parliament of 1400 for redress. His petition was dismissed by the peers, with the scornful answer, that "they cared not for barefooted rascals." * He took arms; made Lord Grey his prisoner; and wasted his barony. But the private feud became a national revolt. The mountains again heard the bardic songs, which were applied to the new hero who had arisen to restore the glory of the ancient Britons. Henry thought to stop the popular voice by decreeing that "no waster, rhymer, minstrel, nor vagabond, be any wise sustained in the land of Wales." The Welsh scholars of Oxford and Cambridge departed to their own country, in 1401, to aid the rebellion; and the Welsh laborers, employed in England, escaped to join their countrymen. Owen Glendower, by the general voice of the people, was declared Prince of Wales. Before the rebellion had attained any very extensive organization, Harry Percy (Hotspur) and Prince Henry were engaged in different parts of the country against the insurgents. Henry of Monmouth, in 1401, was in his fourteenth year. His command in Wales could have been only nominal; and we are glad therefore to believe that a letter of this period, addressed in his name to the council, was a mere official communication. The boy is made to say, describing his triumphal progress, "We caused the whole place to be set on fire;" "We laid waste a fine and populous country." This is learning the lessons of chivalry at a very early age. He continued, however, in authority, but was much straitened in his slaughter and burnings for want of money to pay his archers and men-at-arms. In 1402 Sir Edmund Mortimer, uncle to the young earl of March, went against Glendower; and his army being utterly routed in Radnorshire he was taken prisoner. The king now determined to go in person, "to check the insolencies and malice of Owen Glendower and other rebels." His expedition was fruitless. The royal army, in the month of August, was exposed to storms of rain, snow, and hail; and Glendower was alleged to have raised them by his wicked sorcery. That autumn the sagacious Welshman defied all the power of England in his mountain fastnesses. In the succeeding winter his prisoner, Edmund Mortimer, became his friend and ally. Henry, with that jealousy which formed a part of his character, refused to ransom his "beloved cousin;" and Mortimer consoled himself by marrying the great Welsh chieftain's daughter. On the 13th of December, 1402, he writes thus to his tenants: "Very dear and well-beloved, I greet you much, and make known to you that Owen Glyndor has raised a quarrel, of which the object is, if King Richard be alive, to restore him to his crown; and if not, that my honored nephew, who is the right heir to the said crown, shall be king of England, and that the said Owen will assert his right in Wales. And I, seeing and considering that the said quarrel is good and reasonable, have consented to join in it, and to aid and maintain it, and, by the grace of God, to a good end. Amen!"

"If King Richard be alive!" It is nearly three years since King Richard's body was exposed in St. Paul's Church—a public act known to all the kingdom—and especially known to all such as Sir Edmund Mortimer. How can a doubt now be raised, "if King Richard be alive?" In six months from the date of this letter a great host, headed by the Percies, will be looking for Glendower to fight with them against King Henry; and before they meet him in Hateley field near Shrewsbury, they will denounce the usurping king as a murderer in the following words: "Thou hast caused our sovereign lord and thine, traitorously within the castle of Pomfret, without the consent or judgment of the lords of the realm, by the space of fifteen days and so many nights, with hunger, thirst, and cold, to perish." How are these contradictions to be solved? For years Henry had to struggle against two popular beliefs. The first and the most natural was that he had put Richard to death. That he died by violence is highly probable. His removal would add much ot the safety of his successor, and every opportunity was afforded by his secret imprisonment to effect this removal by the foulest means. Thus Henry was publicly accused by the Percies of having procured Richard's death by starvation. The duke of Orleans, in 1403, in a letter to Henry, insinuated that he was guilty of the murder, and the king replied: "With regard to that passage in your letter where you speak of the death of our very dear cousin and lord, whom God absolve, saying, 'God knows how it happened, and *by whom* that death was done,' we know not with what intent such words are used; but if you mean and dare to say that his death was caused by our order, or with our consent, we say that is false, and you will say what is false as often as you shall say so; as the true God knows, whom we call to witness, offering our body against yours in single combat, if you will or dare to prove it." In an age when the appeals of kings to Heaven were occasionally of no more value than "dicers' oaths," this will not go for much. An account from a contemporary states that Sir Pierce Exton, with a band of assassins, entered his prison at Pontefract, and that Richard, seizing a battle-axe, fell bravely fighting with unequal numbers. Some years ago Richard's tomb was opened in Westminster Abbey, and no marks of violence appeared on his skull, on which the contemporary relates that he received his death-wound. Walsingham, the chronicler, affirms as common rumor that Richard died by voluntary starvation. Friossart says, "How Richard died, and by what means, I could not tell when I wrote this chronicle." The question is no nearer its solution after four centuries and a half. The other popular belief, the most embarrassing to Henry, was that Richard had escaped from Pontefract, and was living in Scotland. For several years there were proclamations against those who spread this rumor, and some were punished by death for this offence. The belief gradually passed away from the popular mind; and the chroniclers explain that a man named Serle, a servant to King Richard, having heard that his old master was alive in Scotland, came over from France, persuaded the court-fool to per-

* "Se do gawsis mydirdibus mon owsare." Ireland.

deception which had entrapped many persons into the confidence that Richard was coming to claim his crown. The fondness for "historic doubts" has revived the belief in our own times. It is stated that Richard's escape from Pontefract is proved by documents in our record office; that this escape was effected in connection with the rising of 1400, in which he was proclaimed by the earls who afterward suffered as traitors; that there are entries in the public accounts of Scotland of expenses for the custody of King Richard of England; and that Richard lived till 1419 in Stirling castle, in a state of mental imbecility.* The vague and contradictory accounts of the manner of Richard's death by violence give some little sanction to the belief that he was not murdered at all. But if we even accept the explanation, that another body was substituted for Richard's at St. Paul's on the 14th of March, 1400, and that Henry and his court went through the mummery of his false obsequies, we have still so many difficulties to reconcile that we have little hesitation in believing that the Richard of Stirling castle was an impostor. The French believed in Richard's death when the son of the duke of Orleans married Isabella in 1406. In the same year the lords addressed Henry, praying that those might be put to prison who preach and publish that Richard, late king, who is dead, should be in full life, or that "the fool in Scotland" is that King Richard who is dead.

However defective may be the evidence upon which impartial history must condemn or acquit Henry IV. of the murder of Richard II., he must bear the infamy of a political crime of broader and deeper significance. He was the first English king who put men to death by statute for their religious belief. He came to the throne with almost the unanimous support of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Archbishop Arundel was his great upholder; and this primate made Henry his instrument for the destruction of those who had assailed the corruptions of the Church. Henry's father had been a supporter of Wycliffe. The son of John of Gaunt was to be the persecutor of Wycliffe's followers. Henry was carried to the throne with the avowal of popular principles. The lay barons and the Commons were opposed to the pretensions of the Church to be above all inquiry—a dominant and irresponsible power. But Henry knew the strength of a body that, according to an estimate of his time, possessed one third of the revenues of the kingdom. In the first year of his reign was passed the statute "De heretico comburendo"—"the first statute and butcherly knife," says Prynne, "that the impeaching prelates procured or had against the poor preachers of Christ's Gospel." The fiery persecution of archbishop Arundel was grounded upon these charges: "Whereas it is showed to our sovereign lord the king on the behalf of the prelates and the clergy,† that divers false and perverse people of a certain new sect, of the faith, of the sacraments of the Church, and the authority of the same damnably thinking, and against the law of God and of the Church usurping the office of preaching, do perversely and maliciously in divers places within the said realm, under the color of dissembled holiness, preach and teach these days openly and privily divers new doctrines, and wicked heretical and erroneous opinions, contrary to the same faith and blessed determinations of Holy Church; and of such sect and wicked doctrine and opinions they make unlawful conventicles and confederacies, they hold and exercise schools, they make and write books, they do wickedly instruct and inform people, and as much as they may excite and stir them to sedition and insurrection, and make great strife and division among the people, and other enormities horrible to be heard daily do perpetrate and commit." The "convenient remedy" for such "novelties and excesses" was that none should preach, write, or teach against the faith of Holy Church; that all having in their possession books or writings of such wicked doctrines and opinions should deliver them up, or be arrested and proceeded against by the diocesan; and, finally, that if any persons be before the diocesan charged with such wicked preachings and teachings, and should refuse to abjure, or after abjuration fall into relapse, they should be left to the secular court; and the sheriff of a county, or mayor or bailiffs of a city or borough, after sentence, shall receive the same persons, and every of them, "and them, before the people, do [cause] to be burned, that such punishment may strike in fear to the minds of other." Vain and detestable law—the parent of abominations that make the slaughters of the feudal ages, perpetrated in the heat and self-defence of battle, appear guiltless by the side of this deliberate wickedness in the name of the religion of mercy! In this hateful career Henry IV. was no impassive tool of the persecuting churchmen. The first victim was William Salter, a London clergyman, who was burned on the 12th of February, 1401. The stake and the fagot were in full activity, till the Commons shuddered at the atrocities which Englishmen had now first to endure. In the reign of Richard II. the Commons would not permit that the Church should imprison heretics without the king's consent. Now heretics were to be burned, upon the sole sentence of the ecclesiastical courts. A petition of the Lords in 1406, which we have just referred to, mixes up the charges of heresy against certain preachers and teachers with the charge of publishing rumors that King Richard was alive. This alleged offence was a possible cause of the king's bitterness against them. But it was also set forth in that petition that they stirred and moved the people to take away their temporal possessions from the prelates; and, it was added, "In case that this evil purpose be not resisted by your royal majesty, it is very likely that in process of time they will also excite the people of your kingdom to take away from the lords temporal their possessions and heritages." The Commons, who had also temporal possessions to lose, did not share this apprehension. They prayed Henry in 1410 that the statute against the Lollards might be repealed, or even mitigated. He replied that he wished one more severe had been passed; and to show how practical was his intolerance, he immediately signed a warrant for the burning of John Badby, a Lollard. The Commons deeply resented the temper of the king, and refused to grant a subsidy to be levied yearly without their renewed assent. But in the reign of Henry V. a noble knight was burned for heresy; and the "wicked doctrines" were thrown back for another century and a half. In his own good time, he who "remaineth a king forever" asserts his own laws against the trumpery edicts of earthly kings. The Lollards' dungeon at Lambeth is now a monument of the triumph of the Reformation.

It was with no vague meaning that Shakespeare put into the mouth of Henry IV. the aphorism, "Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown." His reign was a period of continued assault and danger on every side. France and Scotland refused to recognize Henry as the sovereign of England. Their truces, they maintained, were with Richard, and not with an usurper. With France the king was anxiously desirous of peace. But the princes and nobles of France, considering the deposition of Richard as the act of the people, were craving to punish a nation which they held as the most dangerous on earth through its pride and insolence.* The king of France, subject to partial attacks of insanity, had received a terrible shock by the announcement of the events that had deprived his daughter of her queenly rank. Isabella was conducted back to Calais with ceremonies almost as magnificent as those which had attended her marriage five years before. But Henry, straitened in his finances, did not send back with her the dower which Richard had received. The duke of Orleans was for commencing hostilities against Henry. The duke of Burgundy was more cautious. These rival uncles of the insane king, by their furious discords, kept France in a state of disorder and terror, which rendered the government incapable of any great enterprise. Bordeaux and other parts of Gascony were still retained by the English government, and these were attacked by the duke of Burgundy. But the people clung to the English rule. In 1400 Henry invaded Scotland. He marched to Edinburgh, and left the usual mark of feudal royalty by burning the city. In 1402 the Scots invaded England. Henry was chasing Glendower in the land of the ancient Britons, and attributing to necromancy the ill success which courage and constancy had prepared for him. The Scottish earl of March, who had abjured his allegiance to his own sovereign, had defeated the invading Scots at Hepburn moor. The earl Doug-

* This belief, which was first suggested by Mr. Tytler in his "History of Scotland" is fully acquiesced in by the compiler of the very useful "Annals of England," vol. i. p. 400. 1855.

† "The petition and the statute are both in Latin, which is unusual in the laws of this time. In a subsequent petition of the Commons this act is styled 'the statute made in the second year of your majesty's reign, at the request of the prelates and clergy of your kingdom;' which affords a presumption that it had no regular assent of parliament."—Hallam, "Middle Ages," chap. viii. part iii.

* Froissart.

las came with a great army to revenge the loss. They advanced beyond the Tyne, devastating and plundering with more than usual fierceness and rapacity. But the earl of Northumberland, his son Henry Percy, and the earl of March had collected a large force in their rear, and awaited their return near Wooler. On Holyrood day, the 14th of September, the Scots took up a strong position on Homildon hill. The English army was placed on an opposite eminence. Percy commanded a descent into the valley; and as the Scots lined the sides of Homildon hill, the English archers picked down their men with unerring aim, while Douglas gave no order for advance. At last the Scots charged down the steep, and the English retired a little. Again they halted, and again the deadly shafts flew so sharp and strong that few could stand up against the "iron sleet." The English men-at-arms in this battle drew not a sword. The victory was won by the terrible archers alone. Douglas and many nobles and knights were made prisoners, among whom was Murdoc Stewart, the son and heir of the duke of Albany, the regent of Scotland. The earl of Northumberland presented his illustrious prisoners to Henry at Westminster; when the king exhorted Murdoc to be resigned to his captivity, for he had been taken on the battle-field like a true knight. The notion that Henry demanded the prisoners of Homildon hill from the captors, that he might deprive them of ransom, is an error which Shakespeare derived from Hall and Holinshed. It is distinctly proved that Henry reserved to the captors all their rights. The revolt of the Percies was possibly accelerated by the refusal of Henry to ransom Sir Edmund Mortimer, whose sister had become the wife of Hotspur. But the probability is that no sudden impulses of passion excited their resistance to the authority of the man whom they had seated on the throne. The king was so unconscious of having provoked their resentment by any act of his own self-will, that the very army which encountered them at Shrewsbury was led by him, "to give aid and support to his very dear and loyal cousins, the earl of Northumberland and his son Henry, in the expedition which they had honorably commenced for him and his realm against his enemies the Scotch." * But the Percies had just cause of complaint against the government of Henry, in a matter which involved no jealousy of their power which had advanced him to the throne, as Hume describes the temper of the king. The Percies had incurred great expenses in their resistance to the Scots, and the government of Henry had been unable to reimburse them. There are letters to the king and to the council from the earl of Northumberland, in the summer of 1403, bitterly complaining of the non-payment of large sums due to him. There is a letter of the same period from Henry's son, the Prince of Wales, complaining that his soldiers would not remain with him unless they were promptly paid their wages; and an order is made by the king in council, on the 10th of July, 1403, that a thousand pounds should be sent to the prince, to enable him to keep his people together. It is clear that the king was surrounded by financial embarrassments, which affected his own son as much as the Percies. He satisfied the Percies as far as he could by small payments and large promises. They probably saw in these embarrassments a symptom of the weakness of Henry's government, and believed that the revolt of Glendower would enable them, in conjunction with him, to establish a government in which they should have a more supreme power than under the rule of the politic Lancaster. They managed their plans with such caution that while the king was marching toward the north, expecting to join them in Northumberland, Hotspur was marching through Lancashire and Cheshire, proclaiming that Richard was alive. At Burton-upon-Trent Henry heard the news of the revolt. Within a week he had fought the battle of Shrewsbury.

The Prince of Wales was on the Welsh borders, and joined his forces to those of his father before the army of Henry entered Shrewsbury, on the 20th of July. Hotspur had been joined by Douglas and his Scots, and by his uncle, the earl of Worcester, with a body of Cheshire archers. Glendower was on his march from Carmarthenshire; but the rapid movement of Henry to the west brought the royal troops in the presence of the northern army before the Welsh chieftain could unite his forces with those of his confederates. Under the walls of Shrewsbury lay the insugents. They retired a short distance to Hateley Field. The solemn defiance of the confederates was sent to Henry during the night, denouncing him and his adherents as "traitors and subverters of the commonwealth and kingdom, and invaders, oppressors, and usurpers of the rights of the true and direct heir of England and France."

Hateley Field is about three miles from Shrewsbury. It is a plain of no large extent, with a gentle range of hills rising toward the Welsh border. On that plain, where he had fought for his life and his crown, Henry afterward caused a chapel to be built and endowed, wherein mass might be chanted for the souls of those who died in that battle, and were there interred. The mass is no longer there sung; but there is the little chapel. As we stand upon that quiet plain, looking upon the eastern Haughmond hill, "the busky hill" of Shakespeare, and listen when "the southern wind doth play the trumpet," the words of the chronicler and the poet linger in our memories; and we think of that terrible hour, when "suddenly the trumpets blew, and the king's part cried Sainct George! and the adversaries cried Esperancé! Percie! and so, furiously, the armies joined." * The Northumbrian archers, who had done such terrible execution at Homildon hill, now drew their bow-strings against their English brothers; and the king's men "fell as the leaves fall on the ground after a frosty night at the approach of winter." † The troops of Henry recoiled before their slaughtering arrows, and before the charge which Percy and Douglas led. The Prince of Wales was wounded by an arrow in the face; but the valiant youth continued to fight where the battle was strongest. For three hours the field was contested with an obstinacy that marked the breed of the men who were fighting against each other. "At the last, the king, crying Saint George! Victory! broke the array, and entered into the battle of his enemies, and fought fiercely, and adventured so far into the battle that the earl Douglas struck him down, and slew Sir Walter Blunt and three others appareled in the king's suit and clothing." ‡ The king was raised, and again "did that day many a valiant feat of arms." Hotspur at length fell; an arrow pierced his brain. His death struck a panic terror into the hearts of his brave followers. The straggling Welsh, who had joined the battle, fled to the woods and hills. The gallant Douglas was taken prisoner, and few or none of his Scots escaped alive. On that Hateley Field, where about fourteen thousand men were engaged on each side, one half were killed or wounded. The earl of Worcester, the baron of Kenderton, and Sir Richard Vernon, were among the prisoners delivered to the king. At the market cross of Shrewsbury, where, a hundred and twenty years before, Prince David of Wales had been executed as a traitor, Worcester, Kenderton, and Vernon paid the penalty of their revolt, with the same horrible barbarities that were inflicted, for the first time, upon the brother of Llewellyn. The earl of Northumberland was marching his retainers through Durham when he received the news of the death of his son and his brother, and of the fatal issue of the sudden revolt of his house. He hurried back to his castle of Warkworth, and disbanded his men. The earl was commanded to appear before the king at York. Henry was too politic to be unnecessarily severe, and the elder Percy escaped, even without a forfeiture.

But in the midst of this great success the government of Henry had a constant fight to maintain against numerous enemies. The people of England were subjected to various miseries by the opposition that was raised to the Lancastrian rule. The French landed in Wales, and burned Tenby. Plymouth was burned by ships from Brittany. Devonshire was harassed by descents on the coast. Reprisals, of course, took place, and the dwellers on the French shores of the Channel had to endure the same sort of visitations. In 1404 Glendower had so successfully asserted his power that the French government concluded a treaty with him as "Owen, Prince of Wales." Henry of Monmouth was doing his duty as the representative of his father in the Welsh borders. On the 11th of March, 1405, he obtained a considerable victory at Grosmont. But this success had no decisive result. The king was again about to enter the principality with a large force, when a new revolt broke out in the north of England. The earl of Northumberland, the earl of Nottingham, Lord Bardolf, and Scrope, archbishop of York, confederated to place the earl of March on the throne. He and his brother had been delivered from their honorable imprisonment at Windsor by the skilful

* Henry to the Privy Council. See preface by Sir H. Nicholas to "Privy Council of England."

* Hall. † Walsingham. ‡ Hall.

device of the widow of Despenser, one of Richard's favorites. They were immediately retaken; and the duke of York—known by his plots and betrayal of others when Aumerle and Rutland—was accused by the lady, his own sister, of being privy to the plot. The earl of Westmoreland entrapped two of the chief of the northern confederates into his hands—Scrope and Nottingham. The archbishop and the earl were beheaded. Northumberland and Bardolf escaped to Scotland. The execution of the archbishop, which Gascoigne, the chief justice refused to sanction—as the lay courts had no jurisdiction over a prelate—was an offence against the Church, and the pope issued a temporary sentence of excommunication against all who had been concerned in his death. That sentence was afterward withdrawn. There is a story which, if it rested upon good evidence, would give us a notion that Henry, in addition to his other great talents, possessed a considerable fund of humor. He charged a messenger to deliver the armor of the archbishop to the pope, with these words of the brothers of Joseph: "Lo! this have we found; know now whether it be thy son's coat, or no." After the execution of Scrope and Nottingham, Henry successfully besieged Prudhoe and Warkworth, the castles of the earl of Northumberland, and took Berwick, which had been delivered by Northumberland to the Scots. The unhappy Percy and Lord Bardolf wandered about for two years, endeavoring to organize resistance to Henry's consolidating power. In 1407 there was some discontent in England, through the king's demand for subsidies; and the Percy and Bardolf then ventured into Northumberland, raised their tenantry, and risked a battle with the sheriff of Yorkshire, Sir Thomas Rokeby, at Branham Moor, near Tadcaster. Northumberland closed his unhappy career by falling in battle; and Bardolf, after being taken prisoner, died of his wounds.

Thus came to an end the English insurrections against the sovereignty of Henry of Lancaster. He has held the throne for nine years against assaults that would quickly have destroyed one of mere ordinary talent and energy. His most obstinate enemy has been Owen Glendower, a man of proportionate ability and force of character. The great Welshman never yielded. In 1411 he was exempted from Henry the Fourth's general pardon of the Welsh rebels. In 1416 Henry the Fifth, even after his great triumph of Agincourt, sought to make peace with the unconquered Owen, and to receive him into his allegiance. The circumstances of his death are not recorded. He probably sank into obscurity; and his memory was only preserved in the legends of his countrymen, which told of his wanderings on his native mountains, and his hidings in sea-girt caverns. Owyn's Cave is still to be seen on the coast of Merioneth. The contest in which he was engaged was held to be a revival of the ancient feud of Briton and Saxon; for in 1431 the Commons prayed that the forfeiture of the Glendower lands might be enforced, for that Owyn Glendower was a traitor, whose success would have been "to the destruction of all English tongue for evermore."

The connection of the government of Henry with the quarrels and intrigues in France of the rival dukes of Orleans and Burgundy involves matters of state-policy which have now but little interest. During the reign of the insane king, Charles VI., the kingdom was a prey to their rival factions. Orleans, the brother of the king, was murdered by his cousin of Burgundy in 1407, who justified the deed, and became master of the state. The revolt of his Flemish subjects required his presence, and then the Orleanists declared him a public enemy. But Jean Sans-Peur was for a time too powerful to be put down. The young duke of Orleans, who had been married to Isabella, the widow of Richard II., who died in 1409, took as a second wife the daughter of the count of Armagnac. This count became the chief of the Orleanists, who thenceforward were called the Armagnacs. The young duke of Orleans demanded justice for the death of his father. The duke of Burgundy solicited aid from the king of England, who sent him eight hundred men-at-arms and a thousand bowmen. This assistance turned the scale in favor of Burgundy. But in 1412 the Armagnacs offered better terms to Henry, by agreeing to acknowledge him as duke of Aquitaine. The two factions at last began to consider that their quarrel had become complicated by the intervention of one who would sacrifice both to regain the ancient power of the English in France. They agreed upon a peace. But Henry sent an army into Normandy under his second son, the duke of Clarence, who ravaged Maine and Anjou, and finally retired to Gascony, having received a large payment as the cost of his expedition.

The kingly and parental relations of Henry IV. with the Prince of Wales, during the latter years of this reign, have been variously described upon very imperfect information. It is extremely difficult to speak of the character of Henry of Monmouth without taking some color from the most effective painter of character that all literature has produced. Mr. Hallam says, "The virtues of the Prince of Wales are almost invidiously eulogized by those parliaments who treat harshly his father; and these records afford a strong presumption that some early petulance or riot has been much exaggerated by the vulgar minds of our chroniclers." Shakespeare rescued the prince from the imputation of low debauchery, by surrounding him with an atmosphere of wit, and by exhibiting his compunction for misspent hours in the midst of his revelries. Here we may leave the consideration of the prince's private character, without believing that it is much sullied even by the somewhat doubtful story of his having struck the chief justice of England. But his public conduct, after he attained his majority in 1409, requires a brief notice. In 1410 he was made captain of Calais, and president of the council. In the capacity of president he is often found acting; and perhaps in his official position he witnessed the burning of John Badby for heresy, and offered him a yearly stipend if he would recant. But it would appear from some official records, that the prince had an authority which was scarcely compatible with the jealous character of his father. Henry IV. was in failing health, and the son was naturally at hand to assist in the public service. But records, which state that certain business was transacted "in the presence of the king and of his son the prince," indicate a species of divided authority which might end in disunion. Hardyng, the rhyming chronicler, says:

> "The king discharged the prince from his counsail,
> And set my lord Sir Thomas in his stead
> Chief of council, for the king's more avail."

Stow says that the prince's great popularity induced the king to believe that he intended to usurp the crown; but that the prince, coming to his father with a large body of lords and gentlemen, whom he would not suffer to advance beyond the fire in the hall, declared that his life was not so desirable to him that he should wish to live one day under his father's displeasure. Then the king embraced him with tears, and said, "My right dear and heartily beloved son, it is of truth that I had you partly suspect, and as I now perceive, undeserved on your part: I will have you no longer in distrust for any reports that shall be made unto me. And thereof I assure you, upon my honor."

Henry IV. died on the 20th of March, 1413, in his forty-seventh year.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Henry V. proclaimed king—Sir John Oldcastle condemned as a heretic—Henry's demands upon France for large territories—Resolves to claim the crown of France—Conspiracy of Cambridge, Scrope, and Grey—Henry and his army sail to Harfleur—Siege of Harfleur—Sickness of the English—March from Harfleur—Passage of the Somme—The French army—Agincourt and its locality—The Battle of Agincourt.

Henry V. was proclaimed king on the 21st of March, 1413. He was crowned at Westminster on the 9th of April, being then in the twenty-fifth year of his age. A parliament, having been summoned by writ, met at Westminster on the 15th of May. There was nothing very noteworthy in its proceedings. The king met his Lords and Commons with an aspect of love and conciliation. He had taken not only the most generous, but the most prudent resolution toward those who had been considered dangerous to his house. He restored the son of Henry Percy to his family inheritance, and he liberated the earl of March from prison.

There were dangers, however, at home, which the magnanimity of the king was not calculated to avert. The execrable laws against the preachers of the "new doctrines" had not prevented the tenets of Wycliffe from spreading through the nation, and beyond the narrow bounds of our island. It was a period of alarm for popes and prelates, and for all those who considered that the church was properly built upon a foundation of worldly riches and dominion. John Huss, a Bohemian priest, had become acquainted with the writings

of Wycliffe, and he boldly preached the same doctrines as early as 1405. The archbishop of Prague, in 1409, commanded all the writings of Wycliffe to be delivered up to him by members of the university of Prague, of which Huss was rector; and many of these treasured volumes were publicly burned. Huss continued to preach, in spite of the pope's excommunication, till he was silenced in 1413. In 1414 the council of Constance held its first sitting, and Huss was summoned before it to declare his opinions. The brave man knew that he went at the risk of his life. He died at the stake in 1415. The same council decreed that the body of Wycliffe should be "taken from the ground, and thrown far away from the burial of any church." It was thirteen years before this miserable vengeance was carried into effect, by disinterring and burning our first English reformer's body, throwing his ashes into a brook. "The brook did convey his ashes into Avon; Avon into Severn; Severn into the narrow seas; they into the main ocean. And thus the ashes of Wycliffe are the emblem of his doctrine, which is now dispersed all the world over."* But in the first year of Henry V. the prelates sought to strike a more effectual terror into the followers of Wycliffe than could be accomplished by any insult to his memory. They resolved to take measures against one of the most powerful supporters of the Lollards, Sir John Oldcastle, called Lord Cobham. He had been the private friend of the king when Prince of Wales; and Henry, in the honest desire, as we may believe, to avert the consequences of ecclesiastical vengeance, tried to induce Oldcastle to recant. He was inflexible; and the king then caused him to be arrested. On the 25th of September the undaunted knight was brought before the synod, and there pleaded his cause with a vigor and ability which have made him memorable among the martyrs of the Reformation. He was condemned as a heretic, and was handed over to the secular power. The king granted his ancient friend a respite of fifty days from the fiery penalty which awaited him, and during that period Oldcastle escaped from his prison in the Tower. The danger to which their leader had been exposed, and the severities which appeared preparing for those who held to their conscientious opinions, precipitated the Lollards into a movement which made the State as anxious for their suppression as was the Church. Rumors went forth of a fearful plot to destroy all religion and law in England; and, in the overthrow of king, lords, and clergy, to make all property in common. There can be little doubt that this rumored plot was a gross exaggeration of some indiscreet assemblies for the purpose of petition. It was stated that in the fields of St. Giles, stretching to the Hampstead and Highgate hills—fields now covered with more human dwellings than all the London of the fifteenth century—twenty-five thousand insurgents were to meet under the command of Sir John Oldcastle. At midnight of the 7th of January, 1414, the king went forth from the city gates with a mighty array, to encounter this army of desperate rebels. He found about eighty persons. Others were surprised near Hornsey. Many of these unfortunate people were immediately executed; and Sir Roger Acton, a friend of Oldcastle, also suffered on the 10th of February. Henry proclaimed that the insurgents meant to destroy him and his brothers, to divide the realm into districts, and to elect Sir John Oldcastle president. These allegations appear too extravagant not to lead us to the belief that the conspiracy, if conspiracy there were, had for its sole object the mitigation of the penal laws against the preachers and receivers of Wycliffe's doctrines. Within a few months a pardon was proclaimed to all the Lollards for the conspiracy, excepting Oldcastle and eleven others. Still prosecutions went on; and it is remarkable that the king pardoned many so prosecuted, after they had been convicted. The general body of Lollards were grievously punished for the indiscretion of some of their number. A new statute was passed, giving all judges and magistrates power to arrest all persons suspected of Lollardism, binding them by oath to do their utmost to root up the heresy, and enacting that in addition to capital punishment the lands and goods of such convicted heretics should be forfeited to the king. It was three years before the vengeance of the Church fell on Oldcastle. He was taken in 1418, while Henry was in France, and was burned, under the declaration of the archbishop and his provincial synod that he was an incorrigible heretic.

The factions of the Burgundians and Armagnacs were carrying on their desolating contests in France, when Henry V. came to the throne. Henry IV. had endeavored to avail himself of their distractions by siding with one or the other party as best suited his policy. His son adopted a bolder course. When the treaty of Bretigny was violated by the French, Edward III. reassumed the title of king of France, and went to war again to assert his pretended right. There had been several renewed truces between the two kingdoms, but no pacification, and no decided settlement of the contested claims. The unhappy condition of the French nation was an encouragement to the ambition of the young king of England, who had been trained from his earliest years in war and policy. An embassy was sent to Paris to negotiate for a prolongation of the truce. Then was suggested a pacification, by the marriage of Henry of England with Catherine, the youngest daughter of the insane Charles VI. It was also proposed to the duke of Burgundy that his daughter should be queen of England. But the Orleanists were now supreme. Within a year from his accession Henry suddenly put in a claim to the crown of France, in renewal of the old claim of Edward III. Upon the rejection of this claim, the king of England made demands far more unreasonable than were agreed to by his great-grandfather, when the peace of Bretigny was concluded. The French government consented to give up all the ancient territories of the duchy of Aquitaine, and to marry the daughter of Charles VI. to Henry, with a dowry of six hundred thousand crowns. An embassy was sent to France, when the amount of the proposed dowry was increased to eight hundred thousand crowns; and the demand of Henry for the cession of Normandy, Maine, and Anjou was rejected. The French then sent an embassy to England, when Henry demanded Normandy and all the territories ceded by the peace of Bretigny, under the threat that he would otherwise take arms to enforce his claim to the crown of France. On the 16th of April, 1415, he announced at a great council his determination to recover "his inheritance." He had previously obtained a supply from parliament "for the defence of the kingdom of England and the safety of the seas;" and the supply was thus limited, although the king had avowed his intention to that parliament of making a claim to the kingdom of France. Historians are of opinion that the lords spiritual, with the new archbishop, Chicheley, as their organ, had urged the king to this decision, to divert the attention of the people from those questions of the doctrine and discipline of the Church which had become so formidable. The probability is that Henry, having become an instrument in their hands for putting down by terror those new doctrines which had spread from England to the continent, they were ready in return to gratify his personal ambition, by advocating his designs upon France. Whatever admiration we may feel for the bravery, fortitude, and self-reliance of Henry, we must rank him among the guilty possessors of kingly power; and make a large abatement from the vaunted generosity of one "who lay in wait for the best opportunity of aggrandizing himself at the expense of his distracted neighbors; as if nations were only more numerous gangs of banditti, instead of being communities formed only for the observance and enforcement of justice."*

At a council on the 17th of April the king appointed his brother, the duke of Bedford, to be lieutenant of the kingdom during his absence. The next day he declared what should be the payment for the lords and knights who should be retained for his voyage to France, with the daily payment of each man-at-arms and each archer. The rate of pay was, for a duke, 13*s.* 4*d.* per day; for an earl, 6*s.* 8*d.*; for a baron, 4*s.*; for a knight, 2*s.*; for every other man-at-arms, 1*s.*; and for an archer, 6*d.* Great nobles and others contracted to furnish large bodies of troops at this rate, well and sufficiently mounted, armed, and arrayed. But the first quarter's wages were required to be paid in advance, and pledges were given for the payment of the second quarter. Contracts were made for carpenters and other artisans, for wagons, and bows and arrows. The king pledged jewels for the performance of some of these contracts, and he raised large sums as loans upon jewels and plate. Ships and sailors were impressed. Surgeons were provided. Many officers of the royal household were to attend upon the king, with no fewer than fifteen minstrels. On the 18th of June Henry set out from Westminster, going in procession to St. Paul's, accompanied by the mayor, and

* Fuller.

* Mackintosh, "History of England," vol. i. p. 362.

citizens in their guilds. At Winchester he waited the arrival of an embassy from France. According to one French historian, Laboureur, Henry haggled about terms in the spirit of an usurer. The archbishop of Bourges, who was of the embassy, is accused by our chroniclers of having replied to the king with improper boldness. Neither concession nor plain-speaking would avail. The ambassadors returned to Paris on the 26th of July, and reported that all Henry's peaceable professions covered malice and dissimulation. On the 24th of July the king made his will, concluding with these words in his own autograph: "This is my last will, subscribed with my own hand, R. H. Jesu mercy and gremercy Ladie Marie help." Within a day or two a conspiracy against him was discovered, which, according to some accounts, was instigated by the French court. The conspirators were the king's cousin, Richard, earl of Cambridge, brother to the duke of York (Rutland); Lord Scrope, who was Henry's familiar friend; and Sir Thomas Grey of Heton. A jury was summoned for their trial by the sheriff of Southampton, who found Cambridge and Grey guilty of treason, and Scrope of having concealed the knowledge of their purposes. Cambridge and Scrope claimed to be tried by their peers. By the lords then at Southampton, who formed a court for their trial, they were convicted, and they suffered death on the 5th of August. Grey had been previously executed.

The truce with France expired on the 2d of August. On the beach of Southampton are collected men-at-arms, mounted archers, foot-archers, miners, gunners, armorers, and all the various attendants of a feudal army. There, under the walls of the old castle, shallow vessels float up to the river's banks, and with little preparation horses and men step on to the crowded decks. Fifteen hundred of such vessels are gathered together, and drift with the tide to the broader Solent. Fifteen hundred sails to bear an army, slowly and insecurely to Normandy, that would have been carried with far greater speed and safety by thirty of such vessels as now steam from that Southampton river. The king is at Porchester Castle. On the 10th of August, being Saturday, he goes on board his own ship, The Trinity, lying between Southampton and Portsmouth. His sail is set; the little craft, varying from three hundred tons to twenty tons, collect around The Trinity, and on Sunday they put to sea. On Tuesday, about noon, the royal ship enters the mouth of the Seine; and the fleet casts anchor about three miles from Harfleur.

The "Roll of the men-at-arms that were at the Battle of Agincourt," and "The Retinue of Henry V. in his first Voyage," exhibit very clearly the nature of the force that was landed near Harfleur on the 14th of August.* The duke of Clarence, the duke of Gloucester, and the duke of York, had, together, 540 men-at-arms, bannerets, knights, and esquires; and 1720 horse-archer. The earl of Dorset and the earl of Arundel had each 100 men-at-arms and 300 horse-archers. The earl of March was there, with 60 men-at-arms and 160 horse-archers. There is little doubt that the conspiracy, which was discovered at Southampton, was for the purpose of placing him, the legitimate heir of the crown, upon the throne; but the king, merciless as he was to the chief movers of the plot, granted a pardon to the earl of March, and gave him the honor of fighting by his side in this perilous warfare. The unhappy earl of Cambridge was to have been in that expedition, with 60 men-at-arms and 160 horse-archers. Of his men, 3 lances and 6 archers fought at Agincourt. Other great earls were there—Suffolk, Oxford, Huntingdon, and the earl-marshal, with men-at-arms and archers, horse and foot, in due proportion. Bannerets were there—names memorable among England's chivalry, each leading 20 or 30 men-at arms and a larger number of archers. Then came an honored roll of the knights and esquires of the land—the worthy companions of Cornwall, and Erpingham, and Hungerford, and Umfreville—some three hundred in number, each with his little band of lancers and archers; the yeomen of their manors; picked men, who went forth with stout limbs and resolved spirit, caring little for the abstract justice of the cause for which they were to fight, but knowing that they would have a due proportion of the "gaignes de guerres."* This army, then, landed in small boats, and took up a position on the hill nearest Harfleur. No resistance was offered to the landing. The constable of France, d'Albret, was at Rouen, with a large number of troops. But he stirred not. The hardy people of the coast suffered the English to leap on their shores, as if they came in peace and friendship. The landing-place was rough with large stones; and there was a dyke and wall between the shore and the marsh toward the town. The entrance into the marsh was very difficult, and "the resistance of the smallest number of people would have sufficed to drive back many thousands."† The army rested in its position till Saturday, the 17th, and then moved to the siege of Harfleur in three battalions. The town was surrounded with embattled walls, and with ditches, filled to a great depth and breadth by the waters of the Seine. There were three gates, strongly defended by bulwarks. After the landing of Henry, the garrison was reinforced on the side which the English had not then invested. But the town was very quickly encompassed on all sides, the duke of Clarence having made a circuitous march, and taken a position on the hill opposite to that which the king occupied. The port was strictly blockaded toward the sea. After a demand for the surrender of the place, which was stoutly refused, the siege commenced. We now hear of guns as well as engines in an English siege. There is a belief that cannon had been employed at Cressy; and some sort of ordnance had certainly been occasionally in use in the middle of the fourteenth century. At Harfleur the king battered the bulwarks, and the walls and towers on every side, by the stones which his guns and engines cast. Two attempts were made to undermine the town; but there were counter-mines; and the miners met and fought under ground. The siege went on with various fortune, but the besieged showed no symptom of surrender. Disease now began to make frightful ravages in the English camp. On the 15th of September died Richard Courtenay, bishop of Norwich, and on the 18th the earl of Suffolk. Henry's men were perishing around him by dysentery; and he resolved to storm the town. The garrison, however, agreed to surrender on the 22d of September, if they were not previously relieved. No relief came. The civil distractions of France had at first deprived the government of all energy. There was no preparation for resistance. There was no money in the royal treasury. Suddenly a tax was imposed, and the impost was collected from the clergy and the people by armed men. "What can the English do more to us?" exclaimed the unhappy victims of misrule. Harfleur was yielded up on that 22d of September, with great ceremony. Henry sat upon a throne under a pavilion of silk, erected on the hill opposite the town. From the pavilion to Harfleur a line of English soldiers was formed; and through their ranks came the governor with a deputation, and he laid the keys of the town at the feet of the king. The siege had lasted thirty-six days. On the 23d Henry entered the town, and went barefoot to the church of St. Martin, to offer a solemn thanksgiving for his success. The bulk of the inhabitants—women, children, and poor—were compelled to depart, but without any indignity; and the principal burghers, with many knights and gentlemen, were allowed to leave the place, making oath to surrender themselves at Calais in the following November. Henry now sent a challenge to the Dauphin of France to meet him in single combat—the old, unmeaning defiance of chivalry. On the 5th of October the king held a council. The success at Harfleur had been bought at a terrible cost. Besides a large number killed in the siege, a much greater number of the army had died of dysentery in that district of overflowing marshes. Five thousand more were so sick that they were unable to proceed. Many had deserted. Comparing the various accounts of contemporary chroniclers, it is "morally impossible to form any other conclusion than that the English army which quitted Harfleur did not exceed nine thousand fighting men."‡ At the council of the 5th of October Henry was strongly urged to return, with the remnant of his force, to England by sea. He was told that "the multitude of the French were continually increasing, and very likely might hem them in on every side, as sheep in pens." So writes the priest; and he adds that the king determined to march to Calais, "relying upon the divine grace and the righteousness of

* These lists are published in "The History of the Battle of Agincourt," by Sir N. H. Nicolas, 1827. In this volume are collected all the documents which have relation to this event, as well as the contemporary narratives; the most valuable of which is that of a priest who accompanied the expedition, being a Latin MS. in the Cottonian MSS. of the British Museum, first translated and published by Sir N. H. Nicolas.

* The produce of pillage or ransom.
† From "the Priest's" narrative.
‡ Narrative of Sir N. H. Nicolas, p. ccxcix., ed. 1827.

his cause, piously considering that victory consists not in multitudes." It is easy to blame Henry for this determination; to call it "rashness, and total recklessness of consequences;* but it must not be forgotten that if the king had returned to England with the loss of two thirds of his army, and with no success but the capture of a town that could not long be held, he risked the loss of that popular support which the general belief of his intrepidity had won for him from his early years. He had set his life upon a cast, and he must play out the game. On the 8th of October he commenced his extraordinary march. With eight days' provisions the little army went forth from Harfleur, in three battalions, on the road to Calais. Henry's policy was an honorable exception to the devastation which accompanied the marches of the great Edward and the Black Prince. He published a proclamation, "that no one, under pain of death, should burn, lay waste, or take anything, excepting victuals and necessaries." The line of march was, at no great distance from the coast, toward the Somme. Passing by Fécamp the army reached Arques, near Dieppe, on the 11th. A few shots were fired from the castle, but the passage through the town was not contested. The English began to believe that they should reach Calais without molestation. "For some firmly asserted," says the observant priest, "that considering the civil discord and deadly hatred subsisting between the French princes and the duke of Burgundy, the French would not draw themselves out from the interior parts of the country and their strongholds, lest, while thus drawing themselves out, the forces of the duke of Burgundy should either follow them, or against their will usurp the possession of their estates." At Eu the English army was attacked, but the assailants were repulsed without difficulty. On Sunday, the 13th, they reached Abbeville. Now the imminent danger that was before this daring band was too manifest to be concealed. The chroniclers of his great-grandfather's exploits had made Henry familiar with the circumstances of his passage of the Somme. To the ford of Blanchetaque an English army was again led. The causeway leading to the ford was broken down; and a great body of French was said to be collected on the opposite bank of the river. Without any certain information, Henry directed his march by the Somme above Abbeville, seeking for another passage. The bridges and causeways were all destroyed; and broad marshes added to the difficulty of finding a ford. The slender stock of provisions was now becoming exhausted. After a march of seven days they passed Amiens, and slept that night at the village of Boves. It was the time of vintage, and there was abundance of wine in open casks, and a little bread. The supply of wine was as dangerous to the safety of the army as its privations, and Henry forbade his men to fill their bottles. It was the 17th of October before they reached a plain near Corby. Here the king executed a soldier who had stolen the pix out of a church—an incident which Shakespeare has not overlooked. Here, too, he gave the famous order that each archer should provide himself with a stake, sharpened at each end, to plant in the ground when about to be attacked by cavalry. On the 18th, they were quartered near Nesle, a walled town about twenty-four miles above Amiens, and four miles from the nearest part of the Somme. Here the welcome news was brought that a ford had been discovered. Before the river could be reached, a marsh had to be crossed. The position was one of danger, and there was no choice but to make for the river, at all hazards. There were two fords, approached by narrow causeways, partly destroyed. The damaged portions were filled up with broken doors and windows from the neighboring houses. The king was indefatigable in his personal exertions, superintending the repair of the causeways, and the orderly passage of men and horses. It was dark before the whole army had crossed. "We passed a joyful night," says the priest, "in the next farm-houses, which had been left by the French on our first arrival over the water."

The English army had been for a month investing Harfleur before the French government was roused from its inactivity. On the 10th of September the king of France took the oriflamme at St. Denis and departed for Normandy. He had arrived at Rouen with his son, when the news of the fall of Harfleur reached the court. He was soon surrounded by princes and great lords with their men-at-arms. It was known that the constable of France was watching the passages of the Somme, and that the English, in ascending the left bank, were sustaining great privations. The weather was wet and tempestuous. The princes and nobles believed they had now nothing to dread from the presumption of King Henry. The citizens of Paris offered to send six thousand men well armed. The old duke de Berri, who had fought at Poitiers sixty years before, urged the acceptance of the offer. The duke of Alençon and the young chivalry would have nothing to do with these common people: "What do we want of these shopkeepers? We have already three times the number of the English." The princes sent to Henry three officers-of-arms, to tell him that, being resolved to fight him, they desired him to name a day and a place for the battle. The king of England replied that, having set out from his town of Harfleur, he was on his way to England; and that, resting in no town or fortress, they might find him any day and hour in the open field.* Onward marched Henry by Peronne, the roads being found trodden "as if the French had gone before him in many thousands." On the 24th—the fourth day after they had crossed the Somme—the English army arrived at Blangy, in perfect discipline. A branch of the Canche, the Ternoise, was here crossed without difficulty. The French army was on the rising ground about a league distant. From Blangy there is a gentle ascent toward the village of Maisoncelles. "When we reached the top of the hill," says the priest, "we saw three columns of the French emerge from the upper part of the valley, about a mile from us; who at length, being formed into battalions, companies, and troops, in multitudes compared with us, halted a little more than half a mile opposite to us, filling a very wide field, as if with an innumerable host of locusts—a moderate-sized valley being betwixt us and them." Nothing can be more accurate than this description of the locality. We have stood upon this ascent, having left the little river and the bridge of Blangy about a mile distant. Looking back, there is a range of gentle hills to the east, in the direction of St. Pol, from which the French army marched. Emerging "from the upper part of the valley," the French army would fill "a very wide field"—the plain of Agnicourt. When Henry had crossed the river and ascended the hill, he expected instant battle. He formed his troops, and went about exhorting them to do their duty. Walter Hungerford, according to our good priest's account, regretted that they had not with them ten thousand English archers. The solemn answer of the king, relying upon God for victory, has been given by the priest. Other burning words—the version of the poet—have superseded the dialogue of the chroniclers. The sun was setting; and there was no attack. At Maisoncelles now a long straggling village amid trees, about a mile and a half from Blangy, the king took up his quarters for the night. In the gloomy twilight "a white way" had been found to this village. The noise of the French was heard as they took up their quarters, each vociferating for his servant or his comrade. Henry commanded the strictest silence. It was a night of dread to those who knew how many thousand enemies were close at hand. There was little sleep. The armorers were at work; the priests were confessing their penitents. In the French camp the confident knights played at dice, the stakes being the ransoms of their expected prisoners.

The route to Calais lay through the plain of Agincourt. The village of Agincourt now consists of a number of straggling mud-built cottages, and a farm or two, with a church of the beginning of the last century. It is covered by a wood toward the plain. Opposite Agincourt is another village, Tramecourt, also covered by a wood. The plain of Agincourt is a considerable table-land, now fully cultivated, and expanding into an open country after we have passed between the two woods. The village of Maisoncelles is about a mile from this field. Henry rose with the dawn on that 25th of October, the feast of St. Crispin; and he heard three masses. He was fully armed; and he wore a crown on his head of extraordinary magnificence. He mounted a small gray horse, and drew up his men upon the open ground near Maisoncelles, then covered with young corn. His little band was formed in one line, the men-at-arms in the centre, with wings on the left and right, the archers being posted between the wings, with their stakes fixed before them. A party that went into the village of Agincourt found no armed men there. Another party of archers were concealed in the village of Tramecourt. The French army was in three lines, completely covering the route to

* Nicolas.

* See Barante, tom. iii.

Calais. The advanced guard of about eight thousand knights and esquires, and five thousand five hundred archers and cross-bow men, was composed of the greater part of the French nobility. The main body was crowded in prodigious numbers, the lines, according to the lowest estimate, being twenty men in depth. The men-at-arms wore coats of steel reaching to their knees, and heavy leg-armor, with other incumbering panoply. The contemporary chroniclers, both French and English, differ greatly as to the number of the French army. The lowest estimate is fifty thousand fighting men ; the highest, one hundred and fifty thousand. The probability is that they were ten times as many as the English. Their position was between the two woods of Agincourt and Tramecourt, in a space much too confined for the movements of such a vast body. The woods as they at present exist show that the position was a disadvantageous one ; and it was probably more disadvantageous if the woods were then more extensive. The two armies passed several hours without a movement on either side. According to Monstrelet, Sir Thomas Erpingham, a knight grown gray with age and honor, at last flung his truncheon in the air, and called " Nestrocque !" (" Now strike !") and then dismounted, as the king and others had done. The English then knelt down, invoking the protection of God ; and each man put a small piece of earth into his mouth, in remembrance that they were formed of dust, and to dust should return. Shouting the national " Hurrah !" they kept advancing. The archers, without armor, in jackets and loose hose, some even barefoot, went boldly on to meet the mailed chivalry. Their bow-strings were drawn. The French stooped as the deadly shafts flew among them. Many were slain. Onward rushed the thousands of horsemen to break the line of the hardy yeomen. The sharpened stakes were planted in the earth, and the archers shrank not from the charge. The arrows again flew ; and the horses becoming unmanageable from their wounds, the knights were driven back upon the van, which they threw into confusion. The king now advanced with his main body. A deadly conflict ensued. The archers threw away their bows, and fought with sword and bill. The second French line was soon reached ; and here again the contest became more a slaughter than a battle. The enormous numbers of the French were the chief cause of their destruction. Their heavy armor was an incumbrance instead of a defence. The rear division, after the overthrow of the first and second division, took to flight. In three hours this terrible fight was over. The priest, who was " sitting on horseback among the baggage, in the rear of the battle," thus describes the slaughter of the French on this day of Agincourt : " When some of them in the engagement had been killed, and fell in the front, so great was the undisciplined violence and pressure of the multitude behind that the living fell over the dead, and others also, falling on the living, were slain ; so that, in three places, where the force and host of our standards were, so great grew the heap of the slain, and of those who were overthrown among them, that our people ascended the very heaps, which had increased higher than a man, and butchered the adversaries below with swords, axes, and other weapons. And when at length, in two or three hours, that front battle was perforated and broken up, and the rest were driven to flight, our men began to pull down the heaps, and to separate the living from the dead, proposing to keep the living as slaves, to be ransomed." Few were left alive for ransom. A clamor arose that the French, collecting in various parts of the field, were coming upon the wearied victors. The baggage, according to Monstrelet, was being plundered. In the momentary alarm Henry commanded a massacre of all the prisoners. The French chroniclers mention this horrible circumstance in terms of sorrow rather than of blame. The hasty instinct of self-preservation dictated the order. The day before the battle the king had discharged, upon their parole, all the prisoners he had brought with him. His nature was not cruel. He stopped the carnage when he found that the danger was imaginary.

On the part of the English the duke of York and the earl of Oxford were slain, with some hundreds of inferior degree. The estimates of this loss are very conflicting. Our own chronicles make it absurdly small. Monstrelet says the loss of the English was sixteen hundred ; and so St. Remy, another French historian. Of the chivalry of France, the flower perished. Seven of the princes of the blood had fallen. With the duke of Alençon Henry had fought in person, and was beaten down, having a portion of his crown struck off. The king could not save his gallant enemy, who fell before Henry's guards. Eight thousand gentlemen of France perished in that field of carnage, of whom a hundred and twenty were nobles bearing banners. Between Agincourt and Tramecourt is a small inclosed piece of ground, which we saw planted with potatoes in the summer of 1856, where great numbers of the illustrious dead were buried. It is kept sacred to their memories ; and here it is now proposed, four hundred and fifty years after the eventful day, to erect a monumental chapel. The whole plain is covered with the teeming crops of fruitful France. There is nothing to tell of that time of bloodshed and terror. Now and then, indeed, the upturned soil gives forth evidence of the presence of the dead. In 1816 an English officer of the army of occupation found relics of the slain, with many coins of Charles V. and Charles VI. A peasant, now living in one of the farm-cottages of Agincourt, shows a large thin gold coin of Charles VI. which he found in his field-labors. The herald of France was taken in the battle. " Montjoie," said Henry, " to whom is the victory—to me or to the king of France ?" " To you, and not to him," said Montjoie. " And how is this castle called ?" " The castle of Agincourt." " Well," said the king, " they will long speak of the battle of Agincourt." They will speak of it, as long as England's history endures, as one of the most wonderful examples of bravery, and fortitude, and heroic daring, of which a people may be justly proud. But they will also speak of it as a fearful sacrifice of human life to a false ambition, which had no object beyond the assertion of an indomitable will, and no permanent results beyond the perpetuation of hatred and jealousy between nation and nation.

Henry slept that night of the 25th of October at Maisoncelles. On the next day he, with the duke of Orleans and many other noble prisoners, went his unmolested way to Calais.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

News of Agincourt arrives—Entry of Henry into London—State of France—Henry's second expedition—Overthrow of the Armagnacs—Siege and surrender of Rouen—Conferences at Meulan between Henry, the Duke of Burgundy, and the queen—Henry first sees Katherine—Negotiations ineffectual—Burgundy murdered at Montereau—Peace of Troyes—Marriage of Henry—Henry and his queen come to England—Parliament held—Clarence killed—Henry returns to France—Siege of Meaux—Katherine and her infant son come to Paris—Illness of Henry—His death—Difficulty of forming a just estimate of his character—Duke of Gloucester Protector—Death of Charles VI.—Regency of the duke of Bedford—Feuds of Gloucester and Beaufort—Tutelage of Henry VI.

The great victory of Agincourt was publicly known in London on the 29th of October, the same day on which King Henry reached Calais. " Early in the morning," says a contemporary chronicle, " came tidings to London while that men were in their beds, that the king had fought and had the battle and the field aforesaid. And anon as they had tidings thereof, they went to all the churches of the city of London, and rang all the bells of every church." Henry remained at Calais till the 17th of November. There was time for this news to go forth through the country before the arrival of the king ; and the people warmed up into a fervor of joy which drowned the lament for the thousands that had perished during those past three months of sickness, want, and slaughter. When the king's ship, after a boisterous passage, sailed into the port of Dover, the people rushed into the sea and bore their hero to the shore. At the royal manor of Eltham he rested on his way to London, which he entered in solemn procession on the 23d of November. From Blackheath to Westminster he was escorted by twenty thousand of the citizens, " with devices according to their crafts." The great highway of Cheap, after the calvacade had passed London Bridge, was so crowded by the people that the horsemen could scarcely pass through them. The city was gorgeous with arches, and towers, and pavilions, out of which innumerable virgins and youths showered laurel boughs and leaves of gold upon the conqueror's head, and sang English anthems with melodious voices, and with organs. The busy priest, as observant of the splendid pageant as of the terrible battle, says, " The lattices and windows on both sides were filled with the most noble ladies and women of the realm, and with honorable and

honored men, who flocked together to the pleasing sight, and were so very gracefully and elegantly dressed, in garments of gold, fine linen, and crimson, and various other apparel, that a greater assembly or a nobler spectacle was not recollected to have been ever before in London." He goes on to say, "The king himself, amid these public expressions of praise and the bravery of the citizens, passed along, clad in a purple robe, not with lofty looks, pompous horses, or great multitude, but with a solid aspect, a reverend demeanor, and a few of his faithful domestics attendant on him; the dukes, earls, and marshals, his captives, following him with a guard of soldiers." *

In 1416 Henry was continuing to cherish his ambitious projects, and was preparing for their accomplishment. The attempted mediation of the Emperor Sigismund, who visited England, had been unsuccessful. The war was carried on in Normandy, and the French made descents on the English shores of the Channel. Harfleur was besieged in June, and the English garrison was reduced to the greatest distress, when it was relieved from blockade by the capture of the large carracks and other vessels that kept the mouth of the Seine. Meanwhile Henry had secured the alliance of the duke of Burgundy, who had laid aside his resentment for the death of his brother, the duke of Brabant, at Agincourt. For the death of the other brother, the count of Nevers, on the same field, he cared little. It is unnecessary for us to attempt any minute description of the distractions of France, which presented the chief encouragement to the king of England to persevere in his design to claim the crown. The feuds of the Burgundians and the Armagnacs were as violent as ever, and were accompanied by the most intolerable oppression of the people by the reigning faction under the constable, Armagnac. Foreign troops, without pay, were let loose to plunder. Brigands committed the most outrageous atrocities, and the orders of the government to pursue and destroy them, without trial or inquiry, were made a pretence for the murder of large numbers of the Burgundian party. The insane king passed his life in fatuous indifference to all around him; and the court of the queen exhibited a licentious profusion, the more disgusting from its contrast with the universal wretchedness. It is recorded that Henry, after the day of Agincourt, addressing his prisoner, the duke of Orleans, disclaimed any merit in his great victory, and expressed his belief that he was the instrument of God in punishing the crimes of the French nation—the public disorders and the private wickedness. This was one of the ordinary delusions of ambition. There was no improvement in the condition of France when, on the 23d of July, 1417, the king of England again embarked with a mighty army at Southampton. It was more numerous and more powerfully equipped than the force which, two years before, had landed in Normandy; consisting of forty thousand men, with miners and ordnance. At this crisis the duke of Burgundy was marching upon Paris, resolved upon the extermination of the faction which held the government. Henry landed at Tonque, near Harfleur, and shortly after went on to besiege Caen, which city was taken by assault on the 4th of September. "The duke of Clarence beat down the walls with guns on his side, and first entered into the town, and cried, A Clarence! a Clarence! a Saint George! and so was the town got." † Many other fortresses in Normandy speedily submitted; and Henry went into winter quarters. The French government, distracted with the movements of the duke of Burgundy, made no effectual resistance to the English. Henry continued to secure one fortress after another; and, holding his court at Caen, confiscated the estates of Norman lords, and bestowed them upon his English followers.

The summer of 1418 was a terrible season for France. The duke of Burgundy had retreated from before Paris in the previous year; for his partisans in the city had been expelled, and the count of Armagnac had the young dauphin, Charles, in his hands, as well as the unhappy king. The queen had been deprived of her power, as regent, and had been sent as a prisoner to Tours. Suddenly the duke of Burgundy appeared before Tours, delivered the queen from captivity, and received from her the appointment of governor-general of the kingdom. The rule of the count of Armagnac had been one of severity and terror; and the Parisians had fallen off from his faction, and now anxiously desired his overthrow. At the end of May there was a fearful massacre of the Armagnacs by an infuriated Paris mob, and many of them were held as prisoners. On the 12th of June there was a cry that the terrible duke was at the gates; but the people shouted for Burgundy; and, breaking open the prisons and private houses where the Armagnacs were confined, massacred fifteen hundred victims in one morning. Among them was the count of Armagnac. On the 14th of July the queen and the duke of Burgundy entered Paris in triumph. The appetite for blood was not yet sated, and for some days the new government made a profession of stopping the murders, but contrived to remove those persons who were most obnoxious to them. The duke of Orleans, while these horrible butcheries were perpetrated by a fickle multitude upon the party of which he was the real head, was shut up in the castle of Pontefract. He solaced his long captivity in England by the composition of verses which entitle him to rank among the best French poets of his age; and he also wrote "chansons" in English, with elegance and facility. Henry was not disposed to trust to the pacific occupations of his prisoner, as a guarantee that he would not be a troublesome enemy. There is a letter of this period in which the king enjoins his strict keeping, without going to any disport, "for it is better he lack his disport, then we be deceived." *

While these fearful scenes had been acted in Paris, King Henry sat down with the main body of his army before Rouen. In the previous winter, terms of peace had been proposed to him by the French government at Paris, and also on the part of the dauphin, afterward Charles VII. But these negotiations were unavailing. The siege of Rouen was as prolific in horrors as any other event of that sanguinary period. The rule of Henry in Lower Normandy, which he had nearly conquered, was mild and conciliating. He abolished the odious tax on salt, and set a limit to illegal exactions. But the people of Rouen, into which city large numbers of armed men had been thrown under the command of chiefs who had retired before Henry, resolved to resist the progress of the invader. The king had crossed the Seine at Pont de l'Arche; but when he invested the city on the 30th of July, he found a garrison ready to make sorties upon his troops, and compel them to fight for every position which they took up. He set about the reduction of the place upon a system far more efficacious than any sudden assault. On the land side he dug deep ditches; and he fortified his lines with towers and artillery. The land approach was completely blockaded. The islands of the Seine above Rouen were filled by him with troops. The stream was barricaded with iron chains; and immediately above the town he formed a bridge of boats manned with archers. He soon compelled the surrender of the castle on the hill of St. Catherine, now crowned with a church, with the beautiful river and the commercial city at its foot. Below Rouen he commanded the navigation of the Seine by his armed vessels; and the mouth of the river was guarded by a powerful fleet. For twenty weeks the devoted people beheld the gradual approach of famine. The population consisted of a hundred and fifty thousand souls; some chroniclers say three hundred thousand. In that city of ancient narrow streets, where still remain many gloomy houses of the period, whose quaint gables and rude carvings are dear to the artist and the antiquary, was this wretched population, with all the resources of their accustomed industry cut off, shut up to starve. "And ever they of the town hoped to have been rescued, but it would not be; and many hundreds died for hunger, for they had eaten all their cats, horses, hounds, rats, mice, and all that might be eaten; and ofttimes the men-at-arms driving out the poor people at the gates of the city, for spending of victual, anon our men drove them in again; and young children lay dead in the streets, hanging on the dead mothers' paps, that pity was to see." † At last the garrison surrendered on the 19th of January, 1419, and the soldiers marched forth without arms, engaging not to serve against the king for one year. One of the noblest cities of France thus came under the English rule; and here Henry built a palace, and held his court as duke of Normandy. The people of Rouen had been promised effectual relief both by the duke of Burgundy and by the dauphin; but no succor came. The French princes were more intent upon

* The Priest's Chronicle, Nicolas, p. cccxci.
† "An English Chronicle," written before 1471. Camden Society, 1856.

* "Original Letters on English History." Ellis, Series i. vol. i.
† "English Chronicle," p. 47.

circumventing each other than of organizing a national resistance; and Henry haughtily proclaimed that he was called to reign over France as a true king, and that it was the blessing of God which had inspired him to come into a distracted kingdom, that its sovereignty might be transferred to capable hands. There were two authorities in France, who refused to unite in repulsing their common enemy. The dauphin held a court and parliament at Poitiers; the duke of Burgundy ruled at Paris. In the mean time Henry continued to advance toward the capital. A truce was at length concluded by him with the duke of Burgundy; and it was agreed that the king of France and the king of England should have a meeting. In July, 1419, the queen, the princess Katherine, and the duke of Burgundy, came, without the king, to Meulan, on the Seine; and here Henry met them, with great state on either side. The queen expected that the beauty of her daughter would have disarmed the sternness of the English king; but although he professed himself anxious for an alliance with a lady so fair and gracious, he demanded the complete execution of the treaty of Bretigny, the cession of Normandy, and the absolute sovereignty of all the countries surrendered. The negotiations were again broken off. The dauphin and the duke of Burgundy now made some show of reconciliation; and within a week after the conference at Meulan they agreed to terms of union. With the same boldness as he displayed when met by divided councils, the king marched on toward Paris, now that he was assured that the two rival powers of France were united to resist the "damnable interference of the ancient enemies of the kingdom."* The dauphin and the duke had parted with demonstrations of mutual respect; the dauphin to Touraine, the duke to join King Charles at Pontoise. On the 23d, the king, the queen, and the duke went to Paris, which was completely undefended. On the 29th, news came that the English had taken Pontoise. The court removed from Paris, to which the troops of Henry were rapidly approaching. The dauphin solicited another interview with the duke of Burgundy, on matters of importance to the welfare of the kingdom. The courtiers of the duke urged him not to go, for the dauphin was surrounded by the servants of the duke of Orleans, who had been assassinated in 1407, and by men whose friends and relations had perished in the massacre of the Armagnacs. But the duke resolved to meet his cousin at the place appointed, the bridge of Montereau. At each end of the bridge there were barriers; but there was no barrier in the centre, as was usual in these interviews of princes, who most hated and suspected each other when professions of friendship were most abundant. The dauphin was in a sort of lodge in the centre of the bridge when the duke advanced. They had each taken oaths pledging the safety of the other. The duke of Burgundy had left his attendants a little behind him; and as he bent his knee to the dauphin, he was struck down and quickly murdered; the servants of the duke being immediately surrounded by a large body of armed men. The dauphin gave out that the duke offered insult and violence to him; but there can be no doubt that the treacherous murder was premeditated, and the mode of accomplishment resolved upon. The heir of the crown of France was at this time seventeen years of age.

Philip, the son of the murdered duke of Burgundy, was at Ghent when he received the news of the tragedy at Montereau on the 12th of August. He was married to a daughter of the king of France. "Michelle," he said to his wife, "your brother has murdered my father." No time was wasted in idle complainings. Philip, known in history as "The Good," immediately, with the advice of his Flemish subjects, sought an alliance with Henry of England. The people of Paris, adverse as they were to the impending rule of the English, were still more hostile to the Armagnacs, who were desolating the country, with the dauphin at their head. The young duke of Burgundy arranged the terms of a treaty with Henry, which was finally concluded at Troyes, on the 21st of May, 1420. The king of England was to receive the hand of the princess Katherine, to be immediate regent of the kingdom, and to be recognized as successor to the crown on the death of Charles VI. When the terms of the treaty were announced to the parliament and other authorities of Paris, the highest eulogium was pronounced upon the king of England as a lover of peace and justice, a protector of the poor, a defender of the Church. The people were encouraged by these statements to hope for some happy termination of their miseries. The marriage of Henry with the princess of France was celebrated at Troyes, on the 2d of June. The next day was one of banqueting. A tournament was proposed as a prolongation of the festivities; but Henry said, "The enemies of the king are in the city of Sens. Let us be ready to-morrow morning to march to its siege, where every knight may show his prowess in doing justice upon the wicked, that the poor people may live." He gave the nobles the most solemn assurances that he would love and honor the king of France, and that the ocean should cease to flow and the sun no more give light before he should forget the duty which a prince owed to his subjects. The bridal month of Henry and his fair queen was passed in besieging Sens, and Montereau, and Villeneuve. When these were taken, Melun was besieged for four months. After its surrender on the 18th of November, the kings of France and England made a triumphant entry into Paris, and the three estates of the kingdom gave a solemn approval of the treaty of Troyes.

At the beginning of 1421 King Henry held a parliament at Rouen. The coinage which was then issued bore the inscription, "Heres Franciæ." To Rouen came many English nobles and knights, and did homage to their king for lands granted to them in France. Immediately after, Henry and his queen went to England; and on the 23d of February, Katherine was crowned at Westminster. The feasts and pageants that welcomed Henry and his queen were of unusual magnificence; and the chronicler Hall, in his pompous language, expresses the general sentiment of that period: "No doubt England had great cause to rejoice at the coming of such a noble prince and so mighty a conqueror, which in so small space and so brief time had brought under his obeisance the great and puissant realm and dominion of France." But there are other records which show that England herself was beginning to suffer from the operations of "so mighty a conqueror." The first statute of the parliament which the king convened in 1421 (chap. v.), referring to the statute of Edward III. that sheriffs and escheators should remain only one year in office, says, "Whereas, at the time of the making of the said statute, divers worthy and sufficient persons were in every county of England, to occupy and govern the same offices well toward the king and all his liege people; forasmuch that as well by divers pestilences within the realm of England, as by the wars without the realm, there is not now such sufficiency, it is ordained that the king, by authority of parliament, may make the sheriffs and escheators through the realm, at his will, until the end of four years." Barrington recites this statute to show that the laurels which Henry acquired were obtained at the dearest price, the depopulation of the country.* There were other causes than the waste of war to account for the deficiency of "worthy and sufficient persons in every county of England." In 1418 Henry was confiscating estates in Normandy, and bestowing them on his English followers. In 1421 he was receiving homage from English lords for the lands of France. The same temptations which led the Norman barons under the first William to desert the pleasant valleys of the Seine for the ruder abodes of the Severn and the Trent, now sent back their descendants to Normandy to make new acquisitions of the country from which the English had been dispossessed for two centuries. The evil from which England had been saved by the weakness of John was about to be renewed in the strength of Henry. Fortunate was it that the conqueror did not long remain to perpetuate his conquests; and that in the feebleness of his successor and the distractions of a civil war, France was again lost.

The peace of Troyes was approved by the English parliament, and the Commons granted a subsidy of a fifteenth, "to continue the war, that the dauphin and his party, who maintained some cities and provinces against the king, being subdued, France might be entirely annexed to the English crown."† But even in this season of popular excitement there was a petition complaining of the intolerable burden of the war. In the previous year a petition had been presented to the duke of Gloucester, in a parliament which he had summoned as guardian of England, that he would move the king and queen to return, as speedily as might please them, in relief and comfort of the

* These words are given in the preamble to the treaty between the dauphin and Burgundy.

* "Observations on the Statutes," etc., p. 312.
† "Parliamentary History," vol. i. p. 339.

Commons; and they also requested that their petitions might not be sent to the king beyond sea, but determined in England. They dreaded "that England might become a province of the French crown, which led them to obtain a renewal of the statute of Edward III., declaring the independence of this kingdom." * The king and his queen did not remain long "in relief and comfort of the Commons." They were making a progress through the kingdom, and had arrived at York, when news came which speedily called back Henry to France. He had left his brother, the duke of Clarence, as his lieutenant in Normandy. Anjou, which recognized the authority of the dauphin, was invaded by the duke; and at Beaujé, on the 22d of March, he was surprised in his work of wasting the country by a great force of Anjevins, aided by several thousand Scottish auxiliaries under the earl of Buchan, the second son of the regent of Scotland. The duke was slain; and the greater number of his vanguard were killed or taken prisoners. The English archers, however, came up, and drove the French and Scots from the field. Soon, however, Scot was to be opposed to Scot in the great contest for dominion. Murdoch, the regent of Scotland, had lent assistance to the dauphin at a time of peace with England; and many of the Scottish nobles disapproved of the measure. The king of Scotland had been sixteen years a captive in Windsor Castle; and here, like that other illustrious prisoner the duke of Orleans, he found in the cultivation of literature a solace for the absence of liberty. In the garden of the keep of Windsor he first saw Jane Beaufort, walking among the hawthorn hedges and the juniper branches, and henceforth the cousin of King Henry was, in his mind, "the fairest and the freshest younge flower." So the captive has recorded of his love in his charming poem of "The King's Quair." Jane Beaufort's widowed mother had married the duke of Clarence; and this circumstance might have been some inducement to the captive king to accept the offer of Henry to accompany him to France, to redeem the great disaster of Beaujé. Archibald, earl of Douglas, and other Scottish knights, joined Henry and their young king, and set sail from Dover, with four thousand men-at-arms and twenty-four thousand archers. Queen Katherine was left at Windsor. Henry and his army landed at Calais on the 12th of June.

After several minor successes, King Henry, at the earnest entreaty of the people of Paris, undertook the siege of the city of Meaux, about thirty miles from the capital. The commander of the place, known as the Bastard of Vaurus, was a devoted adherent of the count of Armagnac, who had been butchered by the Parisians; and in revenge of his death he massacred every Burgundian that he could encounter in the predatory excursions which he made to the very walls of Paris. He was a public enemy, carrying on a partisan warfare with a ferocity of which even those times of bloodshed furnished few examples. Henry undertook to subdue this brigand. But Meaux was a place of remarkable strength, and it was seven months before it was wholly taken. In this siege Henry lost several of his best captains, among whom were the earl of Worcester and Lord Clifford, and his men were swept away by an epidemic sickness. At last the garrison was starved out, and the commander was decapitated. By the surrender of Meaux the English became masters of the greater part of France to the north of the Loire. The queen of Henry had borne him a son, and she came back to France, with her infant, to join her husband in Paris. There was a short season of festivity at the Whitsuntide of 1422, and then the king set out to raise the siege of Caen. He had for some time been laboring under a disease which he bore up against with the same iron will that made him front every danger and difficulty of warfare. At Corbeil he became too ill to proceed, and his brother, the duke of Bedford, took the command of the army, in concert with the duke of Burgundy. Henry was carried back on a litter to the Bois de Vincennes. It soon became evident that his malady, whatever it might be, was beyond the medical skill of those days to arrest or cure. The English who surrounded the bed of the dying man saw the same composure which he had always shown in the battle-field. He commended his child to the care of his brother, the duke of Bedford, desiring the earl of Warwick to be his tutor. His brother of Gloucester he wished to be guardian of England. He advised that the regency of France should be offered to the duke of Burgundy, but in the event of his refusal to the duke of Bedford. Above all, he urged that no peace should be concluded with the dauphin, unless Normandy were ceded in absolute sovereignty to the English crown. Having delivered his last wishes, he asked the physicians how long he might expect to live. They said the Almighty had power to restore him to health. He repeated the question, requiring a direct answer. The answer was, "Not more than two hours." The ministers of religion then came to his bed, and recited the penitential Psalms. At the words, "Thou shalt build up the walls of Jerusalem," he said, "If I had finished the war in France and established peace, I would have gone to Palestine, to redeem the holy city from the Saracens." The last dream of glory was sanctified by the aspirations of religion.

Henry V. died on the 31st of August, 1422, in the tenth year of his reign, the thirty-fourth of his age. The devoted attachment to him of the English in France was expressed in funeral solemnities more than usually significant of real sorrow. Upon a car was shown a waxen figure of the king, and in a slow journey of many days a procession of heralds and priests, and knights and esquires in black armor, with all the dead king's household, traversed the country which had witnessed his painful marches—from Paris to Rouen, from Rouen to Abbeville, from Abbeville to Calais. Out of every town came the clergy and joined the calvacade, and at night the body was placed in the principal church. The French people looked on with wonder, and even with pity, for the untimely fate of the great king, for they had seen the perfect discipline which he had preserved in his army, and how sternly he had repressed and punished the violence and exactions of their own lords. A fleet waited to convey the body and the English mourners to Dover. Slowly London was reached; and the funeral obsequies having been performed at St. Paul's in the presence of the Lords and Commons of the parliament, all that remained of the warrior and statesman was finally deposited in Westminster Abbey.

It is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to form a just estimate of the character of Henry V., in regarding it from the modern point of view. To place before our eyes the social good that might have been accomplished by a prince of such eminent talents, of such strong will, of such firm self-reliance, of such fortitude under the most appalling difficulties, of such equanimity at the height of success, of such zealous though erring sense of religious obligation—to view him in a possible career of honest energy without the lust of conquest, and to blame him for not preferring a real usefulness to a blind ambition—this is to set aside the circumstances which gave a direction to the actions by which we must judge of his character. We can imagine a prince so endowed, despising the superstition of his times, determined to make a corrupted church tolerant, and to bestow liberty of conscience upon all his subjects. Such a conquest of bigotry would have been a wilder and a more dangerous undertaking than the conquest of France. We can imagine him looking beyond all the prejudices of his age, and discovering that a free commercial intercourse between nations is the true foundation of prosperous industry. Such a theory has not been possible to be realized in England till the very times in which we live; and is even now rejected as impossible by nations far more advanced in understanding what belongs to real civilization than the England of the fifteenth century. We can imagine him destroying the jealous factions which disturbed his father's doubtful authority, by calling forth the love of the great body of the people, and urging forward the rights of the burgess and the laborer to control the oppressions that still clung to the decaying system of feudality. It was long before the monarchical could extinguish the aristocratic tyranny; and then the rule of the one was, in many respects, a despotism more injurious than the grasping and turbulent power of the many. England had to pass through various stages of misrule before the univeral good could be received as the great end of all government. Before Henry V. there was opened the magnificent prospect of recovering the hereditary dominions of the Norman kings, which had slipped away from the feeble successors of the greatest of that valiant race, which had been partially won back by the third Edward, and which had again been surrendered to the growing power of France. His negotiations show that his real policy was to recover what had been lost after the treaty of Bretigny, and that his demand of the French crown would have been soon abandoned had not the distractions of France offered an irresistible temptation to his enthusiastic ambition. For he was an

* Hallam, "Middle Ages," chap. viii. part iii.

enthusiast. He had an undoubting confidence in the justice of his claim; he had no apprehensions of its impolicy. His bravery, fortitude, and perseverance won the admiration of the English people, as such qualities will always command the applause of a military nation. In England every man was trained to arms, and the brilliant achievements of the great soldier were far more valued than the substantial merits of the just lawgiver. But the career of Henry V. was not without its national benefit. From his time there was no false estimate in Europe of the prowess of the English; from his time there was no dream that the proud island might be subjugated. Even in the civil wars of the half century which succeeded Henry, England was unmolested from without. No king of France ever thought to avenge Agincourt by wearing the crown of England in right of conquest.

When the death of Henry V. was known in London, some of the leading peers assembled, and issued writs for a new parliament. The duke of Gloucester had been named by the dying Henry as regent of England; but upon the roll of parliament it was entered that the king, considering his tender age, appoints the duke of Bedford, or, in his absence beyond sea, the duke of Gloucester, to be protector and defender of the kingdom. From subsequent proceedings recorded in the rolls of parliament it appears that Gloucester had claimed to be regent according to the desire of his brother; but that the lords had resisted that claim, saying that the king could not grant governance of the land to any person except while he lived; and that although it was agreed that Gloucester should be chief of the council, in absence of the duke of Bedford, he was to hold his position, not under the name of tutor, lieutenant, governor, or regent, or of any name that should import governance of the land, but only bear the name of protector and defender. We thus see that the jealousies which, in a few years, broke out into open violence and hatred were existing at the very onset of the reign of him "in infant bands crowned king." But we also see how strictly a great constitutional principle was adhered to, that a king could not appoint a regent during the minority of his successor, and that no person could exercise the royal prerogative during a king's infancy, except by the choice of parliament, and under the limitations prescribed by parliament for the conduct of the executive government.*

In less than two months after the death of Henry V., Charles VI., king of France, also died. At the funeral solemnities at St. Denis, the herald cried aloud, "Long life to Henry, king of France and England, our sovereign lord." France had been for forty-two years under the nominal rule of an incapable king, subject to accesses of insanity which delivered him, powerless, to one or other of the factions that distracted his kingdom. There were now two kings in France—an infant in Paris, with a regent who governed north of the Loire; and the dauphin, alike the object of party hatred and party adulation, who was crowned at Poitiers as Charles VII., and who ruled or influenced most of the provinces south of the Loire. Brittany at first remained neutral in this great quarrel. Burgundy was with the English. When, therefore, some are accustomed to say that Henry V. conquered France, they speak with a very loose estimate of the noble territory that remained unconquered. In thirty years from the death of Henry V. all that had been surrendered to his arms or his policy was utterly lost.

To follow through the various fortunes of this war in France would, with some striking exceptions, be only to repeat the monotonous details of sieges and battle-fields—wearisome even when told with a due comprehension of their peculiar aspects. The more important of the early contests between the regent Bedford and Charles VII. were the battle of Crevant, in 1423, where the earl of Salisbury signally defeated the earl of Buchan, commanding an allied army of French and Scots, and the battle of Verneuil, where Bedford utterly routed the French army in an engagement which was recorded in the rolls of parliament as "the greatest deed done by Englishmen in our days, save the battle of Agincourt." The duke of Bedford had military talents, and his policy sought to strengthen his faction by powerful alliances. He married the sister of the duke of Burgundy, and he negotiated a marriage between another sister of that duke and the duke of Brittany. But these friendships were soon endangered by the rash passions of the duke of Gloucester, the protector and defender of England. The alliance with Burgundy had given stability to the power of Henry V. The personal ambition of his brother Gloucester weakened this support of the English rule. Jacqueline of Hainault was the sovereign lady of Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and Hainault. She was first married to the eldest son of Charles VI. of France, who died while dauphin, and she was then wedded to the duke of Brabant, kinsman to the duke of Burgundy. Eloping from her husband she went to England, and, obtaining a divorce from the anti-pope, married the duke of Gloucester, who claimed her large territorial possessions, and landed five thousand men at Calais to support his claim. Hainault became the seat of a new war. The dukes of Burgundy and Bedford endeavored to reconcile the disputants; but Gloucester was obstinate, and bitterly quarrelled with Burgundy. It was agreed that a single combat should decide this new hostility; but Bedford at Paris and the parliament in England saw to what national evils this rupture might lead. Gloucester, in spite of their joint remonstrances, led an army into Holland, and the English in France began to take the side of their rash countryman. The question was finally settled by the pope declaring the marriage of Gloucester void, and he eventually consoled himself by marrying Eleanor Cobham, a lady of humble rank and spotted reputation. From that time the duke of Burgundy cooled toward the English alliance. Gloucester, when he returned to England, engaged in a fierce quarrel with his uncle, Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, and chancellor, who was one of the illegitimate brothers of Henry IV. The people of London, in 1422, had seen their king, then two years old, "borne toward his mother's chare,* and he shrieked, and cried, and sprang, and would not be carried."† In 1424 they had seen him placed before the high altar of St. Paul's, and then seated upon a horse, and paraded through the city. In 1425, with a view probably to diminish the influence of the protector, by exhibiting the child Henry as a shadow of royalty, he was brought into the House of Lords, and seated on the throne on his mother's knee. "It was a strange sight," says Speed, the chronicler, "and the first time it was ever seen in England, an infant sitting in his mother's lap, and before it could tell what English meant, to exercise the place of sovereign direction in open parliament." The people knew that the power was necessarily in other hands than those of this poor child and his mother, and they saw the natural guardians of the baby-king quarrelling for supremacy. On an October night of 1426, Gloucester sent for the mayor of London, and directed him to have the city strictly watched. The next morning Beaufort came from his palace in Southwark, with archers and men-at-arms, and assaulted by shot and missiles the gate of London Bridge, which was closed against him. The citizens were supporters of Gloucester, and "all the city of London was moved against the bishop, and would have destroyed him in his inn at Southwark, but the gates of London Bridge were so surely kept that no man might pass out, and the Thames was also kept that no man might pass over."‡ In the dread of civil war, the duke of Bedford came over to England, and a parliament was held at Leicester, where the members were ordered to appear without arms. Gloucester exhibited articles of accusation against the bishop, the principal of which were that he wanted to seize the young king's person, and that he sought to kill the protector and to excite a rebellion. A reconciliation was enforced by appointed arbitrators, who decided that Gloucester should be "good lord to the bishop, and have him in affection and love," and that the bishop should bear to the protector "true and sad love and affection, and be ready to do him such service as pertaineth of honesty to my lord of Winchester, and to his estate to do." The bishop was humiliated. He resigned the chancellorship, and went abroad. But the pope bestowed upon him the red hat; and Cardinal Beaufort henceforth figures in English history—believed by some to have been a conscientious upholder of the Church, and an encourager of learning, and by others held as an unscrupulous and grasping politician, who "dies and makes no sign" of repentance for his avarice and cruelty.

In accordance with the will of his dying father, the boy Henry, when six years old, was placed under the tutelage of the earl of Warwick. This companion-in-arms of Henry V. was fitted to train his

* See Hallam, "Middle Ages," chap. viii. part iii.

* A horse litter on wheels. † Chronicle of London.
‡ "An English Chronicle." Camden Society, p. 53.

son in all knightly qualities, and thus to form a character the very opposite to that of Henry VI. Warwick had fought under Henry IV. at Shrewsbury. He had been on pilgrimage to the Holy Land. He had travelled in Prussia, Poland, and Russia. He had challenged any three knights of France to joust with him at Guisnes, and on three successive days he was the victor in each encounter.* His appointment as tutor to the king was made under the authority of the council; and he was to instruct his pupil in all things worthy to be known, nurturing him in the love and fear of his Creator, and in hatred of all vice. Warwick held this office till the king was sixteen. The system of education pursued by this chivalrous warrior might not have been the best fitted for a sensitive boy; for the tutor applied to the council for powers, which were granted, to hold the pupil under the strictest discipline, even after he had been crowned king in 1429. He was not to be spoken to, unless in the presence of Warwick and of the four knights appointed to be about his person, "as the king, by the speech of others private, has been stirred by some from his learning, and spoken to of divers matters not behoveful." The council promised that they would firmly assist the earl in chastising the king for his defaults, and, "that for awe thereof he forbear the more to do amiss, and intend the more busily to virtue and to learning," they should come to the king and declare their assent to his chastisement. According to this curious entry in the Rolls of Parliament,† Warwick applied for these articles as his protection against the young Henry's displeasure and indignation, "as the king is grown in years, in stature of his person, and in conceit and knowledge of his high authority." Severe corporal punishment was the accustomed instrument of good education in the fifteenth century. The scourge was recommended even by gentle mothers to be administered to their sons. One writes to beg that her son's tutor may be implored "that he will truly belash him till he will amend;" adding, "I had rather he were fairly buried than lost for default."‡ No doubt it was in this spirit of love that Warwick chastised the young king. At this age Henry appears not to have wanted the just sense of his own position which failed him in after life. It is difficult now distinctly to understand what were the deficiencies of his intellect. He probably inherited some portion of the malady of his maternal grandfather; but infirmity of purpose and fear of responsibility seem to have marked his character rather than that unsoundness of mind which exhibits itself in habitual delusions and fitful aberrations. His life was one long state of pupilage. All the wonderful energy of his race appears in him to have been extinguished in a calm indifference to good or evil fortune, and in patient submission to stronger wills than his own—to his uncles, to his preceptor, to his wife, to his wife's favorites. How much of the fire of the Plantagenets might have been trodden out of Henry VI. by the severities of his early discipline cannot now be estimated. He was born to a most unhappy position; and it is satisfactory to believe that his hard lot was solaced by that religious trust which lightens the burdens of the wretched, whether on a throne or in a dungeon. The earl of Warwick, who, like many other leaders of chivalry, was an enthusiastic believer in the efficacy of vows and pilgrimages, may have inspired his pupil with that strong feeling of ceremonial devotion which caused him long to be regarded as a saint. To a right direction of that piety we owe the noble foundations of Eton and King's College, Cambridge—worthy monuments which still call upon us to respect the memory of the most meek and most unfortunate of kings.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Defeat of the English before Montargis—Position of Charles VII.—Commencement of the siege of Orleans—Salisbury killed—Battle of Herrings—Despair of the besieged—Proclamation—The peasant girl of Domremy—Joan of Arc travels to the court of Charles VII.—Receives authority to relieve Orleans—Enters the besieged city—English belief in witchcraft—Terrors and defeats of the English—The siege raised—Defeats of Jargeau and Patay—Charles crowned at Rheims—Joan captured at Compiègne—Tried as a sorceress and burnt at Rouen—French war continued—Henry VI. crowned in Paris—The English disgraces and losses—Henry married to Margaret of Anjou—Affairs in England—The duchess of Gloucester accused of witchcraft—Arrest of the duke of Gloucester—Deaths of Gloucester and Beaufort.

The war in France had been conducted without any decided success on either side, after the victory at Verneuil in 1424, till 1427, when the forces of the duke of Bedford sustained a severe defeat, and were compelled to raise the siege of Montargis. But the cause of Charles VII. was little advanced by this partial good fortune. His adherents were quarrelling among themselves. Many of the nobles who had supported him now deserted a prince whose treasurer declared he had only four crowns in his coffer. Nearly all the fortresses on the right bank of the Loire had been surrendered without defence. The people were enduring famine and disease. Charles, whose character was a little improved by adversity, did not lose hope amid the evils which surrounded him. He was of an easy nature, and in proportion as his great lords were faithless he addressed himself to the affection of the common people. Gradually a personal as well as a national feeling revived the patriotism which had been almost extinguished. Charles placed his chief reliance upon the possession of Orleans. If that city fell, the provinces beyond the Loire would be open to the English, and he would have to find a shelter in the mountains of Auvergne or the more remote Dauphiné. The English, it was known, were approaching to besiege Orleans. The inhabitants prepared for its defence with unwonted zeal. They received aids of money from other cities, and a tax was voted for the same aid by the three estates assembled at Chinon. The citizens adopted the most effectual means to resist the besiegers. They destroyed their suburbs, with their vines and gardens and houses, that their enemy might have no lodgment, and they erected strong forts, particularly that of the Tournelles, which, defending the bridge, secured the communication of the city with the left bank of the Loire. On the 12th of September, 1428, the earl of Salisbury pitched his camp to the south of Orleans, and within a week commenced an attack upon the bulwark of the Tournelles. The assault was resisted with more than usual popular enthusiasm. The experienced warriors discharged their arrows and missiles, and the citizens, male and female, showered down stones upon the assailants. But the fort of the Tournelles was finally taken. The inhabitants then raised another bulwark on an isle of the river, and cannonaded the English camp. Dunois and La Hire, the bravest of the French chivalry, arrived with reinforcements. The English lost their best commander, Salisbury. He had mounted the ruined tower of the Tournelles to survey the city, when a stone ball struck him and carried away his eye and a part of his face. He survived eight days. The duke of Suffolk now succeeded to the command, and the siege was pursued with a perseverance as remarkable as the defence. The great extent of Orleans prevented its complete blockade, and supplies were, from time to time, thrown in for the relief of the besieged. Reinforcements, too, continued to arrive. To meet the necessities of the besieging army, the duke of Bedford had dispatched an immense convoy with provisions from Paris. It was determined to cut off this supply. The convoy, under the command of Sir John Fastolf, was attacked by a detachment from the garrison of Orleans, and by a body of French and Scots commanded by the count of Clermont. The attack was ill-devised, and was commenced without a proper concert among the French leaders. Their force of eight thousand men was defeated by fifteen hundred English. This was called the Battle of Herrings, vast quantities of this lenten food forming part of the supplies. It was fought on the 12th of February, 1429. The line of English forts round the city was gradually extending. Towers and bulwarks were erected on each bank of the Loire by the besiegers. The lines, vigilantly kept, now more effectually prevented the arrival of food or men. Famine was beginning to threaten more misery than the sword. The resolution which still remained to the unhappy people was that of despair. The fame of their gallant resistance had gone through France; and it was felt, even in districts far removed from the scene of warfare, that the time was approaching when it should be decided whether France should be governed by the English Plantagenets or by its own race of Valois.

* In the Cottonian Library there is a MS. written by Rous, a priest who lived at Guy's Cliff, being a life of this earl of Warwick, illustrated with curious drawings.

† Quoted in Mr. Sharon Turner's "History of England during the Middle Ages," 2d edit. vol. ii. p. 492.

‡ "Paston Letters," letter cvii. Ramsay's edit.

The feudal lord of Orleans was in captivity in England, and it was proposed by the people, seeing resistance was unavailing, that their city should be placed in the keeping of the duke of Burgundy till the great contest for the crown of France was decided. Philip of Burgundy was pleased at the proposal, which was communicated to him by ambassadors from Orleans. The duke of Bedford gave no encouragement to the plan when it was debated between these allied chiefs at Paris. An adviser of Bedford says, "We are not here to champ the morsels for Burgundy to swallow." Bedford rejoins, "No, no, we will not beat the bushes for another to take the birds." Bedford and Burgundy quarrelled about the expected prey, and Burgundy withdrew his troops, and left the English to continue the siege alone. The fall of the city was rapidly approaching; when some wonder, not unmixed with contempt, was felt by the leaders of the besieging army, upon receiving a letter dictated in far different terms than those which usually proclaimed the challenges of chivalry: "King of England, and you, duke of Bedford, who call yourself regent of the kingdom of France; you, William de la Pole, count of Suffolk; you, John lord Talbot, and you, Thomas lord Scales, who call yourselves lieutenants of the said duke of Bedford, do ye right to the King of Heaven; render to the Pucelle, who is sent hither by God, the King of Heaven, the keys of the good cities you have taken and plundered in France. And you archers, companions in war, gentlemen and others, who are before the city of Orleans, go your ways into your own country, in the name of God. I am sent by the King of Heaven to drive you out of all France." The English captains would have heard the common rumor that from the borders of Champagne a young woman had travelled to the court of Charles, at Chinon, asserting a divine mission, and that her pretensions had been examined before a solemn council of jurists and theologians at Poitiers. The dauphin must indeed be fallen low to depend upon such aid.

In the hamlet of Domremy, near Vaucouleurs, a pastoral country watered by the Meuse, dwelt a little cultivator named Jacques d'Arc, with his wife Isabel. They had a daughter, Joan, who was remarkable for her early piety. Her talents were considerable; but she had received no education, and made the mark of a cross at the beginning of the letters which were written at her dictation. She said of herself, "I feared no woman of Rouen in sewing and spinning." When thirteen years of age she refused to join in the sports of the young people of her hamlet, and secluded herself in the woods and fields, or was found kneeling before the cross in her parish church. This was after the period when the death of Charles VI. had divided France into two great factions; and the vicinity of Domremy to Burgundy had made the feuds of the Burgundians and the Armagnacs familiar to the peasantry. Joan saw the men of her own village violently disputing as to the merits of these parties, but mostly agreed in hatred of the English. She had herself looked upon the extreme misery of the people, and she attributed it, not without justice, to the invasion which had given the crown to an English king at Paris, while the true heir was in danger and difficulty. Her enthusiastic nature was stimulated by these united impulses of religion and patriotism, and in her solitary meditations she began to see visions and to hear voices. The first voice which she heard only exhorted her to be pious and discreet; but then came a figure with wings, and commanded her to go to the succor of the king, for that she should recover his kingdom. From time to time she told what she had seen and heard. "My voices have instructed me"—"My voices have commanded me," were her expressions. She seems to have distinctly separated her own supposed revelations from the local superstitions; for there was near her village a wonderful tree, called the Ladies' tree, growing beside a spring with healing properties, and old people said that fairies frequented the place; but she declared that she never saw fairies, and she never went to the tree to make garlands, as others did, from the time she knew she ought to go to the king. Among the ridiculous accusations which were afterward heaped up against her, she was charged with having attended the witches' sabbath on every Thursday night, at the Fairies' oak of Bourlemont. There was an ancient prophecy, known to the country people, that France should be lost by a woman and saved by a woman. The queen Isabella, who had brought in the English, was the one. The people now added to the prophecy that a virgin from the marches of Lorraine should be the other. Before 1429 Joan was entirely persuaded that she had a power given her to restore the kingdom to Charles VII.

The voices which Joan heard disclosed to her the practical mode of carrying out her strong idea. They told her, what would have been her natural conviction, that she must put herself in communication with some great person. She sought the feudal lord of Baudricourt at Vaucouleurs. He sent her away as one distraught. She told her story to two gentlemen who dwelt near her. "There is no help for Farnce but in me," she said. "I would rather spin by the side of my poor mother, but I must go. My Lord calls me." Her pretensions were spread abroad. The duke of Lorraine sent for her, to cure him of a malady. She said that she had no heavenly light to remove his disease, and she counselled him to lead a better life than he had been wont to lead. The duke gave her four francs, and bade her depart. At last the lord of Baudricourt listened to her when she again came before him in her shabby red gown. The people of Vaucouleurs provided her the equipment of a horse and a man's dress, and she went forth on a perilous journey, having received the oaths of John de Novelompont and Bertrand de Poulengi, who had first seriously listened to her pretensions, that they would conduct her safely to the king. They travelled through a wild country in the winter season, taking the most unfrequented routes, and using every care to avoid the Burgundians and the English. She forwarded a letter, which she dictated, to Charles, and at length received permission to proceed to Chinon. Here she arrived after eleven days' travel. Her fame had gone before her. At last she overcame the difficulties of approaching the king. From that moment when she publicly announced her mission at the court of Charles many things which she most probably did through her own shrewd sense were accounted miraculous. Thus she is recorded to have selected the prince out of a crowd of attendants, and to have indicated to him an acquaintance with facts only known to himself. It is difficult not to believe that at this stage she had become an instrument in the hands of some persons about the king. Every ostensible precaution, however, appears to have been taken to prevent his cause being committed to an impostor. Her honest life was fully proved, and in the conviction of her sanctity, learned doctors, prudent counsellors, and bold warriors agreed that the Maid should be confided in. A suit of armor was prepared for her, and she indicated where a sword could be found, behind the altar of a church, at Fierbois. At the head of a large force, she set out for Orleans, having authority for its command over the best knights of France. At Blois she put on her armor. Marching on the right bank of the Loire, she desired to enter Orleans through the English lines on that side. She was overruled by Dunois, of which she bitterly complained. It was at length decided that boats loaded with supplies should proceed up the river. The day was stormy, and the vessels could make no way. "The wind will change," said the confident girl. It did change, and the supplies and the troops were landed safely about six miles below the city. Meanwhile the garrison of Orleans made a sortie on the north, which diverted the attention of the besiegers. An hour after sunset, Jeanne d'Arc rode into Orleans at the eastern gate, mounted on a white horse, her standard, on which was a figure of the Redeemer, being borne before her. The people by torchlight crowded around her, and she exhorted them to honor God, and to hope in her for their deliverance.

It was the 29th of April when this extraordinary aid, which was firmly believed to be supernatural, arrived to the beleaguered city. In the camp of the English the men would whisper their fears of impending misfortune; for it could not be concealed that a woman, said to be gifted with the spirit of prophecy, was coming to Orleans at the head of a great reinforcement. The shouts that came forth from the populous city on that April night would tell that she was come. The next day a herald from the Pucelle presented himself at the English camp. The respect paid to the messenger of princes was denied to the messenger of a reputed sorceress, and he was threatened to be burned as a heretic. Another herald came to defy Talbot, and to declare, from the commander of the French, that if the messenger of the Pucelle received any harm it should be visited upon the English prisoners. These proceedings began to spread alarm among the brave yeomen of England, who had fronted so many dangers in the field, but who had a terror of witches and magicians, which was a characteristic of this period. The Church had associated witchcraft

and heresy in their proceedings against the early reformers, and, among the charges against the Waldenses, they were accused of holding converse with the enemy of mankind in the form of a cat, and of riding through the air on magical sticks. When Henry IV. thought it politic to repress the Lollards, he became also very solicitous for the discovery and punishment of witches and sorcerers. The superstition had become familiar to the English, through the denunciations of the ecclesiastical authorities against "heresy, conjurations, necromancy, enchantments, witchcrafts, and other false belief against the faith of holy Church."* The soldiers of Suffolk and Talbot looked on in terror and amazement, when, on a tower facing the Tournelles, a form appeared in shining armor, and bade them depart if they would avoid misery and shame. William Glasdale, the commander of the Tournelles, reviled the maiden, and told her to go back to her cows. "Your men will be driven to retreat," she exclaimed, "but you will not live to fly with them." The French waited for succors from other garrisons before they attempted any great operations against the besiegers. Joan was invariably for instant attack, without heeding disparity of numbers or disadvantages of position. Some of the knights were indignant at her assumed authority; but by her resistless force of will she conquered all opposition. The succors at length were at hand. There was no attempt to bring them into the city under cover of darkness, or while the English were engaged in another quarter. At the head of the French knights and soldiers, followed by the people of the town, Joan rode forth with her banner, between the towers of the besiegers. They looked on with wonder; but there was no resistance. When she returned at night, she threw herself exhausted on a bed. Awakened by a noise, she cried out, "My arms! my horse!" She rushed into the street, mounted with her banner, and rode alone to the spot where she heard the clamor. A rash sortie had been made, and the assailants were driven back. When they saw the white horse and the banner of the Maid, they shouted for joy, and followed her out of the gate into the besiegers' lines. After an engagement of three hours, the English fort was taken and set on fire. It was Joan's first battle. She had fought with the courage and address of the most accomplished knight.

The terror of the English after this sortie from the Burgundy gate became more universal. The next day the Pucelle and the chiefs crossed the Loire in a boat, and led an attack upon a fortification, on the left bank. She was slightly wounded, and passed the night in the field. The great force of the besiegers was on the right bank of the river; and the lord of Gaucourt, the governor of Orleans, was opposed to this leading forth of the garrison, to leave the city defenceless, while the English were attacked on the left bank. But the daring and confident girl had completely won the real leadership of the soldiers and the citizens. She had returned to Orleans, and had told the chiefs that she had much to do on the morrow. Without any concert with the French leaders she rose early in the morning, and went forth with a tumultuous crowd to the Burgundy gate. It was shut against her egress. The governor was compelled to open it, and she rode out, followed by soldiers and a great multitude. Their counsel being thus rejected, the French knights, with their men-at-arms, reluctantly followed. But their prudence was soon laid aside in the din of battle. The river had been crossed by Joan, and she had commenced an assault on the Tournelles, the great fort held to be impregnable. The artillery from its walls thinned the ranks of the assailants; but the wonderful Maid was always ready with her rallying cry. She was the first to mount the rampart by a ladder. An arrow struck her, and she fell into the ditch. She was carried off, and after a few natural tears drew the shaft out of her shoulder, and knelt in prayer. The attack had lasted four hours, and nothing had been gained. The retreat was sounded. Joan implored Dunois not to move. "Let our people rest, and eat and drink." Her standard-bearer had remained near the spot whence the Maid was borne away. The lord of Daubon, who was against a retreat, took the standard, and with another descended into the ditch, and waving the well-known sign of victory the French rallied round him. Seeing what was taking place, Joan went forward to claim her standard. The English, who had seen her borne off wounded, felt a new alarm. The French advanced again to the attack of the fort under their marvellous leader. From the other bank the people of Orleans were storming the Tournelles, having crossed the broken arches of the bridge by beams placed on the buttresses. The English were now between two assaults. The soldiers were filled with a superstitious awe. The maiden was on the battlement of the second tower of the works, the first having been taken. The soldiers, with Glasdale their commander, thus surrounded, were retreating into the main defence upon a wooden bridge, when a cannon-ball struck it, and the commander and his men fell into the stream, and were drowned. The prophetic words of the Maid, when Glasdale reviled her, were accomplished. There was now no chance of resistance to the impassioned assaults of the French. The English threw down their arms, and were slaughtered, drowned, or taken prisoners, to the number of seven thousand. No aid came from the panic-stricken camp, and the Maiden passed over the repaired bridge into the city amid the shouts of the multitude, while every steeple sent forth its peals of gratulating bells, and at every church Te Deum was sung on that night of victory. The next morning, at break of day, the English marched out from their forts, and formed in order of battle to the north and west of the city. They stood in an attitude of defiance before the walls. Joan had hastily risen, and was soon at the northern gate. "Attack them not," she said. "If they attack you, defend yourselves." It was Sunday, the 8th of May. An altar was brought to the gate, and the priests chanted a solemn service. The English standards were displayed, the trumpets sounded, but they turned their faces from Orleans. The siege was at an end.

It is not necessary to assign any miraculous powers to Jeanne d'Arc in accounting for her wonderful success. She honestly believed herself inspired by Heaven, and she infused into others that belief. An enthusiast herself, she filled a dispirited soldiery and a despairing people with enthusiasm. The great secret of her success was the boldness of her attacks when military science reposed upon its cautious strategy. In the eyes of the experienced tacticians she risked the safety of the city when she led her excited multitudes to the assault of the Tournelles. In her own self-reliance she would hear of no other counsels but the most daring, and to that contempt of danger she owed her triumphs. In every desperate struggle between individuals and nations boldness is generally the most certain winner. Boldness was the principle which the peasant girl of Domremy maintained to the end of her wonderful career. In eleven days she had stricken terror into an army which had been the terror of France for eleven years. The government of Charles VII. would have rested inactive under the triumph of Orleans. She unceasingly urged the dauphin's progress to Rheims, for she held him not as a king till he was crowned in that city, where all the kings of France for three centuries had been consecrated. The way thither was filled with their enemies. They held the keys of the cities between the Loire and the Seine. But the bold counsels at last prevailed, and Joan's standard was again floating at the head of a French army. On the 11th of June, the duke of Alençon and the chiefs who had defended Orleans arrived before Jargeau, which Suffolk occupied. The English earl had come out with his garrison to offer battle. The French had arrived in haste, and they were driven back. But at the command of the Pucelle they returned to the attack, and Suffolk retired within his walls. The bombardment of the town continued for three days, when a breach having been made, Joan led the assault. Jargeau fell, and Suffolk was a prisoner. On the 18th June was fought the battle of Patay. The English fled from the terrible banner that had been first seen at Orleans, and the lords Talbot and Scales were made prisoners. The hasty retreat of Fastolf brought upon him the undeserved imputation of cowardice, and when he came to the duke of Bedford, at Corbeil, he was deprived of the ribbon of the garter. The triumph of the victory of the Herrings did not save the good knight from the disgrace of the flight of Patay. But Bedford himself, though a man of great ability, believed, or affected to believe, in a miraculous cause for these reverses of the English. A letter was sent by him, at this period, to the Council at London, in which, according to rule, he addresses the young king: "All things here prospered for you till the time of the siege of Orleans, undertaken of whose advice God only knows. Since the death of my cousin of Salisbury, whom God absolve, who fell by the hand of God, as it seemeth, your people, who were assembled in great number at this siege, have received a terrible check. This has been caused in part,

* See Introduction to "Proceedings against Dame Alice Kyteler." Camden Society.

as we trow, by the confidence our enemies have in a disciple and limb of the Devil, called Pucelle, that used false enchantments and sorcery. The which stroke and discomfiture has not only lessened the number of your people here, but also sunk the courage of the remainder in a wonderful manner, and encouraged your enemies to assemble themselves forthwith in great numbers."

It was a false policy of the English chiefs to decry Jeanne d'Arc as a sorceress. It was the ready mode to spread the greatest terror of her exploits among their own adherents. The French, with equal confidence, proclaimed her as the favored of Heaven, who exhibited as much courage as piety. At this juncture the duke of Bedford secured the doubtful co-operation of the duke of Burgundy, and the cardinal Beaufort, who had raised an army in England for a crusade against the heretics of Bohemia, turned over his troops to the regent of France, to war against the Armagnacs, and to make new efforts against the enchantments which had given them power to resist the long triumphant bravery of the English. They took the field with new hopes. Onward went the Maid, upon her resolved design that Charles VII. should be crowned at Rheims. On the 28th of June, twelve thousand Frenchmen marched out of Gien, to traverse a country whose towns and fortresses were held by English and Burgundians. They reached Troyes, and encamped before the town. Six days of inactivity were passed, and the French army wanted food; they were without artillery, and it was proposed to retreat to the Loire. Joan was sent for by the king and his council. "Shall I be believed?" she asked. "Whatever you say," replied the king, "we will attend to." "Then, noble dauphin, assault the town, and you shall enter there to-morrow." On the morrow, the famous standard was displayed, and the terrified garrison of Troyes surrendered the place. They went on, and took Chalons without resistance. As they approached Rheims, the peasants of her native district came out to look upon the wonderful girl, whom they knew as the shepherdess by wise men accounted mad. After some debate within the town, and great apprehensions of failure in the French camp, Joan urged the king on, and the gates of Rheims were opened. On the 17th July, Charles was crowned in its ancient church. There were few nobles present. The Maiden stood with her standard before the altar. The expense of the coronation amounted only to twenty-four Parisian livres. Never was king so inaugurated. All the accustomed pomp was absent, but when the enthusiastic girl kissed the feet of her monarch, her tears were a holier consecration than the mystic oil with which, as the legends told, Clovis had been there baptized. Charles then went on toward Paris, receiving the submission of many towns on his march. Joan thought her mission accomplished, and earnestly desired to return to her father and mother, to keep their herds and flocks. Her counsels now became vacillating. Sometimes Charles retreated and sometimes marched forward. Bedford had sent him a challenge to meet in the open field, couched in the most opprobrious terms, and he was moving rapidly to bring the French to an engagement. The two armies suddenly met at Senlis, and for three days a battle was vainly expected. Each army then took its own way—Bedford for Normandy, which had been entered by a hostile force under the constable Richemont. Charles marched on to Paris. On the 12th of September an assault was made at the Faubourg St. Honoré. The intrepid Joan, though she had lost confidence in her miraculous voices, displayed her wonted courage. She scaled the walls, but was wounded, and fell into the fosse. Crawling out from the heaps of dead and dying, she again waved her standard. The old confidence in her powers had deserted the French, and when the attack was repulsed they reproached her that she had said they should sleep that night in Paris. "You would have slept there," she replied, "if you had fought as I fought." Charles retreated to the Loire. The succeeding winter was passed by the king at Bourges. In the spring the army moved to the relief of Compiègne, which was besieged by the duke of Burgundy. Joan got into the town, and the same day headed a sortie. She was taken prisoner, and was carried to the Burgundian quarters. Her wars were over.

For four months Joan was confined in the castle of Beaurevoir, near Cambray. She was a prisoner of war to the Burgundians. She was afterward conveyed to Arras and to Crotoy, and was finally delivered to the English in their city of Rouen. The University of Paris urged her trial before an ecclesiastical tribunal, and there are letters from that body, full of reproach to the English for not delivering up their prisoner to the justice of the Church. At length letters-patent were issued in the name of Henry VI., in which it was stated that, in accordance with the public opinion, and at the especial request of the bishop of Beauvais and the University of Paris, she was to be given up to the bishop, to be examined and proceeded against under his authority. She was subjected for several months to the most searching interrogatories. At fifteen examinations she was never disconcerted, but answered every question with perfect frankness. All the circumstances of her early life were related by her, and her belief in her voices and visions emphatically declared. Her determination to wear the male dress of her triumphs was persisted in. Upon her alleged revelations were founded articles accusing her of sorcery, and upon her declining to submit to the ordinances of the Church, when her voices commanded the contrary, the charge of being a schismatic was also introduced. Heresy and schism, meriting the punishment of fire, were declared to be found against her. The University of Paris ratified the articles of accusation. On a public scaffold at Rouen the sentence of condemnation was read to her by the bishop of Beauvais. Her courage deserted her, and she expressed her contrition and submission. Her sentence of burning at the stake was then to be commuted to perpetual imprisonment. She was taken back to prison, but after two days her confidence returned, and she reaffirmed her belief that her voices came from God, and that, not understanding what the adjuration was that she had been called upon to sign, she had signed in the fear of being burned. She was now a relapsed heretic, in the terms of the cruel zeal of the persecuting ecclesiastics, and her fate was no longer a matter of doubt. In the old market-place of Rouen a pile of wood was built up, and round it a scaffold was erected, where prelates and nobles might sit to behold the death of the heroic girl. There sat cardinal Beaufort and the bishop of Beauvais, and as Joan stood before them a sermon was preached, setting forth her atrocities; and the preacher concluded with, "Joan, go in peace; the Church can no longer protect thee, and delivers thee into secular hands." She was immediately dragged to the pile; the fatal cap of the Inquisition, with the words "hérétique, relapse, apostate, idolâtre," was placed on her head; the fire was kindled. Her last word was "Jesus." On the spot where this deed of infamy was perpetrated stands one of the monuments by which the French of later times have sought to redeem their share of the disgrace of this murder of the 30th of May, 1431. French historians attempt to fix the greater blame upon the English. It is clear that, although the vengeance of those who had been driven from Orleans and vanquished at Patay was the main cause of this tragedy, it would not have been accomplished except through that terrible power which, under the name of religion, had no quality of mercy when a heretic was to be hunted to the death. The bishop of Beauvais and the cardinal of Winchester knew no distinction of nation when they sat on the scaffold at Rouen to do the work of the Holy Inquisition.

The coronation of Charles VII. at Rheims was to be rivalled by the more gorgeous ceremony of crowning Henry VI. at Paris. On St. George's day of 1430, the boy who had been crowned at Westminster came, with Beaufort, to Calais. They remained there a month. No army could be raised in England, through the "terrifyings" of the Pucelle. At length she was captured; but, even six months after, the soldiers of England deserted, rather than go to a land where their bows and bills were powerless against enchantments. But on the 17th of December, Henry made his public entry into Paris, and was crowned at Notre Dame. He returned to England in February, 1431, and rode into London, amid as profuse and labored pageantry as had welcomed his father from Agincourt. He came under very different auspices. Dressed up with the mantle of royalty and the crown on his head, the boy of ten years old was to perform the character of king, that the exhibition might strengthen one of the parties in the state that was aiming at supremacy. While these follies were enacted in England, Harfleur was recaptured by the French. The first trophy of Henry V. was for a while lost. The alliance of the duke of Burgundy was fast slipping away. Every year added to the strength of the national party in France. At every conference for peace the demands of Charles VII. became enlarged. At the congress of Arras in 1435 the French would only agree to cede Normandy and Guienne, to be held as fiefs, all other posses-

sions and all claim to the crown being surrendered. The conditions were refused, and the duke of Burgundy abandoned the English alliance. He made a separate treaty with Charles VII., swearing that he would forget his father's death, and be at perpetual peace with France. Monstrelet says that the young King Henry wept at the news of this peace of 1435. The people of England manifested their indignation by seeking out the subjects of the duke of Burgundy, Flemings and others, to maltreat and murder them. The duke of Bedford, who had steadily upheld the will of his heroic brother, died at this critical period. There was no union in the English councils. The duke of Gloucester would have called up the old heart of England to redeem the losses and disgraces of the six years that were past. The cardinal of Winchester, perhaps more wisely, advocated peace. In the quarrels between these rival leaders in the council all opportunity for a successful struggle passed away. Paris was retaken by Charles in 1436, and the English were expelled. "When they should pass upon their journey," says Fabyan, "they were derided and scorned of the French nation out of all measure." Successes in Normandy, under the duke of York and Talbot, only prolonged the final issue; and when the duke of Burgundy's possessions were devastated by Talbot in 1437; when Picardy was ravaged in 1440, and Harfleur was once again captured by the English; when York was superseded as regent by Warwick, and Warwick again replaced by York, each making new attempts to recover the lost ascendency—it was still manifest to the French that the time was approaching when the spirit of nationality would successfully maintain itself against the pretensions of alien rulers. After twenty-five years' captivity, the duke of Orleans was released from his prison in the Tower of London. There is a private contemporary record which shows the interest that the English took in the passing events connected with France: "Tidings; the duke of Orleans hath made his oath upon the sacrament, and used it, never for to bear arms against England, in the presence of the king and all the lords except my lord of Gloucester; and in proof that my said lord of Gloucester agreed never to his deliverance, when the mass began he took his barge. God give grace the said lord of Orleans be true, for this same week shall he towards France."* The war is continued a few years longer, and then a truce. England is anxious about the terms of pacification. Agnes Paston writes to her son on the 14th of February, 1445: "I pray you to send me tidings from beyond sea; for here they are afraid to tell such as be reported." The people were reluctant to believe, and thought it dangerous to say, that their weak young king was to marry a daughter of the duke of Anjou, with the approbation of the French king, whose consent would be bought by the surrender of all that remained of the lands which English treasure and blood had won in that war of twenty years. Their fears were accomplished. Henry was married to Margaret of Anjou in 1445, and one of the conditions of the marriage and the consequent truce was the surrender of Anjou and Maine. Normandy was soon conquered, when Maine, the key to its possession, was gone. Gascony yielded to the French in 1451, and after the last of the great English captains, the dreaded Talbot, fell at Castillon in 1458, Bordeaux was taken. The dream of conquest, which had lasted for more than a century, was, by God's blessing, at an end.

In the statute of the twentieth year of Henry VI., c. 9, is recited that clause of Magna Charta which provides that no freeman shall be condemned "but by lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land;" and the preamble then goes on to say that in that statute no mention is made how women, ladies of great estate, married or sole, that is to say, duchesses, countesses, or baronesses, shall be put to answer upon indictments of treasons or felonies. It is therefore provided that such ladies, so indicted, shall be tried as peers of the realm are tried. The triumph of the party of cardinal Beaufort over that of the duke of Gloucester had been manifested in the release of the duke of Orleans; and now a stronger measure of humiliation was preparing for the last of the king's uncles—the favorite of the people, learned, and an encourager of learning. His wife, Eleanor, was accused of sorcery. The statute which we have mentioned was, in all probability, devised to bring her to the block, and thus to destroy Gloucester through his affections. In the common purpose of the encomiasts of the Church in its most corrupted state, it is sought to free Beaufort from the imputation of being the moving cause of these hateful proceedings. "Some writers," says Dr. Lingard, "have attributed the prosecution of dame Eleanor to Beaufort's enmity to her husband. But their assertion stands on the slightest foundation, a mere conjecture of Fox that it might be so, because the witch [of Eye] lived, according to Fabyan, in the neighborhood of Winchester, of which Beaufort was bishop." The most circumstantial account of this passage of history is given in a very interesting chronicle written before 1471,* and there we shall find much firmer foundation for this belief than the "mere conjecture of Fox." This narrative is so curious as a picture of manners, that, in abridging it, we shall retain as much as possible of the original phraseology.

In 1440, on the Tuesday before Midsummer, a priest called Sir Richard Wyche, a vicar of Essex, was burned on Tower Hill for heresy. The numbers of those who perished at the stake in England while Beaufort was supreme must have gone far to mitigate the papal indignation for his stopping short in his crusade against the reformers of Bohemia, putting the money raised in his capacious coffer. In his cognizance of the proceedings against Joan of Arc, he had learned how charges of sorcery and heresy could be blended, and how the popular sympathy for the poor believer might be turned into indignation against the wicked enchanter. When the Essex vicar was burned there was murmur and trouble among the people, for some said he was a good man and a holy, and put to death by malice; and they went in great numbers to the place where he was burned, and kissed the ground. In the same year, 1440, in July, two clergymen, Roger Bolingbroke and Thomas Southwell, a canon of St. Stephen's chapel, "were taken as conspirators of the king's death; for it was said that the said Master Roger should labor to consume the king's person by way of necromancy, and that the said Master Thomas should say masses upon certain instruments with the which the said Master Roger should use his said craft of necromancy." Bolingbroke was a man of science, distinguished in his pursuit of astronomical studies—described by William Worcester as one of the most famous clerks of all the world. On Sunday, the 25th of July, this accomplished scholar was brought to hear the sermon at Paul's Cross, "and stood in a high stage above all men's heads in Paul's churchyard, before the Cross, whiles the sermon endured, holding a sword in his right hand and a sceptre in his left hand, arrayed in a marvellous array, wherein he was wont to sit when he wrought his necromancy." The duchess of Gloucester had fled to sanctuary. Bolingbroke was examined before the king's council, according to this chronicle, and confessed that he wrought his necromany "at the stirring of the aforesaid dame Eleanor to know what should fall of her, and to what estate she should come." This "necromancy" was evidently, from this description, the usual process of that age, and of much later times, of casting the nativity of the duchess. The observations of the astronomer were then held to be most usefully applied in the calculations of astrology, and Roger Bolingbroke is not to be held undeserving of his reputation as a most famous clerk, for believing in what the most accomplished philosophers of his time believed. But Bolingbroke was to be sacrificed that one greater than he might be crushed. When he had confessed to what was called his necromancy, dame Eleanor "was cited to appear before certain bishops of the king's—that is to say, before Master Harry Chicheley, archbishop of Canterbury; Master Harry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester and cardinal; Master John Kemp, archbishop of York and cardinal; Master William Ayscough, bishop of Salisbury; and other, on the Monday, the 22d day of July next following, in St. Stephen's chapel of Westminster, for to answer to certain articles of necromancy, of witchcraft or sorcery, of heresy, and of treason." Bolingbroke, the chronicle adds, was brought forth to witness against her; and he said "she was cause and first stirred him to labor in his necromancy." Then Bolingbroke and Southwell were indicted as principals of treason, and the duchess as accessory. To make the tragic farce complete, a woman called the Witch of Eye was burnt in Smithfield, for having in former days given medicines to Eleanor Cobham to make the duke of Gloucester love her

* "Paston Letters." Robert Repps to John Paston, Nov. 1st, 1440.

* Camden Society, 1856.

and wed her. The duchess was brought before an ecclesiastical commission in October, when she submitted herself to the correction of the bishops; and on the 9th of November she was condemned to perform all the humiliations of penance in the streets of London, on three several days; "the which penance she fulfilled, and did right meekly, so that the more part of the people had in her great compassion." She was confined at Calais and the Isle of Man for the remainder of her life. The enemies of the duke of Gloucester went probably as far as they dared, and the affrighted woman made that submission to the Church which saved her from the penalties of heresy. Bolingbroke was tried at Guildhall for high treason, and executed with the accustomed cruelties. Southwell died in the Tower before the time appointed for his trial. The accusation of treason was founded upon the charge that at the request of the duchess the clergymen had made an image of wax like the king, which they placed before the fire, and as it gradually consumed the king would pine and die. That the whole affair was an infamous conspiracy for political purposes there can be little doubt. It could have only been carried through in an ignorant age, and not then unless juries had been afraid to come themselves under the terrible charge of heresy, in acquitting those destined for sacrifice by a persecuting church, made more terrible in its political ascendency.

The great ecclesiastics were at this period the moving power of the government. Beaufort had in vain been accused by Gloucester of having estranged the king from him, his sole uncle; for having amassed inordinate riches, not through his church preferment or as having inheritance: "neither office, livelihood, nor captain may be had without too great a good given him . . . for who that would give most his was the price." These attacks left deep scars. In 1445, Margaret of Anjou was crowned queen of England. The duke of Suffolk, who had negotiated the marriage, now came to strengthen the party of Beaufort in the government. The duke of Gloucester was the only man who stood in the way of the absolute power of the queen and of the favorite, who had taken her from the petty court of Anjou to raise her to the highest place of European royalty. The king was a mere puppet of sovereignty, having his head upon the coin, and making a legible signature. Whatever could contribute to the ruin of Gloucester would be acceptable to the churchmen of the council, who had been denounced by him "as preventing men to say what they think of truth." A parliament was called to be held at Cambridge, at the beginning of 1447, but the place of meeting was afterward changed to Bury St. Edmund's. There was a secret order issued for armed men to be attendant there on the king. The duke of Gloucester was in his place as peer on the 10th of February, when the usual formalities were gone through. On the 11th he was arrested by the high constable of England, and his attendants were seized and sent to different prisons. They were only thirty-two in number, for he came without the large retinues which the great had generally in their train when danger was apprehended. At the end of seventeen days Humphrey of Gloucester was found dead in his bed. His great adversary, Henry Beaufort, died six weeks after him, at the age of eighty years. His death-bed scene has been depicted by Shakespeare with a terrible power which the soberer statement of the chronicler will not obliterate: "Why should I die, having so much riches? If the whole realm would save my life, I am able by policy to get it or by riches to buy it. Fye, will not death be hired, nor will money do nothing?"* These were not unlikely words in the mouth of a dying man who was undoubtedly of "covetise insatiable."

The death of the duke of Gloucester was accomplished, there can be little doubt, by secret murder. Hall has a reflection upon the event which exhibits more of the character of philosophical history than belongs to the old annalists: "There is an old said saw that a man intending to avoid the smoke falleth into the fire: so here the queen, minding to preserve her husband in honor, and herself in authority, procured and consented to the death of this noble man, whose only death brought to pass that thing which she would most fain have eschewed, and took from her that jewel which she most desired; for if this duke had lived, the duke of York durst not have made title to the crown: if this duke had lived, the nobles had not conspired against the king, nor yet the commons had not rebelled: if this duke had lived, the house of Lancaster had not been defaced and destroyed; which things happened all contrary by the destruction of this good man."

* Hall, upon the authority of Beaufort's chaplain.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Social condition during the wars of the Roses—Degrees of rank—Incomes—Forty-shilling freeholders—Statutes of apparel—Distinction of birth—The gentleman and the roturier—Administrative system—Royal revenue—Public functionaries—Military system—Defence of the coast and towns—Forcible entries upon estates—Liveries—Rent—Relations of landlord and tenant—Want of money by landowners—Prevalence of litigation—Occasional bribery—Petty lawsuits—Number of attorneys limited—Offences against person and property—Hours of labor—Domestic manufactures—Interference of the State with industry.

In the progress of our narrative we have arrived at one of the most remarkable epochs of our eventful history. We have arrived at that period when we may turn aside from that great contest between England and France—"two so invincible nations, which never would yield or bow the one to the other, neither yet once hear of abstinence of fighting or refusing from war, so much were their hearts hardened, and so princely were their stomachs."* In this war, and in previous French wars, Comines tells us that the English "carried over a considerable booty into England, not only in plunder which they had taken in the several towns, but in the richness and quality of their prisoners, who paid them great ransoms for their liberty."† A different war was at hand—a war in which the English lords would fight at intervals for thirty-five years upon their native soil, and only end this work of mutual destruction when one half of the old nobility of England was swept away. During these wars of York and Lancaster, of which the seeds were sown in the distracted councils of the minority of Henry VI., we have many scattered but authentic materials for viewing the social condition of the country. The first division of this extraordinary period opens with the insurrections of 1450, and then proceeds in showing the duke of York taking up arms in 1452, and his son Edward seated on the throne in 1461. The second embraces the perilous fortunes of Henry and his intrepid wife, and the overthrow of the Lancastrian party after that gleam of triumph, which was destroyed by the fatal battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury in 1471. Edward sits on the throne for thirteen years longer, in comparative tranquillity; then two more years of mysterious murder and fierce war; and then a dynasty with which the feudal system has practically come to an end. This is one great epic, which requires to be told without any material interruption to the relation of events, of which the links are welded in one continuous chain. But it may be desirable, before we enter upon this narrative, to endeavor to form a just estimate of the habits and condition of the people, while these battles and revolutions were carried forward at their own doors. During this troubled time, when we might naturally expect that the whole framework of society would be thrown into disorder, we find the internal administration of England proceeding with the same regularity as if the struggle for supremacy were raging on the banks of the Seine instead of the banks of the Thames. The uniform course of justice is uninterrupted. Men are litigating for disputed rights, as if there were no general peril of property. They are electing knights of the shire and burgesses, under aristocratical or popular influences, as if the real arbitrament of these contentions was to be in the parliament-house and not in the battle-field. They are buying and selling, growing and exporting, as if the producers looked on with indifference while the Warwicks and Somersets were slaying or being slain. They wear richer apparel, and strive more for outward distinctions and build better houses than when their fathers were fighting in France; and they are really prospering in an increase of material wealth, though they greatly lack the instrument of exchange, for the want of money is grievously felt from the peer to the huckster. They pursue their accustomed diversions; they hunt and they hawk; they gamble in public gardens; they gape at the players of interludes;

* "Hall's Chronicle," 13th year of Henry VI.
† "Memoirs of Philip de Comines," book vi. chap. ii.

they go on pilgrimage to Canterbury and Walsingham, and St. Jargo —they take life easily, as if no danger were around them, when truly they might be in trouble for shouting for the White Rose on one day and for the Red on the next. Their marriages go forward, with the keenest avidity among the gentry and the burgesses to make the best bargains for their sons and daughters; and while we know how many great houses were rendered desolate by these troubles, we have no satisfactory evidence that during their existence population had decreased. These appearances on the surface of things involve many important points of national character and social progress; and we therefore proceed to collect some leading traits of the people as they show themselves in and near the stormy era which commenced with the commencement of the second half of the fifteenth century, and lasted till the quarrels of York and Lancaster came to an end upon Bosworth Field. During this period the condition of society appears to have undergone very slight change; for in whatever regarded the civil administration of the country, there was no revolutionary action connected with the sudden changes in the supreme power. It was of this period that Comines, one of the most accomplished statesmen of his age, thus wrote: "In my opinion, of all the countries in Europe where I was ever acquainted, the government is nowhere so well managed, the people nowhere less obnoxious to violence and oppression, nor their houses less liable to the desolations of war, than in England, for there the calamities fall only upon their authors."* In another part of the same chapter he says, "England has this peculiar grace, that neither the country, nor the people, nor the houses are wasted, destroyed, or demolished; but the calamities and misfortunes of the war fall only upon the soldiers, and especially the nobility." But we might still hesitate to believe that the government was well administered, and the people little disturbed by violence, if we were to regard the wars of the Roses as one continued series of exterminating slaughters. Comines, still speaking of these wars, says, "In England, when any disputes arise and proceed to a war, the controversy is generally decided in eight or ten days, and one party or other gains the victory."† After the first battle, that of St. Albans, in 1455, there was outward peace for four years. York was in arms in 1459, gained the battle of Northampton in 1460, and was killed on the last day of that year. Within three months his son Edward was on the throne, and had gained the decisive victory of Towton. With the exception of the Lancastrian rising of 1464, the kingdom was at peace till 1470. The attempt then to restore Henry VI. was defeated in the fighting of two months. Warwick landed on the 13th September; Edward fled on the 3d of October; on the 14th March, 1471, he was again in England; and after the great battle of Barnet, that of Tewkesbury decided the contest on the 4th of May. The remaining thirteen years of Edward saw no civil warfare. The landing of Richmond and the fall of Richard III. was the affair of a fortnight. The actual warfare in England, from 1455 to 1485, included an aggregate space of time of something less than two years.

The statutes and other state documents which have regard to distinctions of rank furnish some evidence of the increase of population, and of the divisions of society into more complex arrangements than those of the gentle, the free, and the servile. The Statute of Additions of 1413 declares that in every original writ of actions, appeals, and indictments, to the names of the defendants in such writs, "additions shall be made of their estate or degree or mystery, and of the towns or hamlets, or places or counties, of the which they were or be." It is affirmed by Fuller in his "Worthies," that such distinctions were not used, except in law process, until the latter end of the reign of Henry VI. In 1429 was passed the Statute of Elections for knights of the shire, which recited that the elections for many counties "have now of late been made by very great and excessive number of people dwelling within the same counties, of which the most part was people of small substance and of no value, whereof every of them pretended a voice equivalent, as to such elections to be made, with the most worthy knights and esquires dwelling within the said counties." It was therefore enacted that the knights of the shires should be chosen in every county by "people dwelling and resident in the same, whereof every one of them shall have free land or tenement to the value of forty shillings by the year, at the least, above all charges." There can be no more distinct evidence than this statute—which was unchanged for four centuries, however the value of money had changed—that the great bulk of the people, those of small substance, having passed out of the servile condition into the free, had become so numerous that they were the real constituencies of the country. Extensive suffrage was therefore held as dangerous as in recent times. A forty-shilling freeholder was then a person of some importance. In 1433, when commissioners were empowered to tender an oath to "persons of quality" to keep the peace, two inhabitants of Lyme were placed on the list "as considerable men who were able to dispense 12*l.* per annum."* Any one who lived in a forty-shilling tenement, or derived profit from land of the clear rent of forty shillings, when a shilling an acre was a high rent,† was a person of substance. The qualification of a justice of the peace was twenty pounds in lands and tenements, and it was less in towns.‡ In 1450 there was a subsidy granted, in the nature of an income-tax upon a graduated scale, persons holding in frank tenement from 20*s.* to 20*l.* paying 6*d.* in the pound; from 20*l.* to 200*l.* 12*d.*; and all upward 2*s.* These graduations of tax exhibit a very unequal distribution of property. The immense landed possessions in the hands of the nobles and prelates, and the enormous payments to some of the great officers of the crown by salaries, and through extortions and briberies, sufficiently account for this inequality. The wealth, too, acquired in commerce was in some instances very large. William de la Pole, a merchant of Hull, lent Edward III. the sum of 18,500*l.* at one payment. His son became earl of Suffolk in the reign of Richard II., and the duke of Suffolk, whose fate we shall have to record in 1450, descended from the great Hull trader. William Cannyng, of Bristol, and Richard Whittington, of London, were opulent merchants of this period, whose memories still live in popular estimation. The salaries of the judges, in 1440, were: the chief-justice of the Common Pleas, 120*l.* per ann.; of the King's Bench, 93*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; of the justices, 73*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* In addition, the judges had allowances for their official costume. For their winter robes they were each allowed 5*l.* 6*s.* 11½*d.*; for their summer robes, 3*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.* The king's sergeants and the attorney were each allowed for robes, 1*l.* 6*s.* 11*d.*§ About the middle of the reign of Henry VI. the revenue of the crown was 65,000*l.*, and the expenditure exceeding the receipts by 35,000*l.*, the royal debts amounted to 372,000*l.* The king's household expenses were then limited to 12,000*l.*

There were two statutes of apparel passed in the reign of Edward IV., from which we may collect what were the existing degrees of society, as we inferred from the statute of the preceding century.‖ The statute of 1463, exactly a hundred years after that of Edward III., is granted at the prayer of the Commons, and has reference only to the averment that "the *Commons* of the realm, as well men as women, have worn and do daily wear excessive and inordinate array." Among the Commons there are included, with their wives and children, the knight under the estate of a lord, other than lord's children; the knight bachelor; the esquire and gentleman. But the amount of possession is taken into account; and the esquire and gentleman having 40*l.* a year may indulge in damask or satin forbidden to their less wealthy neighbors. Mayors, sheriffs, and aldermen have special exemptions. Below the class of esquire and gentleman are those who have obtained a position by their wealth; and those who have 40*l.* of yearly value may rejoice in furs, and their wives in gilt girdles. The men possessed of less than 40*s.* yearly are debarred from furs, and fustian, and scarlet cloth. The yeoman, and the persons under his degree, are to have no stuffing in their doublets. Lastly, the servants in husbandry and artificers are to wear no clothing of which the cloth shall cost more than two shillings the broad yard. The second statute of 1483 prescribes what peculiar apparel of cloth of gold or silk shall be forbidden to all below the royal rank; what to those below a duke; what to those below a lord, of whom the knight only shall wear velvet in his doublet. By a comprehensive clause no man under the estate of a lord should

* Book v. chap. xviii. † Book vi. chap. ii.

* Roberts' "Social History of the Southern Counties," p. 194. 1856.

† The rent of land had not increased in the middle of the fifteenth century above the 6*d.* or 9*d.* per acre of 80 years before. Cullum's "Hawsted."

‡ Stat. 1445. § "Chronicon Pretiosum." ‖ See Vol. I. p. 143.

wear cloth of foreign manufacture; and the old price of cloth is again fixed for laborers and artificers. All other ordinances are repealed; but this statute contains one repealing clause which shows how vainly Lords and Commons attempted to legislate against the omnipotence of female taste: "Provided always that this act extend not, nor be prejudicial to or for any woman, excepted the wives of servants and laborers." The most gallant man of his time, by this clause, left his reign disburdened of the tyranny of having legislated against velvet and satin, girdle or coverchief, so as to interfere with the will of the ladies of England to wear the costliest array, without regard to the rank or the means of their less privileged husbands.

These statutes of apparel, if we read them rightly, were not intended to restrain the impoverishment of England "and the final destruction of the husbandry of the realm," as they profess, but to maintain by outward appearance those distinctions of rank which were fast passing away. It was not that the fine clothes themselves conferred distinction; for servants of great households, heralds, minstrels, and players of interludes were allowed to wear them. But it was to put some distinguishing mark upon the noble and the gentleman, as compared with the *roturier*—a word which had formerly a significant place in our language. The once great distinction of blood was passing away, when the descendant of the merchant of Hull had become the most powerful peer of England. Yet this very Suffolk was so bound to the usages of chivalry that when taken prisoner at Jargeau he asked his captor if he were a knight, and being answered "No," said, "Then I will make thee a knight;" and in the field was the lucky officer knighted, and received twenty thousand pounds for the peer's ransom. When Lord Rivers was brought before Warwick at Calais, in 1460, the king-maker rated him, and said "that his father was but a squire;" and Lord Salisbury called him "knave's son." * It was upon the complaint of the Commons that the statute of 1463 was passed. The esquire was beginning to tread upon the heels of the knight. The qualification for knighthood was forty pounds a year; and so many had reached that point of opulence that some would rather fine to the king than receive a dignity grown common. The old grand Norman distinction of *gentilhomme* was that upon which the well-born then chose to stand. They worthily clung to it for a century or two later, till the distinction of blood, as constituting a caste, was destroyed by the intermarriage of the higher with the middle classes, and by each class following the same modes of advancement, legal, mercantile, or political. M. de Tocqueville says that the history of the word *gentleman* is that of democracy itself. "We shall find its application extending in England in the same proportion in which classes draw near one another and amalgamate." † In the fifteenth century this contact and amalgamation were slowly beginning.

We shall be enabled to obtain a clearer view of the social organization of England in the latter half of the fifteenth century if we glance at the administrative system of the kingdom. At the head of that system was the king. All acts were done in his name, even if he was an infant of nine months old, as in the case of Henry VI., or a boy of thirteen, as in the case of Edward V. The constitution made no provision for a minority or for incapacity; and in the earlier times, when legitimate succession was set aside by the legislative powers with little ceremony, such a provision was less necessary. Some great functionary, as chief of the council or protector, discharged the kingly office, vicarially, in cases where the king was incapable. The hereditary revenues of the crown were very large, so that taxes or subsidies were usually voted only on extraordinary occasions. But if the hereditary revenues were large, and the accessions by taxation were growing more systematic, the crown had abundant need of all these regular and occasional resources. Let us rapidly look at the royal expenditure. During the eleven weeks that the duke of Gloucester carried on the government in the name of Edward V., the ordinary routine of administration was in active exercise; and in the original "Docket-Book" we may see, in a brief space, how various were the functions of the crown, and how necessarily great the regal disbursements. ‡ The treasurer and chamberlains of the exchequer are commanded to pay for certain services and expenses, under various heads, whose bare enumeration exhibits an outline of the regal life, and of the range of the executive power. They are first to pay "the costs and expenses the which it shall behove us to have and sustain about our household, our chamber and great wardrobe, and our works." The functionaries that were under the holders of the patent offices of treasurer of the household, keeper of the jewels, clerk of the great wardrobe, and clerk of the works, far exceeded in number the retainers of the most expensive modern court. In apparel, as we may judge from the sumptuary laws, this period was most luxurious. It has been truly said that extravagance in dress "was a peculiar characteristic of the middle ages throughout Europe." * The handsome Edward IV. and the misshapen Richard III. were equally careful of the splendor of their array. Louis XI. of France is familiar to us in his shabby doublet, and his old hat with its leaden image. But Comines says that in his last days "his gowns were all of crimson satin, lined with rich martins' furs." The disbursements of the clerk of the works were necessarily large, in the repairs of the palaces, and the additions of furniture that were constantly required. But out of the royal revenues were also to be paid the fees of all the high officers—the chancellor, the treasurer, and privy seal, the judges, the barons and chancellor of the exchequer, and all other ministers of the courts. All fiscal officers were also to be paid from the same fund—custom-house officers, comptrollers, receivers, surveyors, searchers. "Pay ye also of our treasure to our lieutenant of Ireland, wardens of our marches east and west, captain of our town of Berwick, wages assigned by us and our council, after the indentures of their withholding." There was no standing army to pay in England, as in France under Charles VII. Ireland and the borders of Wales and Scotland were defended by contract. These "grants" exhibit the nature of the bargains made with the wardens of the marches. Henry, earl of Northumberland, is retained for five lunar months to be lord captain of the castle and town of Berwick, and therein to keep six hundred soldiers, detensibly arrayed, of whom three hundred shall be archers, with two knights or squires to be lieutenants; for whose wages the king grants the sum of 438*l.* 10*s.* 1½*d.* monthly, the soldiers being paid at the rate of 6*d.* a day. These wages are to be paid beforehand for the first two months, and the king is also to provide artillery and other habiliments of war. The navy was paid by separate disbursement for each ship: "Pay ye also, from time to time, unto the clerks of our ships all things necessary for the safeguard and surety keeping of our said ships, and for wages and victuals of mariners attending upon the same." For the general defence of the kingdom against rebellion or invasion there was a sweeping grant to pay "the cost and expenses of all those that be or shall be assigned by our commission or commissions for to resist or subdue our rebels or enemies within this our kingdom." Upon emergencies, forces were raised by the king's letters under the privy seal, commanding the attendance of persons named, with armed men, in number according to their degree. The Roll of Agincourt shows how the lords and knights and esquires of England came to the summons of their king upon receiving these missives. The English army was always thus a new army at the beginning of a war; and Comines gave it a just character, which—the circumstances of hasty levies remaining the same—it has maintained from the siege of Harfleur to the siege of Sebastopol: "Though no nation is more raw and undisciplined than the English at their first coming over, yet a little time makes them brave soldiers, excellent officers, and wise counsellors." † But the fighting Englishman of the fifteenth century was not fresh from the plough and the loom, without any sort of military training. The iron helmet was hung upon the wall of the cottage as well as of the castle; and the long bows of yew stood in the halls of the esquire and the burgess, for their servants to shoot at the butts on every Sunday and other festival. ‡ The municipal officers of towns had looked upon their youths gradually sending the "light-flight arrow" to the legal distance of two hundred and twenty yards; and then, grown into stalwart men, performing the same feat with the heavy war-arrow. There was many a Locksley in every village, to whom this long range would present no difficulty. When the king's letter came—either direct or through

* "Paston Letters," letter cxxxv. Ramsay's edit.
† "State of Society in France before 1789," p. 152.
‡ "Grants, etc., from the Crown during the reign of Edward V." Camden Society, 1854.

* Sir N. H. Nicolas, "Wardrobe Accounts of Edward IV."
† Book iv. chap. v. ‡ Statute 11 Hen. IV.

some great lord to his tenants and partisans—men were always at hand to send to the field. It was not always so easy to pay them. There is a letter of 1470 from the duke of Suffolk to the bailiffs of Eye, commanding that two men should be paid the money due to them according to the covenants made with them by the authorities of that borough, which men "were waged for your town to await upon us in the king's service at Lincoln Field."* Suffolk was a Lancastrian; and these "proper men of their hands" who went to Lincoln Field were there to fight against the reigning king in the insurrection of Sir Roberts Wells. They were glad, no doubt, to get back to Eye when this enterprise failed. But Warwick came with a greater preparation, and then Edward was driven from his seat. During the short triumph of the Lancastrians the men who had fought for them were to be paid their wages. For an expedition against France, or a struggle against the reigning house at home, an army could be got together when the means of paying the adventurous spirits of the land were forthcoming. Whether the wages were to be paid in hand, or the payment deferred to a more convenient season, the king sent forth his summons in these words when there was danger: "Trusty and well beloved, we strictly charge and command you, upon the faith and liegeance that ye bear unto us, that ye arredie [make ready] you with all the fellowship ye can make."† But there was no efficient provision for the defence of the coasts against a foreign enemy. A few of the commercial towns, such as Yarmouth, Poole, and Bristol, were fortified at this period. But in small places, where no great lord was at hand to issue forth from his stronghold with his retainers, the enemies, Frenchmen or Fleming, not unfrequently landed, and carried off property and persons. While the government was wholly occupied in 1458 by the great assembly of rival lords in London, to mediate between York and the Lancastrians, we have the following description of the state of the Norfolk coast: "On Saturday last past, Dravell, half-brother to Warren Harman, was taken with enemies, walking by the sea-side; and they have him forth with them, and they took two pilgrims, a man and a woman. . . . . God give grace that the sea may be better kept than it is now, or else it shall be a perilous dwelling by the sea-coast."‡ The people of England, long after the turbulence of the lords of the early feudal times had been restrained by law, were sometimes accustomed to behold displays of physical force, in which the array was neither for foreign warfare nor domestic insurrection. There are two statutes of this period which are singularly indicative of an altered state of society. The first is for the control of "them that make entries with strong hand into lands or tenements or other possessions whatsoever, and them hold with force."§ The second is "for the punishment of such persons as give or receive liveries."‖ Both these statutes were confirmations and amendments of previous enactments; but the practice of the period, as distinct from its theory of justice and order, shows how ineffectual are laws "to nourish love, peace, and quietness"—such being the objects which one of these statutes sets forth—when the possessors of great power and riches have no dread of the only real champion of right against might, the force of public opinion. Let us glance at two such exhibitions of lawless power and dangerous pomp, of which the violated laws took no cognizance.

In September, 1469, there is a great fellowship assembled at Framlingham. The little town is crowded with yeomen, who have gathered together from the many manors of the great duke of Norfolk; and there are hired soldiers with guns and cross-bows, and two or three pieces of cannon are mounted upon rude carriages, and armed horsemen wait at the castle-gate for orders to march. Within the massive walls of that fortress there is an unusual bustle in the large courtyard. The duke is sitting with his council, composed of officers of his household and of gentlemen who wear his livery; for he has summoned his dependants and friends around him, writing, in regal phrase, "that we may commune with you, and have your sad [serious] advice in such matters as concerneth greatly to our weal."¶ The decision is at last taken. The council breaks up. The yeomen and hired soldiery receive rations from the spacious butteries of the castle. They are formed in order of march, and take their way toward the eastern coast, gathering in their progress a fresh multitude with pikes and staves, and halting, after several days, near the good town of Yarmouth.

In the castle of Caister there are some thirty "proved men, and cunning in the war and in feats of arms; and that will shoot both guns and cross-bows, and amend and string them, and devise bulwarks, and will keep watch and ward."* These thirty men are ready to hold Caister against the thousand that have marched out of Framlingham to take that "rich jewel in time of war." Are they rebels and traitors who occupy that strong place—a few years before the splendid palace of the Fastolf who fought in France, but a dismantled and gloomy fortress when the duke of Norfolk demanded its surrender? They were simply the servants of the legatee under the will of the old warrior; and the duke, who claimed to have purchased the property of two of the executors, while the third had possession, took this mode of asserting his title. Caister was regularly besieged, and men were killed on either side before it was surrendered. The great duke then makes proclamation that the vanquished might depart, having their lives and goods and harness; and his grace grants this favor at the instance of divers lords, and "of our most dear and singular-beloved wife." Norfolk was winning Caister with the strong hand, in open defiance of the law. He was carrying through the process of disseisin, or forcible dispossession, although he was bound by statute to make his entry peaceably upon the disputed freehold. This breach of the law was an ordinary occurrence. "Disseisin, or forcible dispossession of freeholds, makes one of the most considerable articles in our law-books."†

Let us follow the duke of Norfolk in a more peaceful display of his power. There was a time when the Bigods and Mowbrays would have ridden into Norwich with five hundred men-at-arms, and have done swift justice upon the burgess that disputed their right to dictate how the city should be governed, or in what sums its people should be mulcted. Those days are past. The Mowbrays are still mighty, but after another fashion. They come not to Norwich with the proud feudal array of fierce retainers in mascled armor, but with two hundred of their household in blue and tawny gowns, moving after the duke, with the blue on the left side of the gown and the tawny on the right. The man who was fighting at Caister against the duke has taken his livery on this occasion, when Edward IV. is coming to Norwich; and he hopes to muster twenty men in the duke's blue and tawny, "to be sure of his good lordship in time to come." The power of the great peer, in showing the gentlemen of his county arranged as his menials, is to be thought of by the king, whose statutes declare that liveries are illegal. But the display was meant for plebeian as well as royal meditations. The peer who exhibited the greatest number of liveries would be thought to have the greatest influence in the elections of knights of the shire and burgesses. The arts by which the "free and independent" elector was managed in the fifteenth century were little different from those of the nineteenth.

There are two simple words, familiarly used in the fifteenth century, which distinctly tell what the great relations of class to class had then become. Those words are, rent, wages. The landlord had now tenants who held leases, instead of being bound to the soil by feudal service as villeins. The man who farmed the land had now salaried servants—partly paid in money and partly in food and lodging, or wholly paid in money—instead of thralls with the collar on their necks. The substitution of rent for service had destroyed, in a considerable degree, the more intimate relations of the landowner and the cultivator, both for good and for evil. The power which once implied protection as well as severity was superseded by the power which, regarding land simply as a property to be made the most of, had resigned the rude fidelity of vassalage for the hard bargaining of tenancy. No doubt much of

"The constant service of the antique world"

remained, even when, as was common in leases, the landlord might re-enter and possess if the rent was a month in arrear.‡ But, in general, there was as much of the commercial spirit in the dealings

* "Paston Letters," cccv.
† Ibid. ccci.
‡ Ibid. cx.
§ Stat. 8 Hen. VI. c. 9.
‖ Stat. 8 Ed. IV. c. 2.
¶ "Paston Letters," cclxiii.

* "Paston Letters," cclxi.
† Hallam, "Middle Ages," chap. viii. part iii.
‡ Cullum's "Hawsted," p. 228.

between landlord and tenant as in the exchange of any other commodity between vendor and purchaser. Distraints for rent were the commonest of occurrences, and the tenant's cart seems to have been the most convenient chattel to seize and carry off. The difficulty of collecting rents must have been extreme, at a time when agriculture was so imperfect that a bad season produced general misery. In 1463 we have the first corn-law, based upon the averment which kept all classes comparatively unprosperous in England for four hundred years: "Whereas the laborers and occupiers of husbandry within this realm be daily grievously endamaged by bringing of corn out of other lands and parts into this realm, when corn of the growing of this realm is at low price."* When wheat was six shillings and eightpence the quarter, importation was forbidden. The inevitable fluctuations of price in corn, when corn was the only rent-paying produce except wool, prevented that more careful agriculture which, in all times, is founded upon average profits and not upon fortuitous abundance. When the cultivator wanted to obtain the best price for his wool, that legislation which was always protecting one class against another class, to the injury of both classes, ordained that the exportation of wool should be hampered with restrictions, "because that sufficient plenty of the said wools may continually abide and remain within the said realm, as may competently and reasonably serve for the occupation of cloth-makers."† Of necessity much of the "sufficient plenty" became superabundant stock; and the price of wool was beaten down by the limitation of the market. Thus it was that the landowners were constantly complaining of the want of money. Their revenues were derived from rents, and the rents were ill paid, because, among other causes, such as the want of knowledge and the want of capital, the delusion of protection was set up, to keep all industry at the same low level from age to age. Under this state of things we are not surprised to find that the bailiff of Sir William Plumpton, a great lord of Yorkshire in the time of Henry VI. and Edward IV., writes to his master—who, as many others did, kept land in his own hands, as well as letting his estates—"I am not in store at this time of money for to get your harvest with, without I might get it of your tenants; or else for to take of [for] your sheep silver, and that I were right loth for to do.‡ . . . Letting you wit, also, that I have been in the Peak, and there I cannot get no money. . . . Letting you wit that I was on St. Lawrence-day at Melton, with four-score of your sheep to sell, and could sell none of them, but if I would have sold twenty of the best of them for thirteen-pence a-piece."§ The duke of Suffolk has a dispute about property with Sir John Paston, and Sir John's brother advises a settlement for a hundred marks, "some of the duke of Suffolk's folks having let me in secret wise have knowledge that he must make a shift for money, and that in all haste." The earl of Warwick, the king-maker, writes in 1455 to his friend, Sir Thomas Todenham, that he has to make a payment on the completion of a purchase, "wherefore we pray you with all our heart that ye will lend us ten or twenty pounds."‖ The seal of the bear and ragged staff is affixed to this letter—a device that we more commnly associate with the idea of power far exalted above the want of a sum equivalent to two or three hundred pounds of our present money. There is another letter of the same earl to his bailiff of Sutton, desiring him to pay Philip Lowez forty-six shillings and eight pence, "that he lent us in our right great necessity."¶ We can scarcely wonder that the riches of Cardinal Beaufort made him hateful to the necessitous nobles who had less of the world's wisdom. The cardinal writes a characteristic epistle to some confidential friend, "that ye will go, and W. Toly, my clerk, bearer of this, with you, to the coffer that my money is in, and take out two thousand three hundred marks, and take it the foresaid Toly, and let seal the coffer again with a signet of mine, graven with the salutation of our lady, the which my said clerk hath."**

One of the most remarkable features of society in this period is the incessant litigation. Every gentleman had some knowledge of law, and his knowledge never rusted for want of practice. Agnes Paston writes to one of her sons, "I greet you well, and advise you to think once of the day of your father's counsel to learn the law, for he said many times that whosoever should dwell at Paston should have need to con to defend himself."* Mr. Hallam has truly observed that "a people wherein an artificial jurisprudence is cultivated, requiring both a regard to written authority and the constant exercise of a discriminating judgment upon words, must be deemed to be emerging from ignorance."† But he also implies that what the mind thus gains in precision and acuteness is at the expense of some important qualities. The clients, no less than the counsel and attorneys, were familiar with every legal quibble. In one case, judgment could not be obtained because the "John Damme" of a testament was "Joh Damme" in the bill before the court. In another a defendant alleged that he lived at "Raytheby" and not at "Ratheby," as set forth—a curious plea in an age of such unsettled orthography.‡ The history of this dispute with the quibble about a letter, of which we have all the stages of the process, and the final award, extends over a period of thirty-six years—from the 21st of Richard II. to the 12th of Henry VI. Sir William Clopton held the manor of Hawsted, which had been bought by his ancestor in the 33d of Edward III. (1360). In 1397, Philip Fitz-Eustace breaks into a close of the manor, cuts down trees, and carries off goods and chattels. After a suit, lasting ten years, judgment is given in 1407 against Fitz-Eustace, who had pleaded that the close belonged to him. But the dispute was not settled; for another tribunal, whose powers were dying out in the changes of men and manners, took cognizance of the quarrel in 1427, twenty years after the original suit was ended. William Clopton, esquire, then in possession of the property, by a writ of John, duke of Bedford, constable of England, addressed to John, duke of Norfolk, marshal of England, is summoned "to answer in the Court of Chivalry to Robert Eland, of the county of Lincoln, esquire, who charged the said William Clopton with putting his seal of arms to a false and forged deed." The arbitrament of the Court of Chivalry had probably gone into disuse when the lawyers had become more important than the knights; and we hear of no battle for the defence of William Clopton's injured honor. But he brings his action against Robert Eland and others, for having published and read two deeds, claiming the manor of Hawsted, upon the allegation that the deeds so read were false. The matter was referred to arbitration, and the arbitrators decided that having examined the principal instrument at their leisure, and "seen it in the sun," it was an old deed "new rased and new written again."§ In the "Paston Letters" we have evidence that forgeries of acquittance and of grants were not uncommon. The offence was punishable, at common law, with fine and imprisonment. Another frequent cause of litigation was the stopping of footpaths. The people of that day understood their rights as well as the patriot of Hampton Wick a century ago, who compelled the crown to open the ancient road through Bushy Park. Agnes Paston writes indignantly to her husband that Clement Spicer came to her closet and asked her why she had stopped the king's way; and that Waryn Herman, "proudly going forth with me in the church, he said the stopping of the way should cost me twenty nobles, and yet it should down again."‖ In these litigations the constant appeal to the law is some proof that it was righteously administered. Juries were sometimes, indeed, specially exhorted "to do as conscience will, and to eschew perjury;" and there is evidence of payments to the jury "for their expenses and labor, and for a breakfast after they had delivered their verdict."¶ The most distinct proof of corruption is furnished by statutes of 1426 and 1439, the first of which accuses sheriffs of taking great sums of money for allowing bail to persons apprehended, and the second attributes great perjuries which daily abound to sheriffs making favorable panels of juries for great gifts and rewards. There was a laxity upon such points which endured far beyond the fifteenth century; and we need scarcely be surprised that in an age when only a bird in the air might carry the matter, official bribery was not held as a personal degradation. The higher nobles were to be purchased

* Stat. 3d Edward IV. c. 2. † Ibid. c. 1.
‡ The silver coin was depreciated as compared with gold. Cardinal Beaufort required that his loans to the crown should be paid "in gold of the coin of England of just weight."
§ "Plumpton Correspondence," p. 21.
‖ "Paston Letters," letter lxxvi.
¶ "Ellis's Letters," Series i., vol. i. p. 14. ** Ibid., p. 8.

* "Paston Letters," letter x.
† "Literature of Europe," vol. i. p. 80.
‡ Cullum's "Hawsted," p. 120. § Ibid., pp. 115–122.
‖ "Paston Letters," letter xvii.
¶ Roberts' "Southern Counties," p. 2.

ven by a foreign enemy. Comines shows how Louis XI. cajoled Edward IV. into peace, by payments to himself and by large presents to his officers. The same caution which Lord Hastings, the high chamberlain of England, exhibited when he refused to give a receipt for two thousand crowns of gold that the king of France sent him, was probably the shield of less mighty functionaries: "What you desire," said Hastings to the agent of Louis, "is not unreasonable; but this present proceeds from your master's generosity, not any request of mine: if you have a mind I should receive it you may put it into my sleeve." * To repress bribery by threats of fine was as little likely to secure justice as the limitation of attorneys by statute was likely to prevent litigation. This enactment of 1455 is very curious. In Norfolk and Suffolk, says the preamble, in time not long past, there were only six or eight attorneys coming to the king's courts, in which time great tranquillity reigned, and little trouble or vexation was made by untrue and foreign suits; and now there be fourscore attorneys, the more part having no other thing to live upon but gain by attorneyship; and they go to every fair and market and other places where is any assembly of people, exhorting, procuring, moving, and inciting the people to attempt untrue suits for small trespasses, little offences, and small sums of debt, which actions be triable in Courts Baron. The remedy was to limit the number of common attorneys to six in Norfolk, six in Suffolk, and two in the city of Norwich. The real object of the statute was to prevent these small actions being carried to the higher courts instead of the Courts Baron. The people, we may readily believe, had found injustice in the petty local courts; and they sought for justice where the law would be understood and equally administered. The evidence of such abundant litigation is no proof of a disordered state of society. When men cannot obtain justice speedily and cheaply there are few lawsuits. When their disputes go before an honest and energetic tribunal, the more suits the greater evidence that law is not the instrument of oppression which it becomes in bad times.

The public and private records of this period afford us little information as to the amount and character of offences against person and property. By a statute of 2d Henry V., made upon complaint that the perpetrators of divers murders, manslaughters, robberies, batteries, etc., fled to woods and secret places to avoid the execution of the common law, it was enacted that if, after proclamation, such persons should come to the Court of King's Bench for trial, and did not appear, they should be held as convict. This was a temporary statute, but it was made perpetual by the 8th of Henry VI. Fine, imprisonment, death, were the penalties for such offences. But we can make no attempt to exhibit any statistics of crime. From the absence of such denunciations of "sturdy vagabonds and valiant beggars, in great routs and companies," as we find in the savage laws of Henry VIII., we may infer that in these times, which have been too hastily considered as a period of anarchy, there was no remarkable insecurity of life and goods. The private letters of the period detail no outrages which might not have occurred in the most settled condition of society. In 1421 a statute was passed to restrain the excesses of clerks and scholars of Oxford, who hunted with dogs in parks and forests, and threatened keepers with their lives; and who took clerks convict of felony out of the ward of the ordinaries, and set them free. This temporary act was not renewed. The Scotch and Irish students of Cambridge were also declared, in the Rolls of Parliament, to be the authors of threatening letters demanding money. But we have no trace of these excesses at a later period. In the middle of the fifteenth century we have the relation of a sudden street-scuffle in Coventry, between Sir Humphrey Stafford and Sir Robert Harcourt, in which two of their retainers were killed; "and all this mischief fell because of an old debate that was between them for taking of a distress." † Another account shows that the earl of Devonshire and Lord Bonville were at great variance; and how Thomas Courtney, the son and heir of the earl, came to a house in Devonshire occupied by Nicholas Radford, an eminent lawyer who was counsel to Lord Bonville, and there murdered him in the most cowardly and cruel manner. ‡ But these are exceptional cases which only prove that the age of private feud was not wholly passed away. In Scotland such assaults were as frequent as a bout of quarterstaff in England. One species of violence, for which a special statute was provided, is characteristic of a period in which the chivalrous spirit of reverence for women was yielding to grosser influences, with many other graces of chivalry that were the plating of its atrocities. The statute of the 31st Henry VI. shows how "unsatiable covetousness" had moved "divers people of great power against all right, gentleness, truth, and good conscience." Their offence was the "great abusing of ladies, gentlewomen, and other women sole, having any substance of lands, tenements, or movable goods." To such they came, "promising faithful friendship;" and "perceiving their great innocency and simplicity," carried them off by force, or inveigled them to places where they were of power, and compelled them to sign obligations for money for their liberty. "Also," says this statutory reproach of those who bore the name of gentlemen, "they will many times compel them to be married by them, contrary to their own likings." The remedy was to sue out a writ in chancery, when the fraudulent bonds would be set aside. For the enforced marriage there appears to have been no redress. Such are some glimpses of the acts of violence of the higher and richer classes. The outrages of the laboring people sometimes broke out in riots at fairs, in resistance to the payment of toll.* Vagabonds no doubt there were in every hamlet, "untrue people of their hands"—such as are described in the petition of a body of tenants to their lord: "Not having any cow or calves, or any other goods whereby they might live, nor any other occupise; and well they fare, and at all sports and games they are in our country for the most part, and silver to spend and to gaming, which they have more ready than any other." No dues would these men pay to lord or king; "and as for geese, hens, and capons, your tenants may none keep." † The complaint against these men, who "as vagabonds live," came from people of their own degree. The idleness and the pilfering were not vices of the class.

The industrious habits of artificers and laborers may be inferred from a statute of 1495, regulating wages. The waste of time which it condemns was the result of customs derived from an earlier period. It is the story which will never end, of coming late to work and long sitting at meals. Modern customs have rendered "long time of sleeping at afternoon" obsolete. But those who hold that the labor of modern times is overtasked, as compared with mediæval labor, should learn what is required by this statute. From the middle of March to the middle of September, every laborer and artificer was to be at his work before five o'clock in the morning, and he was to depart not till between seven and eight o'clock in the evening. In this season he was to have half an hour for breakfast, an hour for dinner, and half an hour for his "nonemete;" and from the middle of May to the middle of August he was to have half an hour for sleep in the day. From September to March, he was to be at his work "in the springing of the day, and depart not till night of the same day." But this difference of the hours of labor in summer and winter was taken into account in wages. The summer wages of the free mason and master carpenter, of 5½*d.* without food, were reduced to 4*d.* in the winter. The lower artificers and laborers, who received 3½*d.* in the summer without meat and drink, were to serve for 3*d.* in the winter.‡ We shall not attempt here to enter into any comparison of the ancient and modern rate of wages, or now endeavor to disprove the bold assertion that "the working-man of modern times has bought the extension of his liberty at the price of his material comfort." § That disproof, as we believe, will be supplied by a just view of the condition of the laborers at every stage of our history, not measured by estimates of wages and prices, which are very doubtful approximations to the truth, but by regarding them in their relations to the whole progress of society.

The statutes of wages which refer to artificers include under that denomination the occupations only of the mason, carpenter, tiler, and "other artificers concerning building." All the various handicrafts took their regulations from their guilds. The clothiers stood apart as pursuing the most important branch of England's industry, and the dealings of the cloth-maker and his workmen were regulated by

* Memoirs, book vi., chap. 2. † "Paston Letters," letter ix. ‡ Ibid., p. 68.

* "Plumpton Correspondence," p. lxii. † Ibid., p. 38.
‡ Stat. 4 Edward IV., cap. 1.
§ Froude, "History of England," vol. i. p. 80.

statute.* In that fifteenth century there were no factories. Every manufacture was carried on at the homes of the workmen in the several branches; and thus the operations of the clothiers, whether carders, spinsters, weavers, fullers, shearmen, or dyers, were combined, though separate, by the tradesman whose capital was engaged in cloth-making. The statute before us is justly framed for the protection of the workers. Truck was forbidden. The work-people were to be paid lawful money, and not to be "driven to take part of their wages in pins, girdles, and other unprofitable wares." The wool given out to be wrought was not to be of excessive weight. On the other hand, every cloth-worker was to perform his duty in his occupation. The system of domestic manufacture is also indicated in other enactments, protecting native labor from foreign competition. The silk-women and spinners were especially protected; and it is remarkable that—connected with the statute of 34th Henry VI., against the importation of wrought silk in ribbons, laces, and chains of silk—the Rolls of Parliament state that such importation has caused "great idleness among young gentlewomen and other apprentices of the same crafts, and the laying down of many good and notable households of them that have occupied the same crafts, which be convenient, worshipful, and according for gentlewomen and other women of worship." But the constant pressure of labor for employment is nowhere more clearly indicated than in those proceedings of the legislature, to which the people were always looking for some vain relief in prohibiting the competition of foreign industry. Margaret Paston writes to her husband, "Ye have many good prayers of the poor people that God should speed you at this parliament; for they live in hope that ye should help to set a way that they might live in better peace in this country than they have done before; and that wools should be purveyed for that they should not go out of this land, as it has been suffered to do before; and then shall the poor people live better than they have done by their occupation therein." The preambles to most protecting acts invariably complain how men and women of manual occupations are greatly impoverished, and cannot live by their mysteries, and that their servants in great number are unoccupied, and do hardly live in great misery and ruin.† And yet one who justly claims to have more diligently studied these statutes than other historians maintains that at this period not only was there given "a fair day's wages for a fair day's work," but that "all industrious men could maintain themselves in comfort and prosperity."‡ The perpetual interferences of the state with trade must have prevented many a workman from continuing his occupation, and have made him a beggar. When the parliament of Henry V. enacted that no patten-maker should make pattens or clogs of the best and lightest timber of which they could be made, then known as asp, that the fletchers might sell their arrows cheap, were the makers of pattens indebted to the government which proposed to itself, as we are informed, "that all able-bodied men should be found in work"?§ The parliament of Edward IV. found out that the law of Henry V. was "great damage to the patten-makers and none advantage to the fletchers." In the anti-commercial spirit of the age, the duke of Burgundy ordained that all woollen cloths wrought in England should be banished out of the lands of the said duke; and Edward IV., finding that this measure of the duke of Burgundy against English exports caused the weavers, fullers, dyers, carders, spinners, and winders of yarn to be destitute of occupation, prohibited the importation of all merchandises of all the lands of the duke, upon pain of forfeiture. Were all the various laborers engaged in the import trade with Burgundy assured that the government, which thus compelled them to starve under this stagnation of their ordinary employment, was intently occupied upon a benevolent provision for their prosperity? In these commercial enactments—in all that relates to prices, wages, quality of commodities, protection of native labor—we perceive little more than the grossest ignorance, fettering trade by unwise laws alike injurious to producer and consumer, and then whining over its own blunders, when the hasty remedies for surface evils had destroyed the industry which they were intended to foster.

* Stat. 23 Henry VI., cap. 12.
† See especially 3 Edward IV. cap. iv.
‡ Froude, "History of England," vol. i. p. 67.
§ Ibid., vol. i. p. 43.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Combinations of masons—Association an English principle—Domestic architecture—Timber houses—Consumption of timber—Furniture and utensils—Dearness and scarcity of clothing—Domestic servants—Females—Married life of females—Housewifery—The clergy—Their intercourse with the laity—Curates and chaplains—Pilgrimages—Wills—Difficulties of communication—Letters—State of popular knowledge—Beginnings of printing.

If we wanted any proof that the laws for the regulation of labor were for the oppression and not the protection of workmen, we should find it in one brief enactment of 1423:* "Whereas by the yearly congregations and confederacies made by the masons in their general chapiters assembled, the good course and effect of the Statutes of Laborers be openly violated and broken, in subversion of the law, and to the great damage of all the commons: our said lord the king, willing in this case to provide remedy, hath ordained and established that such chapiters and congregations shall not be hereafter holden; and if any such be made, they that cause such chapiters and congregations to be assembled and holden, if they thereof be convict, shall be judged for felons; and that all the other masons that come to such chapiters and congregations be punished by imprisonment of their bodies, and make fine and ransom at the king's will." This is hard measure for the class of men who, during three centuries, had covered England with its noblest monuments; and now, in the assemblies where they discoursed of their art, also complained of the oppression that levelled that art to the ordinary condition of unskilled labor. They resisted, as they had a right to resist. They held together, as Englishmen from that day to this have held, when tyranny has tried to break their ranks. Destructive as these class-contests may have been—in most cases unwise and useless for their immediate ends—they were better than servile endurance of real or fancied wrong. The union of masons, which this law called confederacy, was the principle which has made our nation unassailable from without and strong against oppression from within—the union of family, of occupation, of locality, of country—the steadfast individual will strengthening itself by association, and learning, in the discordant opinions of deliberative bodies, to moderate the rash and uncertain counsels of the solitary judgment. No real social tyranny could ever endure long in England against this principle. If the combination were inexpedient, the true wisdom of moderation would soon manifest itself. If it were just, no arbitrary legislative interference could eventually put it down. That the masons held their "chapiters" in despite of the law of Henry VI. we have no doubt; and that they controlled the bad "course and effect of the Statutes of Laborers" by some compromise, we may be equally assured. It was a building age in England; and the land would not have been covered with improved domestic structures if the rewards of the artificer had not been proportioned to the demand for his skill, in despite of the attempt to regiment all labor.

The period for grand ecclesiastical architecture was coming to an end. The cathedrals of England were finished. The age of monastic endowment was passed. Henry VI. began the noble chapel of King's College, but it remained incomplete till Henry VII. placed his armorial bearings over the doorway, as if that gorgeous structure had been his sole work. Castles, such as had arisen under the Norman kings, strong fortresses, but wretched abodes, were no longer needed, except on the Welsh and Scotch borders. The great proprietors now wanted dwellings that should unite convenience with some power of defence. The baronial lords, whose fathers had gone forth from the dreary keeps in which their armed followers lived in dirt and darkness, now added spacious courts, rich with "fair-compassed windows," within the space protected by the broad moat and the loopholed tower. The new castles were constructed so as to unite the characters of castellated and domestic architecture. Such was Herstmonceaux, in Sussex, erected in 1448, a spacious parallelogram, with seventeen octagon towers, and a machicolated gateway. The building with brick had been disused for centuries, and this ruined pile is a noble specimen of its revival. In some of these buildings there was the appearance rather than the reality of strength. They would have stood no attacks of cannon, and their battlements were rather for the purpose of defying sudden assaults

* Stat. 3 Henry VI. cap. 1.

from marauders and undisciplined bands than for resisting a practised soldiery, provided with the improved munitions of war. Nottingham Castle, in the time of Edward IV., had become "a gallant building for lodging," as Leland describes it; and though licenses to crenelate manor-houses—that is, to embattle and fortify them—were common enough at this period, the decorated gable and the handsome oriel window had superseded, in most instances, the protecting parapet and the frowning embrasure. The great hall was still the distinguishing feature of the domestic arrangement; and if the number of lodging-rooms was greatly increased, as compared with the rude provisions of an earlier period, there was small regard to those niceties of domestic comfort which grow with the growing refinements of each successive generation. One of the smaller manor-houses, Ockwells, in Berkshire, is a remarkable specimen of a building of elaborate decoration, in which the hall, with its spacious painted windows, strangely contrasts in its size and beauty with the meanness of the apartments which we reach after having mounted the broad staircase.

The ordinary country dwellings of the proprietary classes were constructed upon the same fashion of an open court, with a hall. They were generally so constructed as to be capable of some defence against attack. There was more apprehension of the forcible entries of disputants for possession than of public enemies or robbers. A house defended against such assaults is thus described: "Partrick and his fellowship are sore afraid that ye would enter again upon them; and they have made great ordinance within the house; and it is told me they have made bars to bar the doors crosswise; and they have made wickets in every quarter of the house to shoot out at, both with bows and with hand-guns; and the holes that be made for hand-guns they be scarce knee-high from the plancher (floor); and of such holes be made five; there can no man shoot out at them with no hand-bows."* Most of these houses were of timber; and it appears that in some cases they were framed upon the spot where the wood was felled.† In populous districts the demand for building timber was great; and this circumstance, which indicates how certainly the value of landed property is enhanced by the increase of an urban population, added largely to the revenues of the tenants-in-fee. The necessities, however, of the landed proprietors often compelled them to sell at a great reduction of price. "If I should sell my woods now," says Margaret Paston, "there will no man give so much for them by near an hundred marks as they be worth, because there be so many wood sales in Norfolk at this time."‡ The demand for fire-wood and charcoal for the towns was also gradually thinning the remotest coverts, and making way for the population that was to convert the dense forests into pastures and cornfields. One of the richest prospects of southern England is from Leith Hill, its highest eminence, where the eye ranges from the Downs of the coast to the chalk hills of Reigate, and luxuriates in the variety beneath—cornlands, meadows, parks, mansions, villages, plantations—but all indicating a tract which man has subdued into fertility. That was once the Weald of Surrey and Sussex—the Coit Andred of the Britons, the Andredes-weald of the Saxons; the immense forest formerly inhabited only by the wild hog and the stag, till the charcoal-burner there lighted his fires, and the iron-smelter built his forge. Before pit-coal came into use—and its value was little known in the fifteenth century—the great central fire of the baronial hall smoked and blazed with billet and brushwood. In the living-apartments the broad chimney-piece, beneath which the fuel rested upon andirons, was now made ornamental. Warmth was needed to exclude the blast that came through the ill-fitted doors and shrunken shutters. Hangings concealed the rough plastering of the walls and the "chinks which time had made." The sleeping-rooms were small. The good matron, Agnes Paston, is puzzled how she can put her husband's writing-board and his coffer beside the bed, so that he could have space to sit.§ This was in their town-house of Norwich, which was probably built of stone, and, if wanting in comfort within, exhibited an architectural taste without, which shames the hideous uniformity of modern towns—the long lines of high brick walls, with holes called windows at regular intervals. The furniture of the houses of the esquire and the yeoman was exceedingly scanty. Beds were rarely used except by the most wealthy; and "a little feather-bed" forms a considerable item in a will. A rich householder, John Baret, of Bury, in 1463, bequeaths to his niece "the round table for the term of her life, and after remain to the owner of my place."* Common utensils were transmitted from generation to generation; this worthy burgess thus leaving "a great earthen pot that was my mother's." Wives had a life interest in "stuff of household," which was bequeathed to descend, after the decease of the wife, article by article, to relatives and friends. The riches so handed down are such as a pottle pot and a quart pot, a pair of tongs, and a pair of bellows. Roger Rokewoode, of Euston, "squier," bequeaths to his son Robert twenty-four pounds of lawful money, six kine, four horses, a brass pot, two brass pans, six pewter dishes, four saucers and three platters of pewter, a feather-bed, a pair of sheets, and a pair of blankets.† The kine, the horses, and the saucers and platters appear of equal importance. The deficiency of household comfort is sufficiently shown by such minute dispositions of old and mean chattels, of little value now, but then estimated in proportion to their scarcity.

Running over wills of this period we find an equal scantiness of apparel. The "Wardrobe Accounts" of princes present a dazzling catalogue of new long gowns, doublets, demy gowns, jackets, tippets, slops—made of velvet, damask, cloth of gold, ermine. But when we come to peer into the wardrobes of the gentry and the burgesses, we see how carefully they treasured their articles of clothing. One testator leaves to a friend "one of my short gowns, a good one, which is convenient for him, and my russet hood."‡ Another desires that a neighbor's wife shall have "my best lined gown and my cloak."§ Another bestows "a doublet and a pair of hosen."‖ A worthy lady bequeaths to her son "a tawny jacket lined with yellow."¶ How the bravery of their apparel was a great point with the higher classes, and how they were pinched to obtain their costly finery, we have abundant evidence. One of the Pastons honestly tells his brother that a real friend thus reproved his extravagance in dress and servants: "It is the guise of your countrymen to spend all the goods they have on men and livery gowns, and horse and harness, and so bear it out for a while, and at the last they are but beggars."** They were as solicitous about their own dress as about the splendor of their attendants, and their solicitude for display sometimes made them ridiculous. "The gallant with the great chain," who is going to be married, is clearly a butt for the Norwich ladies. Hats were a French invention of 1449; and a belted knight writes, "Send me a hat and a bonnet by the same man; and let him bring the hat upon his head, for fear of misfashioning of it."†† The importance attached to articles of clothing was, no doubt, the result of their comparative dearness. Coarse cloth for laborers, as we learn from the statute, was not to exceed 2*s.* per yard; fine cloth, fit for the gown of a doctor at an university, cost 3*s.* 7*d.* Multiplying these values by 15—the supposed relation of present to ancient money-value—we see that a fine gown, which would demand several yards of broadcloth, would be a costly article, and that the working-man's dress would require a considerable outlay. A hat cost a shilling—the felt hat which, looking at the different values of money, is now bought at a fourth of that amount. Although the government was always regulating the price of materials of apparel, it prevented the only practical regulation, by utterly prohibiting the importation of woollen cloth, caps, hats, gloves, girdles, wrought leather, shoes.‡‡ If in the home manufacture any cheapening process was discovered, it was put down, upon the principle which the common-sense of mankind has not wholly discarded, that what abridges labor, and therefore lessens the cost of production, is a public evil: "It is showed in the said parliament how that hats, bonnets, and caps, as well single as double, were wont to be faithfully made, wrought, fulled, and thicked by men's strength, that is to say, with hands and feet, and thereby the makers of the same have honestly before this time gained their living, and kept many apprentices, servants, and good houses, till now of late that by subtle imagination, to the destruction of the labors and sustenance of many men, such hats, bon

* "Paston Letters," letter lxxvii.
‡ Ibid., letter cccxvii.
† Ibid., letter xlv.
§ Ibid. letter cxxiii.

* "Wills from the Registers of Bury," p. 23.
‡ "Bury Wills," p. 41.
§ Ibid., p. 75.
‖ Ibid., p. 84.
¶ Ibid., p. 115.
** "Paston Letters," letter lv.
†† Ibid., letter cclxiv.
‡‡ Stat. 3 Edward IV. cap. 4.
† Ibid., p. 53.

nets, and caps have been fulled and thicked in fulling-mills, and in the said mills the said hats and caps be broken and deceitfully wrought, and in no wise by the mean of any mill may be faithfully made."* The "subtle imagination" which is here denounced has filled England with wealth, of which the humblest in the land is a partaker, in the universal diffusion of those conveniences and comforts of life which "men's strength, that is to say, with hands and feet," could never have produced except for the rich few.

Of the inner household life we have some glimpses. The domestic servants of the wealthy were numerous; and those of the middle classes, as well as of the upper, appear to have been treated with a kindness and consideration that belonged to a period when no dignity was supposed to be compromised by considering dependants as humble friends. We have repeated examples of bequests to servants. In the correspondence of those servants in trust, such as bailiffs of manors, we have a frank statement of their opinions, not only as to the arrangement of property, but of higher matters concerning their master's interest. That there was eye-service and faithlessness in this state of society, as in more refined times, we may readily believe. We have seen, in the course of the public history, how mighty princes were deserted upon their death-beds, and their valuables carried off. A law of this period declares that "divers household servants, as well of lords as of other persons of great degree, shortly after the death of their said lords and masters, violently and riotously have taken and spoiled the goods which were of their said lords and masters at the time of their death, and the same distributed among them, to the impediment of the executors of the will of their said lords and masters."† The constant disputes about succession, and the delays in the administration of estates, may have prompted to these evil courses.

The position of females in the arrangements of family is a tolerably certain indication of the general state of society. We have no materials for speaking of the female life of the times of Henry VI. and Edward IV., besides those we derive from that invaluable source of information, the "Paston Letters." We do not refer so constantly to this remarkable correspondence, which extends over forty-five years, through any peculiar belief of its importance. Mr. Hallam has called attention to these letters as "a precious link in the chain of the moral history of England, which they alone in this period supply."‡ We here see the daughters of the house subjected to that strict discipline which then, and long after, marked the relations of child and parent. Other females, besides the daughters, were educated in the houses of the gentry; the claims of blood demanding protection for those without fortune. That the young women were, for the most part, well instructed, we may judge from the number of excellent letters, from married and single, which are found in this Paston collection. In the matters of love and matrimony, the daughters were greatly dependent upon the will of their parents, but in some cases they appear to have had a pretty determined will of their own. Every effort was made in this Paston family to break off a contract which one daughter had made with a person of inferior degree; but the young lady eventually triumphed.§ The interposition even of royalty to recommend a marriage was not always successful. "The queen [Margaret of Anjou] came into this town on Tuesday last past, afternoon, and abode here till it was Thursday afternoon; and she sent after my cousin Elizabeth Clere, to come to her; and she durst not disobey her commandment, and came to her. And when she came in the queen's presence, the queen made right much of her, and desired her to have an husband, the which ye shall know of hereafter. But as for that he is never nearer than he was before."‖ The old days were passed, when the knight knelt at the feet of his lady-love, and went forth to the tournament to challenge all men to produce her equal in beauty and virtue. The knight now ascertained what portion the lady's father would give, and he bargained for the uttermost crown. The mother made no hesitation in speaking boldly to a powerful person for a daughter, "to get for her one good marriage if he knew any." They were a plain-speaking race, and went straight to the real object of their hearts, without any unnecessary diplomacy. The "goodly young woman," not overburdened with accomplishments, but not ignorant, who could "use herself to work readily, as other gentlewomen do, and somewhat to help herself," was pretty sure to find an eligible partner. In the married life she had need of much practical knowledge besides sewing, and spinning, and housewifery. The lord of the household was no constant dweller in his own castle or manor-house. He was away, fighting, or hawking, or looking after his lawsuits in London; and the lady had the rule of his retainers and the welcome of his friends—the management of his farms, the sharp bargainings with his tenants. When she gave her hand she obeyed as well as loved with a fidelity and serious devotion to her duties that could dispense with romance; and the father of her children was always to her "worshipful."

The statute of the 3d year of Edward IV. is more minute in its enumeration of wrought goods forbidden to be imported than any which had preceded it, and it enables us to form some notion of the extent of those home manufactures which supplied the increasing domestic requirements of the people. We have mentioned the more important articles of apparel thus protected from foreign competition. The articles for which the lady was to rely upon native skill were laces, corses, ribbons, fringes, twined silk, embroidered silk, laces of gold, points, bodkins, scissors, pins, purses, pattens. But the prohibition was pretty equal with both sexes; for the gentleman, to whom the equipments of his horse was a matter of the first concern, had no choice but of English saddles, spurs, and bridles. His knife, his dagger, and his razor were to be English; and the renown of the Sheffield "whittle" would imply that he need not seek excellence in foreign blades. In all ironware, England relied upon her native forges for andirons, gridirons, locks, hammers, pincers, fire-tongs, dripping-pans, chafing-dishes, ladles, scummers. Hanging-candlesticks and curtain-rings were forbidden to be imported, in common with metal basins and ewers. Playing-cards and dice were among the prohibited articles. We thus see that our housekeepers of the fifteenth century had artificers laboring for them in various fashions. Time has spared few of the articles then produced almost solely "by man's strength," or we should discover how rudely many of the expensive wares were then fabricated, which science has now made beautiful and cheap. Many an old thrifty housewife has been in the condition of Lydgate, the chief poet of this period, who walks through London, invited by the tradesmen of Cheap and Canwick Street to buy "velvet, silk, and lawn," and she has said with him, when she saw the variety of fabrics unknown to the home of her childhood,

> "I never was used to such things indeed,
> And, wanting money, I might not speed."*

We must turn from this bewildering enumeration of what the artisans of England had been gradually learning to produce, since the primitive time when King Alfred made his horn lantern, to look rapidly at some of the broader aspects of domestic life which remain to be indicated.

We have few materials at this period to estimate the general manners of the clergy, and especially those of the higher churchmen, as in the preceding century, when satire and solemn invective dared to raise their voices against the pride, covetousness, and luxury of bishops and mitred abbots; denouncing jovial monks and idle seculars as abandoned ministers to public immorality. The severities against those who spoke out against the corruptions of the Church had shut the mouths even of the boldest. To be pointed at as a heretic was even more fatal than to be suspected as a traitor. Lollardie was crushed. The abbeys might more and more appropriate the revenues that ought to have been the reward of the parish-priest. The bishop might neglect his sacred functions, to add to his revenues the fees of the great offices of state, and, like Cardinal Beaufort, procure laws to be made against commercial freedom, and then receive large sums for licenses to violate them. Great spiritual lords might band themselves with great temporal lords, to withdraw the funds of hospitals from their proper uses, and leave the old, the lazar, the lunatic, and the pregnant woman, for whose benefit those hospitals were endowed, to perish at their utmost need.† They need not now fear

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* Stat. 22 Edward IV. cap. 5. † Stat. 33 Henry VI. cap. 1.
‡ "Literature of Europe," vol. i. p. 228.
§ "Once upon a Time," by Charles Knight.
‖ "Paston Letters," letter li.

* "London Lyckpenny."
† Statute for reformation of abuses of the funds of hospitals. 2 Henry V. cap. 1.

that the Commons would again complain, as in 1410 and in 1414, that the clergy were masters of one third of the revenue of the kingdom, and that if the superfluities of their revenues were properly applied, the realm would be in a better position of defence, the poor better maintained, and the clergy would attend more to their own functions. Such a compromise as that which the Church had made with Henry V., by allowing him, upon these allegations, to appropriate the revenues of a hundred and ten priories of aliens, would not again be necessary in this day of ecclesiastical power. With all this security, the gorgeous edifice was mouldering at its base. We must wait half a century before the great crash comes. Let us here trace a few illustrations of the domestic intercourse of the clergy with the laity.

In almost every house of the nobility and higher gentry there was a chaplain. In a very large number of parishes there was a curate. The incumbent, in too many instances, was a pluralist; and thus many of the attacks of Wycliffe and his followers were levelled against those who took the wages of the shepherd and neglected the sheep. This class of chaplains and working curates was very indifferently paid. By the statute of the 36th of Edward III., no parish priest nor yearly priest should take more than five marks, or at most six, "for their wages by year." The statute of the 2d of Henry V. avers that "they will not serve but for ten pounds, or twelve, or ten marks by year, at least." The unquestionable rise in the price of commodities made the poor priests as discontented with their legal wages as we have seen that the masons were. They were to be met by new laws, made by the influence of the wealthier clergy, and of the lay great men who were to pay for their services; and thus the statute ordains that "no yearly chaplain shall take for his whole wages by year, for his board, apparel, and other necessaries, but seven marks; and the parish priests which serve cures shall take but eight marks, unless by license of the ordinary." The highest payment for a parish priest was nine marks—six pounds. The artificer at fourpence a day earned about as much as the parish priest, to suffice for "his board, apparel, and other necessaries." That this class of men would cherish a rooted dislike of the full-fed monk, and of the mendicant friar who contrived to have a sufficient share of the goods of the world, was inevitable; and the discontent gathered strength, till the image with the head of gold and the feet of iron and clay was broken to pieces. But meanwhile they labored diligently, as many of the brethren of the monastic orders also labored, or they could not have kept alive, amid many observances which we properly regard as superstitious, a real spirit of piety and charity among the people. Some of the wills which we have mentioned, in connection with less important matters, afford sufficient proof that this spirit was not dead in the century which preceded the Reformation.

The presiding influence of religion is to be traced wherever the individual mind displays itself. It is not the influence of the particular chaplain or confessor—the reliance upon his holiness or the admiration of his learning—but the irresistible conviction that the Church is all-powerful to condemn or to save. The interference of the ecclesiastic with men's temporal affairs was never-ceasing, and the officiousness was often hastily resented by members of the family where the priest was supreme. John Paston complains that his mother's chaplain has turned her affection from her sons: "Sir James* and I be twain: we fell out before my mother, with 'thou proud priest,' and 'thou proud squire,' my mother taking his part, so I have almost beshut the bolt as for my mother's house." But the Church held its empire over the will of the population, high and low, through the universal belief in the efficacy of its ceremonial observances for procuring health and weal and the safety of souls. A husband is sick in London; and his anxious wife writes, "My mother behested [vowed] another image of wax of the weight of you, to our Lady of Walsingham; and she sent four nobles to the four orders of friars at Norwich to pray for you; and I have behested to go on pilgrimage to Walsingham and St. Leonards."† These were not the mere fancies of the women of that time. William Yelverton, a judge of the King's Bench, writes to thank his cousin for his zeal, "for Our Lady's House of Walsingham;" adding, "for truly if I be drawn to any worship or welfare, and discharge of mine enemies' danger, I ascribe it unto Our Lady." In the most doubtful time of the wars of the Roses, in 1471, the duke of Norfolk and his duchess are on pilgrimage, on foot, to Our Lady of Walsingham. By a bull of the pope, the shrine of St. Jago, in Gallicia, was averred to be of equal virtue for pilgrimage as the Holy Sepulchre. There was a little danger to give excitement to the short land journey in Spain, for the Moslems were still in the peninsula, and the military knights of St. Jago were organized to protect the pilgrims. From 1413 to 1456, many thousands of English sailed from Plymouth, Falmouth, Yarmouth, Bristol, Southampton, Hull, London, and many other ports, in small vessels licensed for this special service.* Pilgrimages to Canterbury and Walsingham were ridiculed by the early reformers as mere pleasure-trips, with more merriment than sanctity; and, if we may judge from Chaucer, they were especially adapted for a people to whom the "dolce far niente"—the do-nothing of the south—was intolerable weariness. The national characteristic then, as now, was its avidity for action. The knight, wanting home occupation, most earnestly desires that a hawk may be procured; for he says, "By my troth, I die for default of labor."† The energy of the race carried the knight into the battle-field as much for excitement as for principle; made him in peace the most daring falconer and huntsman, and sent the yeoman and peasant to their archery contests, their leaping, their vaulting, their morris-dances, and their mummings. The Church laid hold of this universal hatred of sitting down at rest, and sent them on pilgrimage.

But as the most active came naturally to look at the approaching night "when no man worketh," the Church then was at hand, with its real truths and its vain delusions, to give confidence in the last human trial. The wills of the period afford unquestionable evidence of the constant presence of the spiritual adviser in the once busy man's "chair-days." Moneys bequeathed to the high altar of the abbey or parish-church; requiems to be said, in rich vestments appropriated for the special purpose, with a yearly reward to the priest; a newly-painted image of Our Lady to be set up, with a taper ever burning; the chimes in the steeple to be repaired; a priest to have a house to dwell in, and at every meal to repeat the name of the testator, that they that hear it may say, "God have mercy on his soul," which greatly may relieve him. It was this undoubting confidence in the prayers of the priesthood which made the Church so rich and powerful. Rome and its spiritual power were still ever-present to the popular mind. One testator wishes that a Latin sentence should be written "on the fore-part of the iron about my grave," with "the day and the year of our Lord of my departing from this world, and the pardon which I purchased to be written therewith."‡ Another, a lady, bequeaths "to a priest for to go to Rome, ten pounds; and I will that the said priest go to the stations and say masses as is according to a pilgrim."§ But, amid all this, the Christian sympathy for the poor and miserable displays itself in little traits of pious tenderness; in association, also, with the English hospitality. Executors are to visit the poor and bedridden, and give them each a farthing or a penny. A good dinner is to be made to neighbors and lovers; and on the day of the dinner the prisoners in the jail are to be refreshed with meat and drink. A large endowment is made for a priest to say mass on Sundays, in the chapel of the jail before the prisoners; and that they have seven fagots of wood every week in the winter. It would appear from this care for prisoners that their condition was most wretched, as indeed it remained till the days of John Howard. Whatever may have been the errors of the Church of the fifteenth century, we may justly conclude that at the bottom of their teaching was a solid foundation of zeal and charity; and that in many of the concerns of life they were the kind instructors and faithful friends of the great body of the people, out of whose ranks the real working ministers for the most part proceeded.

The dominant control of the local clergy over the popular mind was a necessary result of the isolation of the village and the town. The friar and the parson were the only superior persons that mixed

* The title "Sir" shows that the priest held a living.
† "Paston Letters," letter v.

* See Turner's "History of England," vol. iii.; and Roberts' "Southern Counties," for lists of these expeditions.
† "Paston Letters," letter cccxxv. ‡ "Bury Wills," p. 19.
§ Ibid., p. 74.

intimately with the burgess and the yeoman; and they only, through the same intercourse with the higher ranks, could tell of public affairs beyond the range of their own districts. The merchant, as he was called, who travelled from fair to fair, and the pilgrim, were the only bearers of news. The common carriers were more occupied with the price of oats than the affairs of state, and had more dread of thieves on the road than of changes of dynasties. Thus, there was small communication between one part of the kingdom and another; and men abode, from childhood to age, in the narrow circle of their own local influences. The slowness with which news travelled is shown by the circumstance that the result, so important to the Londoners, of the great battle of Towton was not known to them till six days after Edward's victory. "Tidings" were only to be found in letters, such as those of the Pastons. But it was dangerous to write freely; and when an opinion was given upon passing events or the characters of men, some such sentence as this was added: "After this is read and understood, I pray you burn or break it, for I am loth to write anything of any lord."* Letters were then most carefully folded and fastened at the end by a paper band, upon which the seal was affixed. Letters were, however, not always sacred. They were intrusted sometimes to the common carriers, who might be tampered with; and neighbors were not always faithful to their trust in an age of political suspicion. "Look that ye take heed that the letter were not broken ere that it came to your hands," says Sir John Paston, when he was hesitating about his safest policy. When it was necessary to be particularly careful a floss of silk was put under the seal; and at the parts where the paper on which the seal was impressed was folded over the letter, marks were drawn by a pen connecting the enveloping paper with the letter itself. Political secrets were, however, rarely committed to writing. Spoken words were less dangerous.

We may conclude this imperfect view of the domestic life of the fifteenth century by a brief reference to the state of knowledge among the laity. There were in the ranks of the nobility many encouragers of learning and literature. Humphrey of Gloucester had collected a magnificent library of six hundred volumes—a rare acquisition when we regard the value of manuscript books. The transcriber was employed in copying legal papers as well as in multiplying volumes. We have the account of one who writes twenty-eight leaves of evidence at 2*d.* a leaf, and sixty leaves of a treatise on war at the same price. We find five marks offered for a Bible. The costly bindings of manuscripts greatly enhanced their marketable value. With this scarcity of books, we may readily conceive that reading was not a common acquirement among the laity. In the recommendations to a nobleman of a person "meet to be clerk of your kitchen," a "goodly young man on horse and foot, well spoken in English, meetly well in French, and very perfect in Flemish," is one who also "can write and read."† The time was at hand, when out of the Weald of Kent, a lad should have gone to London as a draper's apprentice, who, having in due course risen in estimation by his skill and industry, became the consul for the English merchants at Bruges. The sister of Edward IV. was married to the duke of Burgundy; and the merchant, who had a turn for letters, translated for her a French work in general esteem. Leaving his mercantile functions for a season, he was absent for two years in Germany. An invention, so simple that it appears wonderful that what affected mankind so nearly should have remained so long undiscovered—the art of printing from movable types—was the wonder of Germany. Books were then to be produced at a tenth of the price of manuscripts. The English merchant saw the importance of the new art, he penetrated the mystery, and bestowed printing upon England. William Caxton came, to render the ignorance of any large portion of society thenceforward impossible. He came, to be the forerunner of that great reformation which was impracticable for Wycliffe, even with his manuscript Bible in his hand. He came, to render Bibles and other books the common property of the great and the mean. He came, to make tyranny an impossible thing in England, when his art should have grown, like every other great institution which we have nourished, century after century, to be the chief safeguard against every form of oppression and corruption—the best upholder of just law and government. Slowly did the dissemination of knowledge by printed books change the condition of society; but henceforth we can never speak of that condition without regarding the influences of the printing-press.

* "Paston Letters," letter lxxxiv. † Ibid., letter cccixvi.

CHAPTER XL.

Death-struggle of the feudal power—The House of York—Banishment and murder of Suffolk—Insurrection of Cade—He enters London—His death—Spirit of revolt in England—York in arms against Somerset—Incapacity of the king—York protector—The king recovers—York superseded—First battle of St. Alban's—Triumph of the Yorkists—York's second protectorate ended—Reconciliation of the two factions—Commencement of the civil war—Battle of Blore Heath—Parliament of Coventry—Battle of Northampton—The Duke of York claims the crown—Battle of Wakefield—Death of York—His son, Edward, wins the battle of Mortimer's Cross—Second battle of St. Alban's—Edward proclaimed king—Edward and Warwick march from London—Battle of Towton.

"THE convulsive and bleeding agony of the feudal power"* is the great story which we have to trace during the second half of the fifteenth century. We have seen the building up of the constitution during seven centuries, when the men of England, from whatever stock derived, were working, like the builders of the second temple, with their swords ever in their hands. We have seen the representative principle gradually asserting itself against despotic power, whether of the crown, the aristocracy, or the church, till it finally raised up the stronghold which assault or sap could never destroy. But "the troubled birth of constitutional monarchy,"† succeeding to that feudal death-struggle, might have given us a dwarfed and puny charter of rights, but for the peculiarities of race and nurture of the great body of the people. We have seen this people, prepared by hundreds of years of discipline for the development of freedom under its changed aspects, when the reign of feudality was coming to its close. Whatever were the defects of the various states of society which we have endeavored to exhibit, we have seen, in the aggregate national character, the elements of future greatness and prosperity. Whatever the disturbances of foreign or internal war, as we approach nearer the line which separates ancient and modern manners, we have seen a people active, enterprising, trained to individual exertion, patriotic, class mingling with class, and no class ever losing sight of the grand national foundation of individual freedom. We have seen a self-taxing people, always resisting every attempt of the monarch to make himself independent of their representatives, and whose nobles would, for the most part, rather pull down their castles than they "should be in the governance of any sovereign that would oppress the country."‡ We have seen a people in their habits not servile, or, on the other hand, anarchical, though designated in other countries "the fiercest nation in Europe;" a people never wholly relying upon administrative direction, but long trained to independent exertion in small communities; adapting themselves to changing circumstances, but always cleaving to their great principle of continuity; incessantly repairing, never destroying and building up anew; a people holding a great place in the world's estimation, because essentially brave and persevering; proud, but not tyrannous or habitually cruel; full of self-love and obstinacy, but never pursuing the impracticable for any long period, and swayed more than any other nation by the power of collective opinion, when fairly educed and fearlessly expressed. The whole character of this people had a solid foundation in the family ties. In the home was the nursing-place of liberty. In the home was fostered and strengthened, in companionship with a more equal freedom, a purer religion than that of mere ceremonial observance—the religion of the Book of Life, opened at last to every man who would "read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest" the words of truth.

Richard, duke of York, was the son of Richard, earl of Cambridge, and when his father was beheaded, in 1415, he was about five years old. Upon the death of Edmund Mortimer, in 1424, he was the representative of the posterity of two sons of Edward III.—

* Barante; article in *Revue Française*, March, 1829. † Ibid.
‡ The words of William Worcester, of his master, Sir John Fastolf.

of Lionel, the third son, and of Edmund, the fifth son. The revolution of 1399, which placed the issue of John of Gaunt, the fourth son, upon the throne, had remained undisturbed for half a century.* Richard had advanced no pretensions to a higher dignity than he obtained when, in 1425, he succeeded to the titles and possessions of his uncles, Edward, duke of York, and Edmund, earl of March, having been relieved from the corruption of blood consequent upon the alleged treason of his father. He was employed in high offices in France, until 1444, when he was recalled, and the peace was concluded which destroyed the power of the English. York became necessarily opposed to the government whose policy had been so disastrous and unpopular, and an opportunity was taken to remove him to a distant scene of action. He was sent, as lieutenant of Ireland, to quell a rebellion in 1449. His excellent qualities—his firmness, justice, and moderation—"so assuaged the fury of the wild and savage people there, that he won such favor among them as could never be separated from him and his lineage." † During his absence from England, in 1449, till the autumn of 1450, great events had occurred, which were the natural sequel of the intrigues which had destroyed Humphrey of Gloucester in 1447. The loss of France was a main cause of the distractions of England. Comines, with his wonted sagacity, has observed that, upon their return to their own country from the foreign land which had afforded them such means of enrichment, "not one of the English lords thought of lessening his state, or retrenching his expenses; and the whole revenue of the kingdom being insufficient to satisfy the insatiable ambition of them all, dissensions and wars immediately arose among them for command and authority." ‡

The duke of Suffolk, who had effected the marriage of Henry VI. with Margaret of Anjou, had become the real ruler of England as the head of the queen's party. He is described by contemporary historians as crafty, avaricious, and despotic, surrounding the king with his own creatures, and irritating the people by inordinate exactions. The duke, in a parliament held in January, 1450, proclaimed his own unpopularity, by requesting the Lords "to admit his supplication and desire that he might make his declaration of the great infamy and defamation which was said upon him, by many of the people of this land." Within a few days the Commons requested his committal to the Tower, and subsequently exhibited a bill of impeachment against him. It was a time of serious alarm from the temper of the people. Moleyne, the bishop of Chichester, who had been associated in the government with Suffolk, and whom that minister had accused of advising the surrender of the French provinces, was murdered by some shipmen at Portsmouth at the beginning of this January. Insurrections at the same time took place in various parts of the country, of which the alleged object was the punishment of the obnoxious favorite of the queen. The Commons appear to have proceeded against this powerful minister in the same spirit of determined animosity. They accused him of traitorous intercourse with France, through which Normandy had been lost; of making corrupt grants to enrich his own family; of misemploying subsidies for his private advantage; of appointing high officers for lucre. On the 17th of March he was brought before the king at Westminster, many lords being present; and there, denying the truth of the charges against him, he knelt down and submitted himself to the king's rule and governance, to do with him according to his pleasure. The result of this concerted scheme was the banishment of Suffolk for five years; in this way avoiding the impeachment of the Commons. The duke hastened from London, and thus escaped the popular fury in the capital. He remained in Suffolk till the end of April, and then sailed from Ipswich with two ships and "a little spinner," which he sent forward to Calais. On the 2d of May, a large vessel, called Nicholas of the Tower, came in sight, and upon the summons of its commander the duke went on board her. We have a circumstantial relation of the fate of this unfortunate nobleman in a letter written from London on the 5th of May.§ When he came on board the Nicholas, the master saluted him with "Welcome, traitor." He was then "arraigned in the ship on their manner, upon the impeachments, and found guilty, and in the sight of all his men he was drawn out of the great ship into the boat, and there was an axe and a stock, and one of the lewdest (meanest) of the ship bade him lay down his head, and he should be fairly ferd (dealt) with, and die on a sword; and took a rusty sword and smote off his head within half a dozen strokes, and took away his gown of russet and his doublet of velvet mailed, and laid his body on the sands of Dover; and some say his head was set on a pole by it." There is a letter from the duke of Suffolk to his son, dated April, 1450, "the day of my departing from this land," which exhibits him in the character of a wise, pious, and affectionate father. One sentence, coming from a man whose alleged crimes were the promptings of pride, avarice, and craftiness, is very curious: "Furthermore, as far as father may and can, I charge you in any wise to flee the company and counsel of proud men, of covetous men, and of flattering men, the more especially and mightily to withstand them, and not to draw nor to meddle with them, with all your might and power; and to draw to you and to your company good and virtuous men, and such as be of good conversation, and of truth, and by them shall ye never be deceived nor repent you of." * The temper in which the news of the fall and death of Suffolk was popularly received is curiously exhibited in a song composed within a few weeks of the date of this tragedy. The duke is "Jack Napes" with his "clog and his chain" (the badge of his house), who is going over the sea "to seek more treasure;" and portions of the church-service for the dead are here put into the mouths of ecclesiastics and others who were most obnoxious, to sing "*Placebo and Dirige*" for "Jack Napes' soul," and to pray "let never such another come after this." This bitter song of triumph furnishes a curious piece of evidence that there was some powerful organization of the discontented people in the spring and summer of 1450. One of the verses of this ballad says,

> "Rise up, Say: read *Parce mihi, Domine,*
> *Nihil enim sunt dies mei,* thou shalt sing."

Say, who was thus to sing, "Spare me, O Lord, for my days are as nothing," was murdered in Cade's insurrection on the subsequent 4th of July. "As these verses appear to have been written before his death, they are singularly prophetic of his fate." † The prophecy was no doubt delivered by those who were resolved upon instigating its fulfilment.

In the holiday week of Whitsuntide, 1450, there was a more serious game played on Blackheath than the accustomed morris-dances and bear-baitings. There was an encampment there of many thousand Kentish men, who had gathered together to demand redress of grievances. Their leader is officially described as "the false traitor John Cade, naming himself John Mortimer, late called captain of Kent." ‡ He is also chronicled as "an Irishman, called John Cade, the which at beginning took on him the name of a gentleman, and called himself Mortimer, for to have the more favor of the people; and he called himself also John Amend-all." § Upon Blackheath this assemblage kept the field for several weeks, and the city of London, at that time, was friendly toward them. Cade declared to the messengers who came from the king that they were assembled to redress and reform the wrongs that were in the realm, and the defaults of those that were the king's chief counsellors. ‖ These pretensions were set forth in fifteen articles, addressed to the king and parliament. A considerable force was raised to disperse the insurgents, but they retreated to Sevenoaks, and there, on the 27th June, defeated a detachment that had been sent against them, killing the commander, Sir Humphrey Stafford. Their success appears to have alarmed the king's council; and Lord Say, the most obnoxious of the ministers, was sent to the Tower. Henry himself removed to Kenilworth. Two days after, Cade resumed his camp at Blackheath, the king's forces having dispersed. One chronicle says that the men of certain lords "would not fight against them that labored for to amend and reform the common profit." ¶ On the 1st of July the insurgents entered Southwark, and on the 2d the gates of the

* See p. 159. In that place we called Lionel the *second* son, because William, whose birth followed that of the Black Prince, died in childhood.

† Stow. ‡ Book i. chap. vii. § "Paston Letters," letter xxvii.

* "Paston Letters," letter xxvi.

† Sir F. Madden, in "Archæologia," vol. xxix. p. 318, where this poem and others of the reigns of Henry VI. and Edward IV. are correctly printed and ably illustrated.

‡ Stat. 29 Henry VI. cap. i.

§ "English Chronicle," published by the Camden Society, p. 64.

‖ "English Chronicle," p. 65. ¶ Ibid., p. 65

city were opened to them. A statute of the 31st of Henry VI. describes "the most abominable tyrant, horrible, odious, and errant false traitor John Cade," as "taking upon him royal power." The contemporary English Chronicle says, "The said captain rode about the city bearing a naked sword in his hand, armed in a pair of brigandines,* wearing a pair of gilt spurs, and a gilt sallet,† and a gown of blue velvet, as he had been a lord or a knight—and yet was he but a knave—and had his sword borne before him." Fabyan, then a resident in London, says, "He rode through divers streets of the city, and as he came to London-stone, he struck it with his sword, and said, 'Now is Mortimer lord of this city.'" On the 2d he again entered the city from Southwark. The mayor and justices were sitting at the Guildhall. Cade commanded that Lord Say should be brought from the Tower and arraigned before this court; but the nobleman demanded to be judged by his peers. Then the insurgents took the readier way to vengeance by seizing Lord Say, and at the Standard, in Cheap, striking off his head. This, and other horrible deeds, as well as the plunder of some houses, disabused the citizens of their belief that grievances were to be redressed by lawless tumults. Cade was in his old quarters at Southwark, when it was resolved to defend London Bridge against his further entrance into the city. During the whole night of Sunday, the 5th of July, the citizens, assisted by soldiers from the Tower, fought against the insurgents upon the bridge. A truce was at last agreed upon; and the men of Kent and their captain withdrew, upon a promise from the archbishop of Canterbury of a general pardon. A proclamation was, however, issued, offering the reward of a thousand marks for the apprehension of Cade, alive or dead; and "anon he fled into the wood country beside Lewes; and the sheriff of Kent him pursued; and there he was wounded unto the death, and taken and carried in a cart toward London, and by the way he died."‡ There is a petition of the sheriffs of London to the king, praying remuneration of their expenses in drawing "the body of a great traitor, naming himself Mortimer, upon an hurdle by the streets of your city of London and his head to be set upon London Bridge;" also for delivering, under the king's writ, the one quarter of the said traitor to the constables of the hundred of Blackheath; another quarter to the mayor of Norwich; another to the mayor of Salisbury; and another to the bailiffs of Gloucester. The sheriffs allege that their expenses were very great, especially by their carriages of the quarters aforesaid, with the head of one Thomas Cheyney, "for and by cause that unneth (scarcely) any persons durst nor would take upon them the carriage of the said head and quarters for doubt of their lives."§ Thomas Cheyney, called Bluebeard, had headed an insurrection near Canterbury in the preceding February.

The spirit of revolt was widely spread in England in this year, when the weakness and corruption of the government had roused the indignation of a people who were rarely incited to any acts of rebellion. The insurrections extended to Essex, Sussex, and Wiltshire, as well as Kent. Whatever grievances the Commons had to complain of at home, the disasters of the English in France appear to have caused much of their hatred of the party in power. A servant of Sir John Fastolf fell into the hands of the insurgents at Blackheath; and when it was known to whom he belonged, as the servant records, "the captain let cry Treason upon me throughout all the field;" causing a herald to proclaim, "that I was sent thither to espy their puissance and their habiliments of war, from the greatest traitor that was in England or in France," from one Sir John Fastolf, knight, who had diminished all the garrisons, "which was the cause of the losing of all the king's title and right of an heritance that he had beyond the sea."‖ As the nobles felt their means of enrichment diminished by the loss of the French provinces, so needy adventurers, who had gone to France for pay and plunder, were now thrown upon their own country, and contributed to the discontents of the kingdom. All these circumstances enhanced the popularity of the duke of York, with whose house the rebels associated the name of their leader, Mortimer. Whether these revolts were prompted by the Nevilles and others who were hostile to the government, and seriously looked to a change of dynasty as the remedy for public evils, is a matter only of conjecture. The governor of Normandy, the duke of Somerset, to whom the more recent losses in France were attributed, now arrived in England and took the management of affairs. For four years there was a contest for life and death between two great parties in the state—a contest characterized by that bitter hostility which was the natural prelude to civil war. Upon the return of Somerset the Commons petitioned the king to send him to the Tower; but he was soon released. There has been preserved a speech in the House of Lords of the duke of Norfolk against this powerful nobleman, in which he accuses Somerset as one of those who have been guilty of bringing about "the over great dishonors and losses that be come to this full noble realm of England." But Somerset, nearly connected in blood with the house of Lancaster, and supported by the queen, defied his assailants; and in February 1452 the duke of York took up arms, declaring in a proclamation to the citizens of Shrewsbury, that the duke of Somerset having labored his destruction by envy, malice, and untruth, "I, Richard of York, seeing that the said duke ever prevaileth and ruleth about the king's person, that by this means the land is likely to be destroyed, am fully concluded to proceed in all haste against him, with the help of my kinsmen and friends, in such wise that it shall prove to promote ease, peace, tranquillity, and safeguard of all this land."* The "all haste" with which York proceeded was not successful. He professed, in his attempt to overthrow Somerset, to keep within the bounds of his liegeance, and with no intent to displease his sovereign lord. But he advanced toward London with his forces; and, after much negotiation, Somerset was ordered into custody. York then disbanded his army, and went to Henry's tent unarmed. As he left the king he was arrested, and would probably have been executed had the wishes of Somerset and the queen wholly prevailed. York finally swore fealty to the reigning sovereign, and retired to Wigmore, one of his castles.

In October, 1453, King Henry became totally incapacitated for taking any share in that government of which he had long been only the nominal head. In the same month his only son was born at Westminster, "whose noble mother sustained not a little slander and obloquy of the common people, saying that he was not the natural son of King Henry, but changed in the cradle."† The unhappy king remained at Windsor for many months, in a condition of total unconsciousness. In a most interesting letter of the 19th January, 1454, written to John Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, by some persons of his household, we have the following passage: "As touching tidings, please it you to wit, that at the prince's coming to Windsor, the duke of Buckingham took him in his arms, and presented him to the king in goodly wise, beseeching the king to bless him; and the king gave no manner answer. Nathless the duke abode still with the prince by the king; and when he could no manner answer have, the queen came in, and took the prince in her arms, and presented him in like form as the duke had done, desiring that he should bless it; but all their labor was in vain, for they departed thence without any answer or countenance, saving only that once he looked on the prince, and cast down his eyen again, without any more."‡

In the letter from which this touching account of the helpless state of King Henry is quoted, we have a vivid picture of the disquiet, suspicion, and preparation for warfare which marked this crisis, when the government of the kingdom was to be contended for by two ambitious factions. The duke of Somerset was under arrest, but his influence was still powerful, and the efforts of his party unremitting. The writers of the "tidings" say that he hath spies in every lord's house of this land—some as friars some as shipmen taken on the sea. They are of opinion that he is making himself ready to be as strong as he can make him; and therefore it is necessary that the duke of Norfolk should look well to himself, "lest bushments should be laid for him." The cardinal, Kempe, chancellor and archbishop of Canterbury, the great supporter with Somerset of the queen's party, hath armed all his servants with bow and arrows, sword and buckler. The duke of Exeter and the earl of Egremont have been in the north country, confederating with other Lancastrian lords, to make all the puissance they can, to come to

* A species of armor worn by foot-soldiers. † Helmet.
‡ "English Chronicle," p. 68.
§ Ellis, "Original Letters," 2d Series, vol. i. p. 112.
‖ "Paston Letters," letter xxx.

* Ellis, "Original Letters," 1st Series, vol. i. p. 13.
† Fabyan, p. 628, ed. 1811.
‡ "Archæologia," vol. xxix. p. 305: "Letter of Intelligence, January, 1454;" from the Egerton MSS. in the British Museum.

London. The duke of Buckingham, Humphrey Stafford—whose rent-roll amounted to six thousand three hundred pounds, derived from estates in twenty-seven counties *—is at this period waiting upon events to decide his course; but he has ordered two thousand scarfs with the Stafford knot as badges for his retainers. According to this letter the queen had made a bill of articles, desiring to have the whole rule of the land; to appoint all the officers of the government, and fill up all the benefices of the Church. It was a contest for power between Margaret of Anjou and Richard of York. How York and his partisans were preparing for the struggle is indicated in this remarkable letter. The duke and the earl of March are coming to London with a fellowship of good men, and their helmets and other harness are coming in carts. Salisbury, Warwick, Richmond, and Pembroke are coming with the duke of York, each of them with a goodly fellowship. The earl of Warwick will have a thousand men awaiting on him. The duke of Norfolk is advised, therefore, to come with such a fellowship as he ought to have about him, and to summon his tenants and servants to meet him in London. It is in such indirect revelations as these that we learn how earnest was the struggle for supremacy between these feudal lords, and upon what slippery ground those stood who held the reins of government. Death in the battle-field, and "the axe upon the block, very ready," were the natural results of such note of preparation.

In the parliament which met on the 14th of February, to which the great nobles had come with such overwhelming array, the proceedings were conducted in a peaceful and constitutional spirit. A deputation of peers was appointed to wait upon the king at Windsor, and inform him of the death of Cardinal Kempe, his chancellor, and of other important matters. They reported that they "could get no answer or sign" in reply to their prayer, at three several interviews. The peers, being thus satisfied of the king's incapacity, elected the duke of York to be "protector and defender of the realm of England during the king's pleasure." The duke held this office till the beginning of 1455, during which period Somerset remained in confinement. But in February of that year it was announced that the king was recovered. The only circumstances we learn of the character of his recovery are detailed in a private letter from an officer of the court, dated the 10th of January. He began to amend on the Christmas Day; and the queen took the infant prince to him, and he asked what his name was, and the queen told him Edward; and then he held up his hands and thanked God thereof. Further he said he never knew him till that time, nor wist what was said to him, nor where he had been while he was sick. "And he saith he is in charity with all the world, and so he would all the lords were." †

Very few of the lords, if we may judge by their actions, were, like poor King Henry, at charity with all the world. They were all thinking of themselves; all hating and fearing rivals; all coveting some place of profit and honor; all looking to the supremacy of their own faction for the gratification of their personal avarice or ambition. This is a hard thing to say of the great ones of a great nation, but in the private and public records of these evil times we can discover only a very feeble regard for the public good, with a very passionate striving after private advantage. It is in the intensity of the selfishness and the wilfulness of the pride of these lords—who brought the hundreds and thousands of their retainers into the field to destroy their fellow-men for a cause in which the principles at issue were to them of far less importance than the heraldic badges of the two houses—that we must look for an explanation of the alternations of timidity and rashness, of faith and treachery, of lenity and cruelty, with which this contest was carried on at intervals for so many years; while those who were children in its beginning grew up into violent and cruel men, amid the corrupting influences of family feuds, through which the second generation seemed only born to carry forward the evil deeds of the first.

The recovery, as it was called, of King Henry produced another signal change in affairs. Somerset was released. The protectorate of York was necessarily superseded, and he was also removed from his important office of captain of Calais. The hostility between the two great dukes was attempted to be compromised by arbitration, but their animosities were too deadly to be settled by the formal award of bishops and earls. York had retired to his estates in the north, but in the spring he marched toward London. The king was now again capable of taking an ostensible direction in the conduct of the government, and he left Westminster, on the 20th of May, with Somerset and other nobles, to meet York in arms before he reached the capital. The professions of loyalty to the king which York had always employed were still observed. In letters which he was subsequently stated to have written from Royston to the chancellor, and from Ware to Henry, he protested that he marched in military array only to defend himself from the violence of his enemies. These letters were concealed from the king, who had reached St. Alban's, with a force of about two thousand men, on the 22d of May. On the same day York encamped in the fields near the town, with three thousand men. The Yorkists sent to demand that Edmund, duke of Somerset, "enemy to all the realm," should be given up to them. The king replied that by advice of his council he would not deliver him. The king's forces were within the town, which was defended by strong barriers. The defences were again and again assaulted by the Yorkists; but they were driven back. At length Warwick brought up a strong force on the east side, and broke down the barriers and the slight houses, and entered St. Peter's Street. The royal banner was erected in that street, and there stood the passive king, while the deadly fight was raging in the narrow ways, and his counsellors and friends were fighting around him hand-to-hand with their rivals. The Lancastrian leaders, Somerset, Northumberland, and Clifford, at length were slain. Henry, as he stood beside his banner, was wounded in the neck with an arrow. Buckingham and Sudeley were also wounded by the shafts of the archers of the north. Sir Philip Wentworth cast down the royal standard, and sought safety in flight; for which unchivalrous deed, Norfolk, who was of the opposite party, threatened that he should be hanged. All those who fell were buried beneath the roof of the noble abbey, which was in a few years more to be again associated with the memory of this fatal time. Whethamstede, the abbot of St. Alban's, describes the fury of the street battle of the 22d of May. He heard sword clashing with sword, and shield striking shield. He saw the wounded with the arrows in their throats, and the dead with their cloven skulls. But the number slain was very small. A letter within three days afterward says, "As for any great multitude of people that there was, as far as we can tell, there was at most slain six score." * Hall exaggerates the number killed, of the king's party alone, to eight thousand. This affair of St. Alban's was, however, important in the quality of the leaders who fell on the side of the Lancastrians. The king sought shelter in the house of a tanner, and there York waited upon him, exhibiting profound respect, and conducted him next day to London, with the same outward marks of reverence. The fall of Somerset did not, however, restore confidence. The parliament met in July; and a general pardon was declared by statute for all those who had taken arms; and all the blame of the "journey" of St. Alban's was thrown upon Somerset and his adherents. But, as we learn from that invaluable correspondence which Mr. Hallam calls "my faithful guide," in that middle of July, 1455, "all my lord of Warwick's men, my lord of York's men, and also my lord of Salisbury's men, go with harness and in harness, with strange weapons; and have stuffed their lords' barges full of weapons daily unto Westminster." † In the summons to this parliament there was no attempt on the part of the Yorkists to exclude their rival peers. None were omitted, of either party. There were the same names as in the previous parliament, with the exception of those who had fallen on the 22d of May. The composition of the House of Commons appears, however, to have been a matter of anxiety to the great nobles. The duchess of Norfolk writes to John Paston to exert his influence in procuring the return of two of their household to be knights of the shire; "forasmuch as it is thought right necessary for divers causes that my lord have at this time in the parliament such persons as belong to him, and be of his menial servants." ‡ The influence of the Yorkist Peers, of whom Norfolk was one, was probably the moving cause of that determned action of the Commons at this time, which is a remarkable circumstance in our constitutional history. The duke of York had been appointed the king's commissioner to proceed in the

* See "Archæological Journal," No. 31.
† "Paston Letters," letter lxxii.
* "Paston Letters," letter lxxxi.
† Ibid., letter lxxxiv.
‡ Ibid., letter lxxix.

parliament; but after a prorogation to November, the Commons proposed that "if the king hereafter could not attend to the protection of the country, an able person should be appointed protector, to whom they might have recourse for redress of injuries." They urged this upon the Peers a second and a third time; and then "the king, our said sovereign lord, by the advice and assent of his lords spiritual and temporal being in this present parliament, had named and desired the duke of York to be protector and defender of this land." Mr. Hallam has pointed out, "that whatever passed as to this second protectorate of the duke of York was altogether of a revolutionary complexion."* The majority of the Lords were Lancastrian. The house of York had its chief supporters among the Commons, who may be held to have represented the popular feeling. If we may form a judgment of the opinions of the people as derived from very slight indications, we should say that they were not anxious for a revolutionary crisis in the government out of any affection for the superior pretensions to legitimacy of the house of York. There had been sixty years of possession by the reigning family. Henry IV. had taken the crown after a solemn deposition of an unwise ruler, and by that ancient form of national consent which had so often disregarded the direct claims to succession. The "mere defect in their genealogy"† of the house of Lancaster would not have led to their overthrow, had not the prudence of Henry IV. and the glory of Henry V. been succeeded by the distractions of the long minority of Henry VI., and by the inevitable misgovernment which ensued from his imbecility, when he became a puppet in the hands of the grasping favorites of an unscrupulous queen. The people complained that the possessions of the crown were squandered upon the queen's creatures, "who ruled the realm as they liked, gathering riches innumerable"—that they were grievously taxed, but that all that came from them was spent in vain, for the king "held no household and maintained no wars."‡ There is a striking illustration of the mischief of injudicious commercial taxation, in a statute of 1453, which remits a part of "a subsidy called poundage" upon exports and imports, because such poundage shall be to the merchants denizens "a very great importable (unbearable) charge, and impoverishment of a great part of the poor people of this realm." The burgesses of towns, who were thus taxed with little discretion, would naturally look with hope upon a possible change of rulers. By such considerations was the realm moved, rather than by an abstract estimate of the value of hereditary right as opposed to undisturbed possession. It was long after the beginning of these contentions that the people became familiar with the notion that the actual occupancy of the throne was to be disturbed by the claims of the house of York. When Richard was appointed vicegerent of the kingdom, in 1455, the rights of the son of Henry were especially protected. Richard was probably driven eventually to demand the throne by the violence of those to whose misgovernment he had been so long opposed. His second protectorate was very short. There was a partial recovery of the king's health at the beginning of 1456; and on the 25th of February the duke's commission was superseded, and he retired with his adherents to the privacy of his own estates. During two years the great quarrel was suspended. The intrigues of each faction were, no doubt, pursued with slight regard to the tranquillity of the country. The queen was charged with a conspiracy to destroy York and Warwick; and these nobles absented themselves from the king's councils, and maintained an armed neutrality. At this period the defence of the kingdom appears to have been utterly neglected. The coasts of the Channel were ravaged by French and Breton cruisers in 1457, and the eastern coast was equally insecure.§

In 1458 King Henry summoned the great nobles to a meeting in London. Fabyan, the alderman, has given a minute account of this assembly, which was "called to appease the rancor and malice between the queen and the lords." Thither came the duke of York, and was lodged in his own fortified mansion of Baynard's Castle, on the bank of the Thames, below St. Paul's. Warwick came from Calais, "with a great band of men, all arrayed in red jackets with white ragged staves upon them, and was lodged at the Grey Friars." The king and queen, with a numerous retinue, were lodged in the bishop of London's palace. Many of the nobles were quartered within Temple Bar, and many without, with formidable bands of followers, each having several hundreds in his train. The mayor of London "had daily in harness five thousand citizens, and rode daily about the city and suburbs of the same, to see that the king's peace were kept. And nightly he provided for three thousand men in harness, to give attendance upon three aldermen, and they to keep the watch till seven of the clock upon the morrow, till the day watch were assembled."* The London of this period was rich and populous, full of splendid ecclesiastical buildings and of stately mansions. From the Tower to the Palace of Westminster, the Thames formed the great "silent highway." A little before this time, "upon the accustomed day when the new mayor used yearly to ride with great pomp unto Westminster to take his charge," John Norman deviated from the ancient custom, and was "rowed thither by water, for the which the watermen made of him a roundel or song to his great praise."† In this feudal gathering of 1458 there must have been incessant communication between Westminster and London; and the ancient thoroughfare from Charing would have presented some of the most picturesque aspects of a city eminently beautiful from its position on the noblest of rivers—the cathedral of St. Paul's, with its lofty spire, towering up as impressively as the dome which took its place after two centuries. What the city chronicler calls "a dissimuled unity and concord" was accomplished in 1458. The king and the rival nobles walking before him, hand-in-hand—the queen, led by the duke of York—went in procession to St. Paul's. And yet, in the following November, "fell a great debate between Richard, earl of Warwick, and them of the king's house, insomuch that they would have slain the earl."‡ He escaped to his barge, and departed for Calais. His appointment as captain of Calais was superseded by a writ of privy seal, in favor of "the young duke of Somerset." Warwick refused to resign, saying that he was appointed by authority of parliament.§ The false unity and concord had come to an end. All Henry's efforts to preserve peace by acting as umpire between those who sought for revenge for the day of St. Alban's and those who had compelled the royal pardon for the events of that day were neutralized by the passions of those around him.

The affair of St. Alban's must be regarded rather as a contest between two ambitious factions for supremacy under the established dynasty than as an overt act of rebellion against the crown. In 1459 the Civil War may be held to have commenced, and it assumed a character which left no doubt that the great issue to be tried was whether Henry or Richard should be king of England. The Yorkist forces were now marshalled against the royal forces. The battle of Blore Heath, in Staffordshire, in which the earl of Salisbury, the father of Warwick, defeated Lord Audley, was fought on the 23d of September. Salisbury was on his march to join the duke of York, which junction after this victory he effected near Ludlow. There Warwick also joined them; and they issued a proclamation, in which they still maintained that they were in arms to reform the government but not to overthrow it. The king's army advanced by rapid marches, and on the 13th of October met the Yorkists, with a greatly superior force. Sir Andrew Trollope, upon the king's proclamation offering pardon, carried a large body of the Calais soldiers, whom he commanded, over to the Lancastrian camp. The army of the Yorkists immediately disbanded, and York fled to Ireland, where he received a welcome from those toward whom he had been a just governor. At a parliament held at Coventry on the 20th of November the Yorkist lords who had not surrendered were declared traitors, and their possessions were confiscated. Salisbury and the young Edward escaped with Warwick to his stronghold of Calais, which he kept against all attacks during the spring of 1460. The proceedings of the Coventry parliament stripped off all the thin coverings of the ambition of the house of York. For Richard there was no choice between remaining an attainted outcast or venturing for a crown. At midsummer a large force under Warwick passed over from Calais, and landed in Kent. As this army advanced toward London its numbers were so largely increased that Warwick entered the capital with forty thousand men. "The king's true liegemen of Kent," as they called themselves, who thus joined the banner of the White Rose, still demanded only redress of grievances and the removal of

* "Middle Ages," chap. viii. p. 111.
‡ "English Chronicle," p. 79.
† Ibid.
§ See p. 180.

* Fabyan, p. 632, ed. 1811.
‡ "English Chronicle," p. 78.
† Fabyan, anno 1454.
§ Ibid.

those who told the king "that good is evil and evil is good." With these partisans, who appear thoroughly to have identified themselves with the quarrel of the great nobles, Warwick marched into the midland counties. On the 10th of July the two armies met near Northampton. The royal forces occupied an intrenched position, but the Yorkists under Warwick, Faulconbridge, and Edward earl of March, broke into the Lancastrian camp, and the king's army was utterly routed. Alone in his tent sat the unhappy Henry, while his queen and his son had fled, and the most strenuous of his adherents, Buckingham, Egremont, Beaumont, had perished. Warwick and Edward bowed before him, and professed to hold him in all reverence. The victorious Yorkists marched to London, when the Tower was surrendered to them, and its governor, Lord Scales, was inhumanly slaughtered in his escape. There was a change of ministry, and the duke of York was sent for from Ireland. At this crisis, before the triumph of her husband's party was assured, we find the duchess of York taking refuge in the lodgings of a friend of her family, John Paston. A servant of the Pastons writes, on the 12th of October, to his master at Norwich, informing him that on the Monday after the nativity of the Virgin (15th of September), "there come hither to my master's place my Master Bowser, Sir Harry Ratford, John Clay, and the harbinger of my lord of March, desiring that my lady of York might be here until the coming of my lord of York, and her two sons, my Lord George and my Lord Richard, and my Lady Margaret, her daughter, which I granted them, in your name to lie here till Michaelmas. And she had not lain here two nights but she had tidings of the landing of my lord at Chester. The Tuesday after my lord sent for her, that she should come to him to Hereford; and thither she is gone, and she hath left here both the sons and the daughter, and the lord of March cometh every day to see them." Here, in these humble chambers of the Temple, we may look upon this family, whose fate is still in suspense, while their head is an attainted fugitive. The Lady Cecily, duchess of York, the daughter of Ralph Neville, earl of Westmoreland, has been despoiled of her possessions in the attainder of her husband. Her second son, Edmund earl of Rutland, now seventeen years of age, has fled with his father to Ireland, having been included in the attainder of Coventry. The duchess remains in this bereaved and uncertain condition till she is sent for to join her lord at Hereford. Her two younger boys and her daughter Margaret, are left alone in those Temple chambers. The boys will fill a large space in the annals of England, but now they are helpless children, who have been nurtured amid the bitterness of their faction, with a precocious sense of hatreds and revenges. George, who in a short time will be duke of Clarence, is now scarcely eleven years of age; Richard, who will be duke of Gloucester, has just completed his eighth year. Margaret is the elder, being fifteen; and she, as duchess of Burgundy, will not be without her influence in her nation's fortunes. Edward, "the lord of March," who "cometh every day to see them," has not yet reached his twentieth year. With the precocity of the Plantagenets he is already a warrior, and is called, in one of the popular songs, "Thou virgin knight."* It is necessary to bear in mind the ages of this family to form a just comprehension of some of the circumstances of their eventful history.

The parliament assembled on the 7th of October. On the 9th the duke of York was in London. On the 16th he entered Westminster in royal array. Hall says, "The duke of York with a bold countenance entered into the Chamber of Peers, and sat down in the throne royal, under the cloth of estate, which is the king's peculiar seat."† Other relations state that he stood for a while with his hand on the throne. There can be no doubt, from the Rolls of Parliament, that he made a solemn claim to be king. There was a deliberate investigation of his genealogical title, which, upon the principle of direct succession, could not be disputed. But the Lords, with whom the decision appears to have rested, could not conceal from themselves that the claimant of the throne had again and again sworn fealty to the reigning sovereign, and that the violent disturbance of a dynasty which had endured for sixty years was a perilous expedient for the restoration of peace. They resolved upon a compromise—that Henry should retain the crown for his life, and that the duke of York and his heirs should succeed to it after Henry's death. The queen was in the north, surrounded by some of the most powerful of the lords who were devoted to the interests of the Lancastrian branch. It was not likely that she would readily submit to an arrangement which set aside the claims of her son. Her proud spirit would yield to no compromise. In the confidence of success York left London, and spent his Christmas in his castle of Sandal, in Yorkshire. He had a small army in the neighborhood, when Somerset advanced with eighteen thousand men to invest the castle. Edward was at Shrewsbury. Had York waited the arrival of succors he might have been secure. But in the spirit of chivalry he resolved to go forth from his castle to oppose a force treble the amount of his own. A solemn day of combat had been appointed by both parties. But the feudal honor was fast passing away, leaving only the feudal ferocity. York was suddenly attacked and totally defeated. The romantic circumstances of the duke being placed upon an ant-hill, while a paper crown was put upon his head, and the mocking warriors cried, "Hail, king without a kingdom," are probably the inventions of the later chroniclers. The same spirit of exaggeration may have represented Rutland as basely murdered when found with his tutor away from the scene of conflict. Instead of being a boy of twelve, as grave historians have accepted the statement, he was born in 1443, and was seventeen years and a half old at this battle of Wakefield. The father and the son both fell on the 31st of December, 1460. Whether they were butchered in cold blood or died on the battlefield is of little historical import. The victory of Wakefield was followed up by the successful party with merciless executions. Salisbury and other Yorkists were beheaded at Pomfret on the first day of 1461. In another month the tide of success was turned, and Edward, now duke of York, defeated the earl of Pembroke at Mortimer's Cross, and followed up his victory by the same course of executions as those of Wakefield. After that triumph Queen Margaret had advanced toward London from the north with a great and lawless force. The terror of their march had roused the spirit of the southern counties. The people were dragged more and more into this terrible conflict. A letter from London, dated the 23d of January, says, "In this country every man is well willing to go with my lords here; and I hope God shall help them, for the people in the north rob and steal, and be appointed to pill (pillage) all this country, and give away men's goods and livelihoods in all the south country."* The ravaging bands under Northumberland, Westmoreland, Exeter, Somerset, Devonshire, Clifford, Roos, Dacre, were drawing nigher and nigher to the capital. On Shrove Tuesday, the 17th of February, they had reached the neighborhood of St. Alban's. Out of the city Warwick had marched, carrying with him the poor king Henry, in whose name all the acts most inimical to his family were now done. At Barnard's Heath, near St. Alban's, the second battle bearing that name was fought, and Warwick was utterly routed. Henry was left on the field, and now fell into the hands of the queen. The town of St. Alban's was plundered, with the same fury that had marked all the course of the northern army. The great contest would probably have been now decided but for one of those impulses of boldness which so often change the fortunes of individuals and nations. Edward, duke of York, then not twenty years old, entered London, as if the battle of St. Alban's had been a victory for his party instead of a signal defeat. The army of the north was more intent upon plundering the country than upon seizing upon the moment of success to complete their triumph. Edward's forces had formed a junction with those of Warwick, and on the 28th of February they marched into London. "In field and town every one called Edward king of England and France," says a contemporary MS.† A more daring spirit than that of Richard of York now represented the White Rose. Edward went straightforward to the great object of his ambition, and in an assembly of the peers, prelates, and citizens, on the 3d of March, he demanded the crown. It was resolved at this council that Henry, by joining the forces of the queen, had set aside the award of the preceding October, and forfeited the throne of which he had been granted the life-occupancy. The accession of Edward IV. to the crown of England dates from the 4th of March, on which day, say the Rolls of Parliament, "he took upon him to use his right and title to the realm of England and lord-

* "Archæologia," vol. xxix. p. 130.

ship, and entered into the exercise of the royal estate, dignity, pre-eminence, and power of the same crown, and to the reign and governance of the said realm of England and lordship; and the same fourth day of March amoved Henry, late called king Henry the sixth, son to Henry, son to Henry, late earl of Derby, son to John of Gaunt, from the occupation, usurpation, intrusion, reign, and governance of the said realm." In every statute which had reference to the laws of the three regal predecessors of Edward, the same principle of legitimacy was ostentatiously asserted; and Henry IV., Henry V., and Henry VI. were denominated "late kings of England successively, in deed and not of right."* Mr. Hallam has justly said, "With us, who are to weigh these ancient factions in the balance of wisdom and justice, there should be no hesitation in deciding that the house of Lancaster were lawful sovereigns of England." The wisest statesman of that age, in the same rational spirit, declared that in his judgment, and the judgment of the world, Henry VI. was the lawful king.†

A procession to St. Paul's, a speech from the throne, a solemn recognition before the great altar of the Abbey at Westminster, were the brief ceremonies with which Edward put on the crown. It was no time for feasting and rejoicing. Norfolk is gone to his country to raise his men. Warwick has marched out of London northward on the 6th of March. A great force of foot, of which the most part were Welshmen and Kentishmen, followed him on the 10th. On the 12th Edward himself issued out of the city in goodly order at Bishopsgate, following the same northward course.‡ On the 13th, Henry, the Lancastrian king, is dispatching letters under his signet from York, in which he announces that "our great traitor, the late earl of March, hath made great assemblies of riotous and mischievously-disposed people, and to stir and provoke them to draw unto him, he hath cried in his proclamation havoc upon all our true liege people and subjects, their wives, children, and goods."§ The terrible havoc which the men of the north had inflicted upon the south was now to be retaliated. At Ferrybridge the advanced columns of the Yorkists were defeated in a skirmish. On the 29th of March the main bodies of the two armies are in view of each other, at Towton, about eight miles from York. Never before or since in England was such a mighty host of the children of the soil gathered together for mutual destruction. The army of the Lancastrians has been computed at sixty thousand. They were the hardy northmen, with borderers, half English, who had dispersed to their moors and mountains after ravaging the country, for thirty miles in breadth, from York to St. Alban's. Again they were gathered under the banner of the Red Rose. They were led by the earls of Northumberland, Westmoreland, Devonshire, Wiltshire, the duke of Somerset, Sir Andrew Trollope, and others, who were ready to fight to the death Of the composition of Edward's army of nearly fifty thousand, we have a remarkable description, in "Verses on the Battle of Towton,"‖ which, in relating how

"There was many a fair pennon waiting on the Rose,"

recites the badges and banners that fluttered in the Yorkist ranks on that terrible eve of Palm Sunday. The house of York was represented by its badges of the Falcon and Fetterlock, the Ostrich Feather, the Black Bull, and the Boar's-head. Warwick was there, with his dreaded banner of the Ragged Staff; Norfolk came with the timely aid of his White Lion; Fauconberg fought under his Fish-hook; Scrope displayed his Cornish Chough, Grey of Ruthyn his Black Ragged Staff, Bouchier his Bridled Horse, Stanley his Greyhound and Hart's-head. But the support of the people, under their own leaders, was manifest in the banners of the towns that had gathered round Edward in his march of sixteen days. He had led from London his Welshmen, with their banner of the Dolphin, and his Kentishmen, with the Harrow of Canterbury. But in the field of Towton were the White Ship of Bristow and the proud Libert (Leopard) of Salisbury, whose men had marched to unite with the midland people. Coventry was there with its Black Ram, Worcester with its Wolf, Gloucester with its Dragon, Leicester with its Griffin, Nottingham with its George, Northampton with its Wild Rat. It was the eve of one of the most solemn festivals of the Church, in which the entry of the Prince of Peace into Jerusalem was commemorated with the strewing of the first green branches and the earliest spring flowers, and solemn hymns were sung for the victory of good over evil. On the eve of Palm Sunday began the cruel battle of Towton at four o'clock, when the armies joined. Through all that night, amid a fall of snow, these fierce men madly fought till the afternoon of the next day. Then thirty-three thousand men lay dead on the field of battle.

"The snow shall be their winding-sheet."

The triumph of the Yorkists was complete; but it was not signalized by the greater triumph of mercy. It is affirmed that there was no quarter given in the battle, although Comines says, "King Edward told me, that in all the battles which he had gained, his way was, when the victory was on his side, to mount on horseback, and cry out to save the common soldiers, and put the gentry to the sword, by which means none, or very few, of them escaped."* Those whom the sword spared too often fell beneath the axe. On the day after the battle of Towton, the earls of Devonshire and Wiltshire, with many others, were beheaded. The queen and the hunted king fled into Scotland.

* Stat. 1 Edward IV. cap. i., and subsequent statutes.
† Comines' Memoirs, book vi. chap. 13.
‡ Fragment of a Chronicle, published by Hearne.
§ "Plumpton Correspondence," p. 1.
‖ "Archæologia," vol. xxix. p. 343.

CHAPTER XLI.

Popular support of the house of York—Coronation of Edward IV.—Executions—Attainders—Renewed attempts of queen Margaret—Insurrections—Battle of Hexham—Edward in peace—Debasement of the coin—The king's marriage—Warwick's estrangement—Marriage of Edward's sister to the duke of Burgundy—Marriage of Clarence to Warwick's daughter—Power of Warwick—Yorkshire insurrection—Insurrection under Sir Robert Welles—Warwick and Clarence defeated—They fly to France—Invasion of Warwick and Clarence—Restoration of Henry VI.—Edward in exile—His return—Landing at Ravenspur—Reconciliation of Edward and Clarence—The march to London—Battle of Barnet—Henry again a prisoner—Landing of queen Margaret—Battle of Tewkesbury—Richard of Gloucester—Falconbridge—Death of Henry VI.

EDWARD of York has been borne to the throne upon the shoulders of the people. Public opinion was not then formed through journals, reported speeches, pamphlets—even events of great importance were slowly and imperfectly known—but still there was public opinion. An historian, who speaks of public opinion as an important element of the social life of modern Europe at this period, says, "It derives its origin and its nutriment from hidden sources; and, requiring little support from reason or from evidence, takes possession of the minds of men by involuntary conviction."† It was this public opinion, especially of London and the great towns, which swept away a well-disposed but incapable king—afflicted by mental and bodily infirmities, the instrument of a violent woman and her crafty favorites—to substitute a youth of extraordinary vigor, of eminent beauty, of popular manners, but whose cruel and licentious nature was with difficulty controlled by the commanding will of the great noble who had identified himself with the cause of the house of York. That Warwick would have risked everything merely for the assertion of the superior right to inheritance of the descendants of one son of Edward III. in preference to those of another son, is utterly inconsistent with the principle upon which the crown of England had been held for centuries, when there was no constitutional doubt that it was in the power of the great Council, afterward called Parliament, to depose a king and appoint a successor, who should have personal as well as hereditary claims. Sixty-one years had passed since the deposition of Richard II. and the election of Henry IV. During that time there had been thirteen years of sagacious government, ten years of national glory, and thirty-eight years of a legal minority and weakness, during which a military people were constantly incensed by the disasters and disgraces of their arms, and an industrious people by the miserable intrigues and scandalous contests for power of grasping nobles. The English nation would endure a certain amount of vigorous despotism; taxation they would bear, for warlike attack or

* Memoirs, book iii. chap. 5.
† Ranke, "History of the Popes," vol. i. p. 133.

defence; but incapacity in the king, whom they regarded as the leader in all heroic enterprise, the wisest in council, the bravest in danger, they would not endure. They deposed the gentle Henry, and set up the fierce Edward.

Edward IV. was crowned at Westminster on the 29th of June, 1461, by Thomas Bourchier, archbishop of Canterbury. His brother George was then created duke of Clarence, and his brother Richard duke of Gloucester. The king afterward went a progress through the south and west, amid some of the towns which had been so faithful to his interests. "He progressed," says Stow, "about the land to understand the estate thereof." His course was marked by executions as frequent as banquets. At Bristol he was present when sir Baldwin Fulford was beheaded, who was taken, "sailing into Britanny to rouse people against King Edward." One whose mind was deeply penetrated with the romance of antiquity—"the marvellous boy" of Bristol—has painted this tragedy with all the force of local coloring: the brave knight upon a sledge; the mayor and aldermen and councilmen in scarlet robes; the friars of Saint Augustine and the friars of Saint James in the procession; the king looking out of the great minster window; Baldwin drawn past the cross in the high street up the steep hill.* The poet may have truly represented Edward gazing on this scene of death, for it was said of him that he witnessed an execution with as much pleasure as others did a pageant. We have contemporary evidence that he was then in a merry mood, as was his occasional temper through life, while this work of revenge was going on. In a letter written on the day of Baldwin's death—"This same day sir Bauldwyn Fulford and another, called Haysaunt, were put in execution"—the writer, B. Essex, has communicated a secret message to Edward, and "the king laughed and made a great game thereat."† Yet, with his levity and his cruelty, this king had glimpses of his duty, in the season of his wondrous prosperity. He is solicited to grant a favor to one who has served him, and he answers that "he would be your good lord therein, as he would to the poorest man in England; he would hold with you in your right; and as for favor he will not be understood that he shall show favor more to one man than to another, not to one in England."‡

The parliament met on the 4th of November. It was a parliament wholly in the interests of the new dynasty. The Lancastrian peers and knights fell before its Bill of Attainder "thick as autumnal leaves." Henry VI., his queen, and their son were attainted for the death of Richard, duke of York, and for delivering up Berwick to the Scots on the 25th of April, after the flight from Towton. Dukes, earls, knights, esquires, were attainted for being at the death of the duke of York; for being against King Edward at Towton field; for procuring foreign princes to invade the realm; and for more recent movements in arms in Durham and Wales. The statute 1st Edward IV., which declares all the Lancastrian princes as "kings in deed and not of right," confirms their various grants, "except to such persons, and every of them, whom our sovereign lord the king reputeth and holdeth for his rebels or enemies." This despotic exception enabled the king not only to bestow the property of the attainted Lancastrians upon his friends, but to seize on the possessions of those whom he only suspected to be hostile to his claims. Some abandoned Henry, and made submission to Edward, to be treated with the contempt that belonged to their inconstancy. Such was Somerset, who submitted in 1463, and again went over to the Lancastrians in 1464, then to perish on the scaffold. Those who were faithful, as Exeter was, had to endure exile and misery. "Some of them," says Comines, "were reduced to such extremity that no common beggar could have been in greater. I saw one of them, who was of want before the duke of Burgundy received them, the duke of Exeter, but who concealed his name, following the bread from Burgundy's train barefoot and barelegged, begging his door to door. This man was next of the house of Lancaster; had married King Edward's sister; and being afterward known had a small pension allowed him for his subsistence."§ How slight regard has chronicle or tradition bestowed upon the hundreds of other poor outcasts of this fearful time! The fate of one family is an exception, for it has been consecrated by the poet. The Clifford who slew Rutland at Wakefield was himself slain at Towton in his twenty-fifth year. His widow and her infant boy fled "to the caves and to the brooks," and the child lived a solitary life in "Blencathara's rugged coves," till grown a youth he was again forced to fly, "to lead a flock from hill to hill." "The good lord Clifford," who was restored to his title and estates in the first year of Henry VII., and entered the House of Peers without being able to read or write, learned in his shepherd life purer and wiser lessons than his four immediate progenitors had learned—the lessons of hatred and revenge, through which they all had perished in the field of battle:

"Love had *he* found in huts where poor men lie." *

It was three years before the accession of Edward to the throne had settled down into a state of tranquillity. The adherents of the house of Lancaster placed their dependence upon Queen Margaret. Her unconquerable activity kept alive the spirit of the party. For her they planned; for her they staked their lives, almost against hope. But they relied upon foreign aid, and upon the power of the nobles, who would still have been formidable if the people had been with them, but who were powerless while Edward was regarded as a deliverer from evil government. In 1462 Margaret raised an army of adventurers in France, and landed on the northern coast in October. The energetic king was soon at the head of a great force. The queen fled to her ships, which were scattered by a tempest, and part of her foreign troops being cast upon Holy Island were pursued and destroyed. She escaped to Berwick, which had been surrendered to the Scots in the previous year. A portion of her partisans had however taken the strong fortresses of Bamborough, Alnwick, and Dunstanburgh. Warwick arrived to besiege these castles, and Bamborough and Dunstanburgh were surrendered by the duke of Somerset and Sir Richard Percy, on condition that they should recover their rank and their estates upon swearing fealty to Edward. Alnwick capitulated. The attainders of Somerset and Percy were repealed by the parliament, and their lands restored. Deserted thus by two of her chief supporters, Margaret sought safety in her father's territory of Lorraine. Monstrelet, the French historian, without giving a date, tells that romantic story of her escape from her pursuers, which relieves the monotony of these dreary annals of bloodshed and treachery by a narrative which touches our common sympathies. In a wild forest near the coast she fell into the hands of banditti, who plundered her of her gold and jewels. They quarrelled about the division of the booty, and, seizing her opportunity, the queen fled with her boy, then about eleven years old. In the depths of the wood they were again encountered by a single robber. Margaret, with the decision of her character, threw herself upon the protection of the outlaw. "This is the son of your king—to your care I commit him—I am your queen." The robber became her friend, and guarded her to a place of security.† Sir John Fortescue, the great Lancastrian lawyer, has a strange passage showing that the thieves of England are of such high courage that three or four will set upon seven or eight free men. Of the Scots he says, "their hearts serve them not to take a man's goods while he is present, and will defend it; but the Englishman be of another courage; for if he be poor, and see another man having riches, which may be taken from him by might, he wot not spare to do so." This desperate hardihood in evil doing, in which life was pitted against life, was not incompatible with generosity. The story of Margaret and the robber is consistent with the national character—that mixture of ferocity and gentleness of which the ballad-heroes of Sherwood were the type.

In the fourth year of King Edward the constant exertions of the Lancastrians kept the government in serious alarm. In February, 1464, the parliament was prorogued in consequence of the commotions in various counties. On the 1st of March John Paston writes to his father, "The commons in Lancashire and Cheshire were up to the number of ten thousand or more; but now they be down again; and one or two of them was headed in Chester as on Saturday last past."‡ In 1464 Margaret was again in Scotland; and now an attempt of extraordinary boldness to regain the lost throne was made

* Chatterton, "Bristow Tragedy."
† Ellis, "Original Letters," First Series, vol. i. p. 15. chap. 4.
‡ "Paston Letters," letter clxxxii. § Memoirs, book iii.

* Wordsworth's "Song at the Feast of Brougham Castle."
† Hume places this event after the battle of Hexham. Turner and Lingard think it belongs to this earlier period.
‡ "Paston Letters," letter ccxxx.

by the Lancastrians. Percy and Somerset had gone over to their old friends, and were at the head of a large force of Scots and exiled English, and they again obtained the command of the three castles which had been yielded to Edward in 1462. Lord Montacute, the brother of Warwick, the warder of the east marches, went promptly against the force which Percy and Somerset had collected. On the 25th of April a battle was fought at Hedgeley Moor, near Wooller, where Percy, in the words of the Year Book, "comme homme fuit occise," was killed like a man. On the 15th of May Montacute encountered the army of the queen near Hexham. In that decisive victory of Edward's commander the fortunes of the house of Lancaster sank to the lowest point of hopelessness, as if "never to rise again." The inconstant or treacherous Somerset was taken prisoner and instantly beheaded. There was some justice in the recital of his crimes in the act for his attainder, which says, "of very gentleness and the noble honor that ought to be grounded in every gentleman, he should have been established in firm faith and truth," for "he had been bounteously and largely treated." But in these unhappy contentions "the noble honor" was too often sacrificed to the base expediency. Executions, attainders, imprisonments, followed this victory. Some of the fugitives from the battle-field threw themselves into Bamborough Castle, with Sir Ralph Gray, which fortress speedily surrendered to Warwick. Gray was beheaded at Doncaster, having been spared the degradation of having his spurs stricken off by the master cook, through the especial mercy of Edward. The estates of Percy were granted to Montacute, who became earl of Northumberland. The English government concluded at this time of success a truce for fifteen years with Scotland, in which it was stipulated that the Lancastrians should receive neither shelter nor aid from the Scots.*

The repose which Edward had now attained was not favorable to the improvement of his character. In the rush of war he was eminently brave and daring. In peace the same energy became wild licentiousness. His expenses were unbounded. He gave away the forfeited possessions of his enemies with a rash liberality, and he resorted to very dangerous devices for the supply of his own extravagance. In 1464 "King Edward changed the coin of England, by which he had great getting;" and the contemporary writer, giving the value of this new coin, adds, "to the great harm of the common people."† Another contemporary says that the gold and silver money was changed and coined anew, that the name of Henry might be obliterated.‡ It appears from Warkworth's brief and obscure account that the old noble, which passed for six shillings and eightpence, was now called a rial, and commanded to pass for ten shillings. This was not literally true, but was true in principle. Edward issued two new gold coins called angels and angelets, which were to be substituted for the noble and half-noble. The noble of Henry IV. contained 108 grains of gold; the angel of Edward IV. contained only 80 grains. But Henry IV. had himself depreciated his noble from 120 grains to 108; so that the angel of Edward IV. was current for two thirds more than its intrinsic value at the beginning of the century. Unquestionably these robberies of the public for the benefit of the royal treasury were "to the great harm of the common people." They were "to the extreme damage of the great ones of the kingdom," says another chronicler. But few in that age understood how fatal are such devices to the welfare of the whole community, and how short-lived was the advantage of the fraud to the crown itself. Edward followed the evil example of his predecessors; for to them and to him it was enough that the depreciation of the coin would supply some of the necessities of the passing hour. This "shallow and impudent artifice of lowering the standard"§ perhaps produced more serious injuries to the industry of the country than the revolutions and counter-revolutions of this age, with all their waste of national resources, and all their disturbances of private property. But Edward had personal qualities which obviated the unpopularity of some of his public acts. "To gain universally the favor of all sorts, he used toward every man of high and low degree more than meet familiarity, which trade of life he never changed."* The "more than meet familiarity" might be offensive to the pride of decaying feudal power, but it stood Edward in the place of many nobler qualities. The mode in which his frank and genial humor was regarded may be traced in our ballad-poetry, which has been always ready to celebrate the adventures of kings with their humble subjects, whether tanners, millers, or tinkers. "A merrie, pleasant, and delectable historie between K. Edward the Fourth and a Tanner of Tamworth," was the delight of many an ingle-nook of the sixteenth century.† It was this impulsive temperament which led Edward to the rashest but in many respects the most creditable action of his life, his marriage. Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir Richard Woodville and of Jaquetta, the duchess of Bedford, had been married to Sir John Grey, a Lancastrian, who was killed at the second battle of St. Alban's. Edward saw the lady at her mother's house, when she solicited him to restore her late husband's confiscated possessions. Her beauty was irresistible to the young man of twenty-three, and they were secretly married. The ceremony is thus described: "Which spousals were solemnised early in the morning at a town named Grafton, near unto Stony-Stratford; at which marriage was no person present but the spouse, the spousesse, the duchess of Bedford her mother, the priest, two gentlewomen, and a young man to help the priest sing."‡ There is a letter, undated, written by Richard, duke of York, to dame Elizabeth Woodville, whom his son made queen of England, recommending her marriage to his well-beloved knight, Sir Hugh John; and there is another from the earl of Warwick, in which he urges the same suit for the same gallant knight, "which now late was with you unto his full great joy;" and whose love was founded upon "the great sadness and wisdom that he found and proved in you at that time, as for your great and proved virtue and womanly demeaning."§ Had Sir Hugh John carried off the prize, the course of England's policy might have been somewhat changed in an alliance with France, or Spain, or Scotland, such as the wise ones of that day speculated upon. The probability is that no foreign prince chose to connect the fortunes of his family with such an insecure throne as that of Edward, and that no state management opposed the freedom of his own inclinations.

The marriage of Edward was avowed at the Michaelmas of 1464. On the 26th of May of the following year Elizabeth was solemnly crowned at Westminster. She had two sons by her marriage with Sir John Grey. She had numerous relations—a father, brothers, sisters. The honors and riches which were indiscreetly showered upon this family provoked a bitter animosity, at a period when no public man looked upon the rise of another without jealousy. The marriage with the widow of a Lancastrian who had died fighting against Edward was not an impolitic step toward the extinction of the quarrel between the adherents of the two houses. It was in accordance with that just principle which had previously dictated the proclamation of a general amnesty to all who would submit to the new government. We must not implicitly receive the statement that "the nobility truly chafed, and cast out open speeches that the king had not done according to his dignity,"‖ and that "they found much fault with him in that marriage." But we may well believe that they looked with the same fear and dislike upon the influence of a queen, for the advancement of her friends, as they had done in a former reign when Margaret was surrounded with obnoxious favorites, and they pulled down Suffolk and Somerset. Polydore says "the woman was of mean calling." Her birth could not be called mean whose mother was a duchess, and whose maternal uncle was a prince of Luxemburgh, who attended her coronation with a retinue of a hundred knights and gentlemen. The historical relations of this reign, and of that of Richard III., are to be received with the greatest caution; for they abound with exaggerations, with assertions without evidence, and with positive misstatements that have been repeated by one historian after another till they have become familiar to us as unquestioned truths. The story that Warwick was deceived and insulted by Edward in being employed to negotiate a marriage with the sister-in-law of Louis XI. while the king's rash pas-

* The affairs of Scotland, in connection with those of England, have not been of material importance since the release of James I., in 1424. The two kingdoms were in a state of occasional border warfare, with long truces. Toward the close of the reign of Edward IV. the relations of the two countries assume a greater degree of interest.

† Warkworth's Chronicle, p. 4.

‡ Continuation of History of Croyland. § John Stuart Mill.

* Polydore Vergil, early translation, p. 116.

† Ballad in Percy's "Reliques," vol. ii. ‡ Fabyan, p. 654.

§ "Archæologia," vol. xxix. p. 132. ‖ Polydore Vergil, p. 117.

sion led him to marry Elizabeth Woodville during the great earl's absence, is considered a fiction of the later chroniclers unsupported by the relations of the more ancient historians.* But unquestionably Warwick became estranged from Edward soon after this period. The marriage of the three brothers of Elizabeth, and of her five sisters, into noble houses, with immense possessions, rendered the Woodvilles objects of envy and hatred. The Nevilles had placed Edward on the throne, and had since ruled the kingdom. They saw their power departing from them, in the sudden rise of the queen's relations. Edward desired to marry his sister to Charles, the heir of Burgundy. Warwick was the avowed enemy of Charles, and he intrigued with Louis of France to prevent the match. There was then a greater coldness between the king and the proud noble, which threatened a new field of St. Alban's. They were, however, reconciled, and in 1468 the negotiations for the marriage with Charles, now the reigning duke, were completed, and the Princess Margaret was conducted through the streets of London by Warwick, on her way to embark for Flanders. She was married on the 3d of July near Bruges, and entered that city, rich with all the wealth of an industrious people, on the same day. The pageants and jousts of peace were unequalled in splendor. John Paston, who was present, was wild with the glories of that festival time: "As for the duke's court, as of lords, ladies, and gentlewomen, knights, esquires, and gentlemen, I heard of never like unto it, save King Arthur's court." Especially he rejoices in the feasting: "There were never Englishmen had so good cheer out of England that ever I heard of." † The queen's brother, lord Scales, afterward earl Rivers, was the admired of all observers. At a great tournament in Smithfield in 1467 he had jousted with Arthur, the Bastard of Burgundy, and was victor in the field. At Bruges lord Scales worsted another champion; for he and the Bastard had made promise at London that they would never meet again in arms.‡

While the house of York is thus at the height of splendor and fame, the house of Lancaster has almost passed out of the world's regard. Henry is a prisoner in the Tower of London. After the battle of Hexham he remained concealed for more than a year in Lancashire; but his place of retreat was at last betrayed. According to Warkworth he was "carried to London on horseback, and his legs bound to the stirrups, and so brought through London to the Tower, where he was kept a long time by two squires and two yeomen of the crown and their men; and every man was suffered to come and speak with him by license of the keepers."§ Queen Margaret was in the asylum of her father's court. But at this lowest point of their fortunes another revolution was preparing in England, more strange and complicated, more sudden and decisive than the wildest dream of the most sanguine Lancastrian could have shaped out. Clarence, the brother of King Edward, was to become his enemy, and Warwick was to join with Clarence in restoring those whom he had cast down from their high estate. On the 11th of July, 1469, George, duke of Clarence, then in his 21st year, was married at Calais to Isabel, the daughter of the earl of Warwick. Edward had been decidedly opposed to this marriage. From the time when it was completed, England was the scene of insurrections, deadly enmities, hollow reconciliations, which ended in a second fatal period of civil war.

The attempt to unravel the tangled thread of the relations of the year which followed the marriage of Clarence is almost a hopeless task for modern historians. To understand the general character of the events, and their influence upon the people, we must form an accurate notion of the position of the earl of Warwick. We must not regard him merely as a rich nobleman, who could carry into the field a large band of personal retainers. In some respects he was more powerful than the king upon the throne. Richard Neville was the son of the earl of Salisbury, and he became earl of Warwick in 1449, through his marriage into the great Warwick family. Richard, duke of York, the father of Edward IV., had married the daughter of the earl of Westmoreland, who was Warwick's grandfather; and thus Warwick stood in near relation to the house of York. His support of that house was therefore a natural result of his position; and his personal character, his immense wealth, and the high connections of the other branches of the Nevilles would have placed him among the most powerful of the English nobles. But after the accession of Edward he and his family held offices which rendered him still more powerful. He was captain of Calais and of Dover, warden of the Scottish marches, Lord Chamberlain, and Lord Steward. Comines says that, besides his inheritance, the annual profits of his offices amounted to eighty thousand crowns. His state was more than regal. "When he came to London," writes Stow, "he held such a house that six oxen were eaten at a breakfast." This man, in whose mansions, scattered through the country, thirty thousand people are affirmed to have been daily fed, could raise an army at his lightest summons. With such a subject, Edward, however impatient under his domination, could scarcely dare to quarrel. Warwick held the king, whom he had raised up, in little personal esteem. "He looked upon him as a very weak prince."* Regarding him as a careless sensualist, he perhaps did some injustice to the character of Edward, who, when roused to action, displayed an energy which is scarcely compatible with weak intellect or deficient will. The earl, therefore, in the pursuit of his deep-laid schemes ran great risks. In the final issue of his plans, "the weak prince" signally defeated the wary politician. Within a fortnight after the marriage of Clarence there was a rising in Yorkshire, under a leader called Robin of Riddesdale. Sixty thousand men were in arms, whose rising was originally a mere resistance of the peasantry to a local impost, but which became thus formidable when it was connected with a demand that the Woodvilles should be removed from power. The name of Warwick was freely used in this insurrection, and two of his relations became its leaders, in the place of Robin of Riddesdale, who had been taken and beheaded. As their movements advanced southward they defeated the king's army under the earl of Pembroke at Edgecote near Banbury; and the earl of Rivers, the queen's father, and Sir John Woodville, her brother, who were taken prisoners, were beheaded at Coventry in the following September. William Herbert, earl of Pembroke, also perished on the scaffold. This renewal of the proscriptions and executions that followed the triumphs of the Lancastrians is attributed to the secret orders of Warwick. The dreaded earl now arrived in England with Clarence and with Neville, archbishop of York. There appears little doubt, however the fact is disputed by some writers, that they obtained possession of the person of Edward at Honiley, † near Warwick, and that he was imprisoned in Middleham Castle. One of the articles of the attainder of Clarence, at a later period, charges him with "jeoparding the king's royal estate, person, and life in strait ward, putting him thereby from all his liberty, after procuring great commotions."‡ But there was a premature rising on the Scottish borders for the restoration of King Henry. Warwick now hastened to put down that insurrection. He had destined the throne for his son-in-law Clarence, and this demonstration was inconsistent with his plans. Edward regained his liberty, and again there was reconciliation. It is evident that there was no real amity, but that these hollow compromises were only the forerunners of more violent hostility. In the spring of 1470 the people of Lincolnshire were in arms against the government. They were headed by Sir Robert Willes. There is a remarkable account of these events, which is manifestly official.§ The dissimulation of Warwick and Clarence in accepting the king's commission to put down the rebels, their writing of "pleasant letters" to Edward while they were on the way to his enemies, are herein set forth with strong indignation. The king, by his rapidity of movement, threw himself upon the insurgents before his false brother and cousin had joined. He defeated them at Stamford, their cry being A Clarence! a Clarence! a Warwick! Willes and others were beheaded; and the "Chronicle of the Rebellion" states that they confessed that the duke and the earl were the partners and the chief promoters of their treason, and that "their purpose was to destroy the king, and to have made the said duke king." The victory was followed up by Edward, who pursued the forces of Warwick into Yorkshire. They turned to the west and south; and the king moving rapidly after them, the earl and the duke got on ship-

* See note in Lingard, vol. v. p. 257, ed. 1825.
† "Paston Letters," letter cclviii.
‡ "Paston Letters." The most elaborate relation of these festivities is given by Barante.
§ Chronicles, p. 5.

* Comines. † Not Olney. See Camden Miscellany, vol. i. p. 3.
‡ Quoted in Lingard, vol. i. p. 264.
§ "Chronicle of the Rebellion in Lincolnshire," published in the Camden Miscellany, vol. i.

board at Dartmouth, with many followers, and sailed for Calais. On the 31st of March they were proclaimed by Edward as traitors. The officer to whom Warwick had intrusted Calais refused to admit his captain, and the fugitives were compelled to sail for Normandy, and finally landed at Harfleur.

Warwick was now within the reach of the dangerous friendship of Louis XI. of France, who of all crowned heads possessed the wisdom of the serpent without the harmlessness of the dove. Clarence and the earl proceeded to the court of Louis at Amboise. Through the influence of the wily king, Margaret of Anjou and her great enemy Richard Neville were reconciled. Prince Edward, the son of Henry VI., was to marry the daughter of Warwick. Henry VI. was to be restored. But the immediate chance of the crown was lost to the "false, fleeting" Clarence. In this negotiation Margaret acted with the same high spirit which she had displayed in the day of her greatest power. For some time she steadily refused "to pardon the earl of Warwick, or to take party with him." Then Warwick humbly promised "to be true and faithful subject in time to come." Louis strenuously urged the union, "and so the queen, thus required by the king, as it is said, counselled also by the servants of the king of Sicile, her father, after many treaties and meetings, pardoned the earl of Warwick, and so did her son also." * In these intrigues no one shows a face of honesty and nobleness but Queen Margaret. Edward was not wholly blind to the machinations of his enemies. Through a lady who had been in the household of the duchess of Clarence he contrived to make his brother comprehend that the part which he had taken was fatal to the interests of the house of York. Then came another course of dissimulation of Clarence toward Warwick, during which he contrived to let his brother Edward know that he would be faithful to his interest, and would desert his present friends upon the first occasion. But Edward, with an excess of confidence which was madness rather than courage, despised the warnings which he received from his brother-in-law, the duke of Burgundy. "He never was concerned at anything, but still followed his hunting," says Comines. He put entire faith in the earl of Warwick's brothers. At last, on the 13th of September, 1470, Warwick and Clarence landed at Dartmouth. Henry VI. was proclaimed; and as the small army of the earl advanced into the country, it was swelled by prodigious numbers of people who gathered under the standard of the all-powerful king-maker. Edward had led his army northward to suppress a pretended rebellion in Northumberland, which was got up as a snare. His quarters were at Doncaster, where six thousand men, at the prompting of Montacute, the brother of Warwick, threw away the badge of the White Rose, and shouted "God bless King Henry." Edward was in a fortified house; but he saw resistance to the approaching army of Warwick would now be fruitless. He threw himself upon a horse, and on the 3d of October was on ship-board at Lynn. His queen was at that time residing in the Tower of London, where Henry VI. was detained as a state prisoner. Elizabeth, when she heard of the landing of Warwick, left the city-fortress for the greater safety of the sanctuary at Westminster. Here, on the 4th of November, in this season of peril, was born the first son of Edward IV. The deliverance of Henry from his captivity was accomplished on the 6th of October, immediately after the entry of the Lancastrian army into London. A nearly contemporary record of this event is very curious. "The bishop of Winchester, by the assent of the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick, went to the Tower of London, where King Henry was in prison by King Edward's commandments, and there took him from his keepers; which was nought worshipfully arrayed as a prince, and nought so cleanly kept as should seem such a prince. They had him out, and new arrayed him, and did to him great reverence, and brought him to the palace of Westminster, and so he was restored to his crown again." † The people of London again heard the once-familiar name of Henry shouted forth by the heralds, and they said "God bless him" in a trembling whisper.

The most important guide to a comprehension of public affairs, the Rolls of Parliament, are wanting for the six months of the restoration of Henry VI. They were probably destroyed at the time of the counter-revolution; for, as we learn from other sources, in the parliament held at the beginning of 1471 the attainders of the Lancastrians were all removed; the Yorkists were attainted, and the crown was settled on Henry and his son Edward, and in failure of issue upon the duke of Clarence. Warwick and Clarence were appointed Protectors of the realm during the minority of Prince Edward. This restoration appears to have been carried through with less ferocity than disgraced the earlier proceedings of the civil war. The earl of Worcester, constable of England, was beheaded immediately upon the establishment of the Lancastrian authority—a nobleman who has been stigmatized as "the butcher of England," but whom the father of English printing eulogizes as "the right virtuous earl which late piteously lost his life." * But no other death on the scaffold is recorded. The country appears to have quickly settled down into tranquillity, and the knights and esquires to have changed their party with wonderful celerity. Edward had fled to Holland so ill-provided that he "was forced to give the master of the ship for his passage a gown lined with martins, and promised to do more for him whenever he had an opportunity." ‡ He had, however, in the train of himself and his brother Richard, followers to the number of seven or eight hundred; but, says Comines, "sure so poor a company were never seen before." His brigs were chased by the Easterlings, shipmen of the Hanse Towns, who were a piratical race, and he ran his vessels ashore on the coast of Holland. He was well treated by the governor, and obtained a place of refuge at the Hague. Edward's brother-in-law, the duke of Burgundy, would have been much better pleased to have heard of his death, as Comines avers. The earl of Warwick was one of the few men of whom Charles the Rash stood in fear; and he apprehended the great earl's vengeance if he protected the outcast, and showed hostility to the house of Lancaster. His clever minister, Comines, declared that the duke's alliance was with the king and kingdom of England, and whoever the English took for king should be so to the state of Burgundy. In this low condition of his affairs at home, and the neutrality of his great relative abroad, the chances of Edward's return were but small indeed. It became a merit of the crafty among his old friends to speak slightingly of him. The earl of Oxford, one of the most steadfast of the Lancastrians, had gone to Norwich in November, 1470, to ascertain the state of parties. Sir John Paston, the stout Yorkist, who had such good cheer at the marriage of Edward's sister, now writes to his brother, "If ye could find the means, Master Roos and ye, to cause the mayor in my lord's ear to tell him, though he should bind my lord to conceal it, that the love of the country and city resteth on our side, and that other folks be not beloved, nor never were, this would do no harm." ‡ The "other folks" would soon render it more difficult than ever for Sir John Paston, and many like him, to say which was "our side."

On the 2d of March, 1471, there is a little fleet in the harbor of Flushing, and Edward the exile goes on board one of the ships. He has received some secret succor from the duke of Burgundy, and has contrived to gather two thousand Englishmen under the White Rose banner. The wind is unfavorable, but he prefers remaining on ship-board to turning back from his enterprise. On the 11th the wind changes, and the little fleet sails to the coast of Norfolk. On the 12th, in the evening, the adventurer is before Cromer; but he learns that "it might not be for his weal to land in that country," for that the earl of Oxford was there in force; and the duke of Norfolk and other friends were "put in ward about London." § They again stood out to sea, and were exposed to a furious storm for two days and nights, which scattered the vessels, so that the leaders were each compelled to act upon their individual responsibility, and land where they best could. Edward, with his usual intrepidity, went ashore, with a very few followers, at Ravenspur. Richard accomplished a landing four miles from Ravenspur, and Rivers at a distance of fourteen miles. There was no force at hand to resist them, and the separated leaders at last joined, and marched on, setting forth that Ed-

* Ellis, "Original Letters," Second Series, vol. i. p. 132.

† Warkworth, p. 2.

* Caxton's Postscript to "Cicero de Amicitiâ," translated by the earl of Worcester.

† Comines.

‡ "Paston Letters," letter cccvi.

§ We here quote—and shall do so in subsequent passages without special reference—from the curious "Historie of the Arrival of King Edward IV.," published by the Camden Society—a narrative which is the best authority for the details of one of the boldest enterprises on record.

ward came, not to claim the kingdom, but to ask only for the inheritance of his father, the dukedom of York. He arrived before the city of York on the 17th, when the recorder came out and declared that he should not be suffered to enter; but then came two burgesses, who conceded that in the quarrel of his father he should be received. "And so, sometime comforted and sometime discomforted, he came to the gates before the city." He boldly entered, with only sixteen or seventeen persons, and harangued "the worshipful folks which were assembled a little within the gates." The wearied and hungered men were refreshed, and the next morning marched forward without the slightest molestation. Even Montacute, the brother of Warwick, allowed them to pass Pomfret Castle in safety. The servant of King Edward, who writes this "Historie" of his arrival, says that "though all the king's fellowship at that season were not many in number, yet they were so habiled * and so well-picked men, and in their work they had on hand so willed, that it had been right hard to have put them to any distress." Onward they went, past Wakefield and Doncaster to Nottingham, and thence to Leicester and Coventry. Here, on the 29th of March, Edward rested before Coventry, having received some accession of force on his march. Warwick was in the walled city, with six or seven thousand men. The deadly enemies were negotiating for three days without avail, and then Edward marched to the town of Warwick, "where he was received as king, and so made his proclamation from that time forward." The secret compact with Clarence was now to be completed. The duke drew toward Edward with four thousand men, and in a fair field out of Warwick, toward Banbury, the two brothers met between their two hosts, "where was right kind and loving language betwixt them two, with perfect accord knit together for ever hereafter." Clarence then endeavored to mediate between Warwick and his brother, but "all such treaty brake and took none effect." On the 6th of April the Yorkist army moved to Northampton, and keeping its straight course for the capital, on the 9th was at St. Alban's. Neville, the archbishop of York, assembled a force of six or seven thousand men in London, and "caused Henry, called king, to take a horse and ride from Paul's through Cheap, and so made a circuit about to Wallbrook." Fabyan, who knew the temper of the people, says, "the which rather withdrew men's hearts than otherwise." They saw the poor feeble king, a passive instrument of others, without any real power to carry out the kind impulses of his nature. They knew there was one at hand who had a strong will, wondrous energy, and, best of all, invariable good fortune. Comines, with that touch of the sarcastic which belonged to his peculiar experience of the crooked ways of the world, says that the sums which Edward owed to the tradesmen of London made them rejoice at the prospect of his restoration, and that the ladies of quality and citizens' wives, who were proud of his gallantries, compelled their husbands to declare for him. There was no resistance. The archbishop obtained a conditional promise of pardon, and on the 11th, when Edward entered the city, and rode straight to Paul's, the prelate there delivered King Henry to his great enemy. The next day was Good Friday. On the Saturday Edward led his army out of London; for Warwick had rapidly followed him in his march, and had halted at Barnet. His hope was to have surprised Edward in London while he was occupied in the solemnities of the great festival of the Church. The energy of the king was ready for every emergency. On that Easter eve, the 13th of April, the advanced guard of the Yorkists have encountered the outposts of the Lancastrians, and have driven them out of the town of Barnet. Warwick's main force is encamped upon the high ground about half a mile beyond. In the dimness of nightfall Edward's army is marching up the steep hill upon which the town is built; and in closed ranks and profound silence they pass through the narrow street, and past the ancient church, and so on to the open plain. "It was right dark," says the eye-witness, so that the king could not see where his enemies were embattled, and therefore took up a position much nearer to them than he had supposed. "But he took not his ground so even in front afore them as he would have done, if he might better have seen them; but somewhat a-syden-hand" [on one side]. The ground to the east suddenly declines from the elevated plain; and if Edward took his position "a-syden-hand" in this direction, he would have obtained an accidental advantage of some importance. Warwick had ordnance to defend his front; and as the tramp of men broke the silence "he shot guns almost all the night;" but "it so fortuned that they alway overshot the king's host." They were nearer than Warwick's gunners thought, and they were upon lower ground. There is something solemn in this array of two enemies, in darkness and deep silence, each ignorant of the exact position of the other—the darkness and the silence interrupted at long intervals by the flash and the boom of a single gun. The morning came, but the obscurity did not vanish. There was little light on Barnet Heath on that Easter morning, though peaceful thousands in other parts of England might have risen to see the sun dance, in the beautiful superstition that the firmament gave a token of gladness at this holy dawning. "The king, understanding that the day approached near, betwixt four and five of the clock, notwithstanding there was a great mist, and letted [hindered] the sight of either other," commenced the attack. In that mist English against English fought for three hours—madly, blindly—the left wing of the Yorkists, under Hastings, beaten and flying, while the king was rushing on in the centre, unconscious of the discomfiture—the right wing under Gloucester successfully attacking Warwick, whose men, as Oxford returned from his pursuit of Hastings' flying Yorkists, mistook him for an enemy, and received him with a terrible discharge of arrows. All became confusion. Warwick fell fighting on foot, and so his brother Montacute. The king-maker had the advantage of numbers and of position. The mist, which even in these days of cultivation and drainage rises from the clay lands below Barnet, probably saved Edward from defeat. His random attack, on that dark April morning, was successful in its impetuosity through the obscurity which prevented any combined movement of assault on his part, or of resistance on the part of his enemy. Edward fought hopefully, in the ignorance that a third of his army had sustained a defeat. Warwick fought desperately without the animating conviction that in another part of the field he had been victorious. Seldom has such a great result been produced out of blind chance and confusion. Edward was completely master of the field where seven thousand Lancastrians fell.* On the afternoon of that Easter Day the king marched back to London and rode straight to Paul's; and there was thanksgiving and gratulation, and the steeples gave forth their merry peals, and the people shouted for the young victorious king; and the poor dethroned Henry, who had been led out to Barnet, was led back to the Tower. Many an unhappy wretch who had fought against Edward now crept into some hiding-place in London. One Lancastrian who was wounded thus writes to his mother to beg her alms: "For by my troth my leechcraft and physic and rewards to them that have kept me and conducted me to London, have cost me since Easter-day more than five pounds, and now I have neither meat, drink, clothes, leechcraft, nor money." † The great struggle was not yet over. Queen Margaret had gathered a large army of foreigners and exiles, and she landed at Weymouth on the very day that Warwick had fallen at Barnet. This force had embarked at Honfleur on the 24th of March, and had again and again been driven back by stress of weather. There soon gathered around the queen Somerset and Devonshire and other staunch friends. On Easter Monday the news was brought of the battle of Barnet. "She was right heavy and sorry," says Edward's official account. "She like a woman all dismayed for fear fell to the ground," writes Hall. They marched to Exeter, gathering the men of Devonshire and Cornwall as they proceeded, and then took the direct way to Bath. Edward supplied the place of the killed and wounded of his men, and assembled his forces around him at Windsor, where he kept the feast of St. George on the 23d of April. On the 24th he marched forth seeking his enemies in the west. By weary marches, "in a foul country, all in lanes and stony ways, betwixt woods, without any good refreshing," the Lancastrians reached Tewkesbury, and there determined to make a stand. They took up a strong position "in a close even at the town's end; the town and the abbey at their backs; afore them, and upon every hand of them, foul lanes and deep dikes, and many hedges, and hills and valleys, a right-evil place to approach." Edward had followed them by forced marches, find-

* Disciplined—made skilful.

* A column was erected in 1740, with this inscription: "Here was fought the famous battle between Edward the 4th and the Earl of Warwick, April the 14th, anno 1471, in which the earl was defeated and slain."

† "Paston Letters," vol. v. 4to, p. 3.

g little provision on his way, and on the 3d of May "lodged himlf and all his host within three miles of them." They met on Satday, the 4th of May. Strong in their positions, the Lancastrians pulsed the attacking army; but Somerset boldly led his men into e open field by by-paths, and fiercely attacked Edward's flank. e was unsupported by Lord Wenlock, who was to have followed merset; was soon overpowered and driven back to his intrenchents with great slaughter; and in the frenzy of despair he killed s companion in arms whose treachery or fear had betrayed him in e hour of need. The king and his brother Richard pursued their lvantage with their wonted impetuosity, and the unfortunate remnt of the adherents of the Red Rose "took them to flight"—some into lanes and dikes, where they best hoped to escape the danger;" any were drowned at a mill-stream, "in the meadow fast by the wn;" many ran toward the town, many to the church, to the bbey, and elsewhere, as they best might. The kingdom was won.

It is now for the first time that we find Richard of Gloucester a nspicuous personage in our historical relations. He has been the mpanion of his brother in his short exile, and has returned with m to fight by his side in his great victories. He is now under venty years of age. If we may believe the description furnished r one who, in after years, was his bitter enemy, he was "little of ature, ill-featured of limbs, crook-backed, his left shoulder much gher than his right, hard favored of visage."* From a less susicious source—that of John Stow the antiquary, who was born out 1525—we learn that Stow "had spoken with some ancient en, who from their own sight and knowledge affirmed that he was f bodily shape comely enough, only of low stature."† In his conuct at the decisive day of Tewkesbury, the gallantry of the knight held to have been tarnished by the cruelty of the assassin. The sual account is derived from Polydore Vergil, whose history was ritten in Latin in the reign of Henry VII. He says, "Edward, the rince, an excellent youth, being brought a little after [the battle] the speech of King Edward, and demanded how he durst be so old as to enter and make war in his realm, made answer, with bold ind, that he came to recover his ancient inheritance: hereunto King dward gave no answer, only thrusting the young man from him ith his hand; whom, forthwith, those that were present, George, uke of Clarence, Richard, duke of Gloucester, and William, Lord Iastings, cruelly murdered."‡ On the other hand there is the conmporary account of the servant of Edward IV., who says, "In the inning of the field, such as abode hand-strokes were slain incontient: Edward, called prince, was taken fleeing to the townwards, nd slain in the field."§ Another early record, that of Warkworth, Lancastrian, gives the same account of young Edward's death in he field, with a circumstantial variation: "And there was slain in he field Prince Edward, which cried for succor to his brother-in-w, the duke of Clarence."‖ The victory of Tewkesbury was folowed by the executions of the duke of Somerset and other Lancasian leaders who, "divers times," were brought before the king's rother, the duke of Gloucester and constable of England, and the uke of Norfolk, marshal of England, their judges, and so were dged to death."¶ The judicial slaughters were rendered more rocious than the ordinary ferocities of both parties after victory, by he circumstance that their fallen enemies were dragged from the anctuary of the abbey of Tewkesbury, in spite of the promise of Edard that those who had there taken refuge should be pardoned.

On the 7th of May King Edward marched from Tewkesbury o Worcester. On the 11th he was at Coventry, where Queen Iargaret, who had been discovered in a small house of religion, here she had taken refuge, was brought to him, and went on to Lonon in the train of the victor. The movements of the king were uickened by the news of an attack upon London by William Falconridge, who had kept the Channel as admiral by Warwick's appointent. He is described as "a man of much audacity, and factious rithal, whom evil life especially stirred up to disturb the commonwealth."* He gathered a great power of the Kentish people about him, who advanced to London, proclaiming that they were come to deliver King Henry. But when the news of Edward's victory arrived, the citizens gave no encouragement to this enterprise, and shut their gates against the adventurer, who had an evil reputation as a pirate who had been spoiling on the coast while the country was in commotion. He made a desperate assault on the city with a land force and with ships; set fire to the houses in three places; but being bravely repulsed by the armed citizens, retired to Blackheath, and afterward to Sandwich, which he fortified. This daring resistance to the victorious government was not to be disregarded. Edward arrived in London with thirty thousand men on the 21st of May. On the 22d he was on his march toward Canterbury, accompanied by his brother Richard, who, within a few days, received the submission of Falconbridge. There is the following circumstantial record of an event which took place on the 21st of May, in which the duke of Gloucester is held to have again manifested "the dispiteous and cruel" nature which is ascribed to him: "The same night that King Edward came to London, King Henry, being inward in prison in the Tower of London, was put to death, the 21st day of May, on a Tuesday night, between eleven and twelve of the clock, being then at the Tower the duke of Gloucester, brother to King Edward, and many other. And on the morrow he was chested and brought to Paul's, and his face was open that every one might see him; and in his lying he bled on the pavement there."† Opposed to this statement of the murder is the Yorkist account, that when Henry came to have knowledge of the fatal reverses of his friends and the death of his son, "he took it to so great despite, ire, and indignation, that, of pure displeasure and melancholy, he died, the 23d day of the month of May."‡ The circumstance that Richard was in the Tower, "with other," on that one night when he rested in London, is a slight foundation upon which to build the charge of the murder of Henry. Polydore Vergil, writing at a time when it was convenient to lay the chief sins of the house of York upon him who had lost a crown, says, "The continual report is that Richard, duke of Gloucester, killed him with a sword." Fabyan writes, "Of the death of this prince [Henry VI.] divers tales were told: but the most common fame went that he was sticked with a dagger by the hands of the duke of Gloucester."§ In the same hearsay style we find in More's "History," "He slew with his own hands King Henry the Sixth, being prisoner in the Tower, as men constantly say, and that without commandment or knowledge of the king, which would undoubtedly, if he had intended that thing, have appointed that butcherly office to some other than his own born brother." What immediate good the "born brother" would have derived in setting himself "that butcherly office" is not shown. Let us not load this youth with more burdens of evil than he will have to bear in his riper years of guilty ambition. If Henry was put to death, which is more than probable, it was politic in cardinal Morton to give such a color to the event in his relations to More as would transfer the guilt from the father of the wife of Henry VII., whose devoted minister the cardinal was, and fix it upon the uncle of that wife, whose memory could be safely assailed when there was no one left to care for him or defend him.

* "History of King Richard the Third," attributed to Sir Thomas More, but, if written by him, compiled from the statements of Cardinal Morton.
† Strype. Life of Stow, prefixed to "Survey of London," 1720.
‡ Early Translation, p. 152—Camden Society.
§ History of the Arrival, etc., p. 30.
‖ Chronicle, p. 18. ¶ History of the Arrival," etc., p. 31.

CHAPTER XLII.

Total depression of the enemies of the house of York—The court of Edward IV., its splendor and ceremony—Patronage of the new art of printing—Disputes of Clarence and Gloucester as to Gloucester's marriage—Invasion of France—Adroitness of Louis XI.—Death of the duke of Burgundy—Trial and condemnation of Clarence—Scotland—Death of Edward IV.—Accession of Edward V.—Jealousy of the family of Woodville by the great nobles—Arrest of Rivers, Vaughan, and Grey—Gloucester and Buckingham enter London with the king—The queen flies to Sanctuary—Gloucester appointed Protector—His friends obtain important posts—Coronation of Edward V. fixed—Arrest and execution of Hastings—Gloucester proclaims that his life is threatened—The duke of York removed to the Tower—Alleged marriage of Edward IV. previous to his union with Elizabeth Woodville—Sermon at Paul's Cross—

* Polydore Vergil, p. 153. † Warkworth's Chronicle, p. 21.
‡ History of the Arrival, etc., p. 38. § Chronicle, p. 662.

The duke of Buckingham harangues the citizens at Guildhall—The illegitimacy of Edward's children declared—Gloucester takes the crown—Execution of Rivers and others—Coronation of Richard III.—Examination of the evidence that Richard III. caused the sons of Edward IV. to be murdered.

All the enemies of the house of York are swept away by the sword or the axe, or are in prison or in exile. Margaret of Anjou is a captive in the Tower, with a small allowance. The duke of Exeter, who had escaped from Barnet to the sanctuary of Westminster, perishes at sea the next year. Vere, the earl of Oxford, after having kept the coast of the Channel in alarm with a little fleet, and taken Mount St. Michael, in Cornwall, surrenders upon condition that his life should be spared, and is confined for eleven years in the castle of Ham, a prison that in future history will have far more importance than in connection with the wars of the Roses. The earl of Pembroke, with his nephew, the young earl of Richmond, have been cast by a storm on the coast of Britanny, and remain there during the reign of Edward. Some who have been hostile to the Yorkists, such as Dr. Morton, who will rise to great power, and Sir John Fortescue, have submitted to the favorite of fortune. Many persons who, as Fuller somewhere says, in playing their cards could scarcely know which was the trump, easily obtained their pardons; the course being that some friend of the successful party should procure the seal of the king, and that the chancellor should confirm "the bill."* For a while the court of Edward is one of the most gay and magnificent in Europe, as indeed it was before the sudden revolution of 1470. There is a very curious account of the reception, by Edward and his queen, in 1466, of a Bohemian nobleman, in which a native of Nuremberg, one of his suite, furnishes some details of the wearisome ceremonies of the royal life. The Bohemian lord—having been feasted himself, while the king was making presents to trumpeters, pipers, players, and heralds, in the most lavish manner—"was conducted into a costly ornamented room where the queen was to dine; and there he was seated in a corner that he might see all the expensive provisions. The queen sat down on a golden stool alone at her table, and her mother and the king's sister stood far below her. And when the queen spoke to her mother or to the king's sister, they kneeled down every time before her, and remained kneeling until the queen drank water. And all her ladies and maids, and those who waited upon her, even great lords, had to kneel while she was eating, which continued three hours. After dinner there was dancing, but the queen remained sitting upon her stool, and her mother kneeled before her."† It is scarcely to be wondered that king Edward too frequently stole away from this frightful etiquette, to be merry after his own vicious fashion, or that he "would a hunting ride, some pastime for to see."‡ The court fool, with his jests and his antics, must have been a welcome relief to the three hours of dining and kneeling.

But in the court of England, after the re-establishment of the house of York, there were more rational occupations than the processions and banquets of the great days of ceremony, as that day was on which the Bohemian lord was received. There were literary tastes in those times which had so recently witnessed the waste and ferocity of civil war. Edward was himself a reader. In his "Wardrobe Accounts" there are entries for binding his Titus Livius, his Froissart, his Josephus, and his Bible, as well as for the cost of fastening chests to remove his books from London to Eltham. The brother of the queen was the patron of Caxton, who brought his art to England in 1474. For Caxton's press the accomplished Rivers translated "The Dictes and Sayings of Philosophers," which was printed at Westminster in 1477; and he afterward translated two other works for Caxton. Our first printer was intimately connected with the family of Edward IV. He had "a yearly fee," as he says, from Margaret the duchess of Burgundy, king Edward's sister, while he resided at Bruges; and by her command he proceeded with his "Historyes of Troye," a translation from the French, which the critical duchess looked over, and found "defaute" of his English.§ He dedicates the first book which he printed to the duke of Clarence. He receives a payment, by order of Edward IV., in 1479, of the large sum of twenty pounds "for certain causes and matters performed by him for the said lord the king." It is manifest that at a period when the number of original writers was very few, the king and his court lent a willing aid to the great discovery which was to make knowledge a common property, in causing, as Caxton says earl Rivers did, "books to be imprinted and so multiplied to go abroad among the people."

The public triumphs of the house of York seem to have done little to secure the brotherly union of its members. The great earl of Warwick had two daughters, one married to the duke of Clarence, the other contracted to the son of Henry VI., who fell at Tewkesbury in his seventeenth year. They were the heiresses of the enormous possessions of Warwick; and Clarence appears to have had no inclination to divide the great wealth of the Nevilles and the Beauchamps with any other. He concealed Anne, the younger sister, from the pursuit of Gloucester, who was her suitor. In February 1472, Sir John Paston writes that the family are "not all in charity," adding, "the king entreateth my lord of Clarence for my lord of Gloucester; and, as it is said, he answereth that he may well have my lady his sister-in-law, but they shall part no livelihood, as he saith." Gloucester was not a man to be put off in this fashion by his brother; so he did contrive "to have my lady his sister-in law," discovering her, as the gossip of the day relates, in the disguise of a cook-maid. The quarrel went on; and in April, 1473, Sir John Paston again writes, "The world seemeth queasy here; for the most part that be about the king have sent hither for their harnes, and it is said for certain that the duke of Clarence maketh him bun in that he can, showing as he would but deal with the duke of Gloucester; but the king intendeth, eschewing all inconvenience, to be as big as they both, and a stifler atween them." The question how the "livelihood" should be parted was settled in 1474, by the parliament dividing the great fortune of Warwick, between the two royal brothers, leaving the widow of Warwick, most unjustly, a very wretched provision. Richard had been appointed Chief Seneschal of the duchy of Lancaster, and resided officially at Pomfret Castle. The son and only child of Richard and Anne was born at Middleham Castle in 1473, which had been the property of the earl of Warwick. The local historians represent Richard to have been "popular in the north, where he was best known."† Another says, "Richard, resented as a monster of mankind by most, was not so esteemed in these northern parts."‡

There have been three years of repose in England. The quiet suited ill with the restless nature of King Edward. His voluptuous habits have produced their usual consequence, satiety. A war with France was ever popular in England, and the king employs the years 1473 and 1474 in preparation for a new conquest of the province which had been lost during the minority of Henry VI. The duke of Burgundy and the duke of Bretagne urged on the revival of the

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* See "Paston Letters," vol. v. p. 7.

† Extract translated in the "Athenæum," November 16th, 1844, from the "Travels of Leo von Rozmital through the West of Europe."

‡ Percy, "Reliques," vol. ii.

§ In my Biography of Caxton, of which a new edition appeared in 1854, I adopted the opinion that Caxton had an employment at Bruges, in the court of "the lady Margaret." In a very curious volume, "Notice sur Colard Mansion, Libraire et Imprimeur de la Ville de Bruges," Paris, 1829, the author, M. de Prat, shows that Caxton and Mansion, who commenced printing at Bruges in 1471, were each carrying out the same views of popularizing knowledge, Mansion having produced Boëthius and Ovid's Metamorphoses in French, as well as "L'Art de bien Mourir," which works Caxton also undertook in English. But M. de Prat, by the discovery of an entry in the register of civil judgments in Bruges, shows that in 1469 a case was determined of which there had been a previous arbitration by "William Caxton, merchant of England, master and governor of the merchants of the English nation;" and that, in May, 1469, the said William Caxton was necessarily absent from the said city of Bruges." Was he not absent to learn the new art? and were not his labors as an author carried on with reference to his ultimate purpose of becoming a printer, although this very book of the "Historyes of Troye" might have been printed with the types of another at Cologne? He says that the translation and work was begun at Bruges in 1469, and ended in the holy city of Cologne in 1471. The translation would not have occupied three years, unless the translator had been engaged, to some extent or other, in its typographical execution. "I have practised and learned, at my great charge and dispense, to ordain the said book in print," are his words at the end of this volume. In 1474 he was a printer at Westminster. I am indebted for a knowledge of M. de Prat's "Notice," to my accomplished friend, Mr. Octave Delepierre.—C. K.

* Plumpton Correspondence, p. 26.

† Surtees, "History of Durham."

‡ Drake's York.

ncient claims to the French crown. The parliament voted supplies ith a profuse liberality, which the tax-payers did not entirely ap- rove. "The king goeth so near us in this country, both to poor nd rich, that I wot not how we shall live, unless the world amend." * n the 20th of June, 1475, Edward sailed from Sandwich with fifteen undred men-at-arms, fifteen thousand archers, and a great number f foot-soldiers and artillery. Comines says that the embarking and ne landing these forces at Calais occupied three weeks. Before the ing sailed he sent a herald with a letter, in which he demanded the rown from Louis XI., as his right and inheritance—written, adds omines, in such an elegant style "that I can scarcely believe any nglishman wrote it." The purity of the language and the arro- ance of the demand were alike indifferent to the French king, who ook the herald into a private room, gave him a magnificent present f three hundred crowns, and "was much revived by what he got ut of" Edward's messenger. The whole account of this invasion f France, as told by the most interesting of the early memoir- riters, is a comedy full of amusement, instead of the monotonous agedy that is the more natural and usual chronicle of the quarrels f princes. As an exhibition of character, the narrative of Comines perfect.

The duke of Burgundy had deceived Edward as to the amount of ssistance he would render in the attempt upon France. He gave ne English a cold welcome at Peronne. The constable of St. Pol, nstead of being friendly to Edward, and delivering up the fortress f St. Quentin, fired upon an English detachment who went to take ossession of the place. Louis of France, who was in real terror at ne presence of the English king, had a scheme for getting rid of him hich he wisely preferred to fighting. He had a trick of whispering people's ears, and he whispered to Comines to send for a certain rd's servant, and propose to him to go disguised as a herald to the mp of the English king. The man was frightened; but Louis ell tutored him, and he was dressed up with a coat-of-arms made ut of the banner of a trumpet. Louis himself had no heralds as her princes had. "He was not so stately or vain." The mock erald was well received at the English camp, and he played his art so well that a negotiation was opened through commissioners. he original demand of Edward for the French crown first dwindled o a claim for Normandy and Gascony, and ended in a proposal for large pension, as the French called it, as the condition of leaving rance. The wily Louis feasted the English at Amiens, sent Ed- ard three hundred cart-loads of the best wines of France, and ribed his nobles without stint. The two kings met at Picquiny, nd there a peace was sworn between them, upon the conditions of resent and future money payments, of a marriage between the son f Louis and a daughter of Edward, and the release of Margaret of njou. Then Louis invited Edward to Paris, "in a jocular way," aying "he would assign him the cardinal Bourbon for his confes- or, who would willingly absolve him if he committed any sin." dward was delighted with the raillery, and promised to come, omewhat to the discomposure of Louis; for he whispered to Com- nes, "His predecessors have been too often in Paris and Normandy lready, and I do not care for his company so near." One only of ne greater nobles of the train of Edward evinced displeasure at these egotiations, in which the king of France had cajoled and degraded ne English—that one was Richard of Gloucester. At the interview etween the kings Gloucester was not present, "as being averse to ne treaty." That man is truly unfortunate whose best actions are eld to proceed from the worst motives. Of Richard, one who lived n a court where there was little display of high principle, says, Out of the deep root of ambition it sprang, that, as well at the reaty of peace that passed between Edward IV. and Louis XI. of rance, concluded by interviews of both kings at Picquiny, as upon ll other occasions, Richard, the duke of Gloucester, stood ever upon ne side of honor, raising his own reputation to the disadvantage of ne king his brother, and drawing the eyes of all, especially those of he nobles and soldiers, upon himself." † Comines asked a Gascon n the English service how many battles Edward had won, and the nswer was, nine: how many he had lost—and the reply was, never ut one, and that was this in which the French had outwitted him. The duke of Gloucester might have been as sagacious as the Gascon without being sensible of his country's shame only through the "deep root of ambition."

With the treaty of Picquiny, its bribes and its cajoleries, its heart- less compacts and hollow friendships, the chivalrous grandeur of England had come to an end. The pageant was played out. The world was henceforward to be governed by that statecraft of which Louis the Eleventh was the greatest example. There was one prince who continued to rely upon force, with an occasional mixture of fraud, in which game he was a child when opposed to his practised adversary. His high-blown pride was humbled at Granson and Morat by the Swiss whose poverty he despised; and Charles of Burgundy perished in his mad career in 1477. Edward returned to England more disgraced than his brother-in-law, when the mountaineers broke into his camp and carried off his gold and his jewels, his rich armor and his silk pavilions. Edward came home to an indignant people with a disappointed army. His soldiers compensated themselves for the loss of plunder in France by pillaging their own countrymen. The king went in person with the judges to try the offenders, and hung every one without mercy who was apprehended for the least theft.*

The marriages of the great, at this period, when the increase of possessions appears to have been the dominant passion, were a fruit- ful source of dissimulation and enmity. Clarence has lost his wife by poison; and the duchess of Burgundy is a widow. There is a letter of Edward to his ambassador in Scotland, in which, in 1477, he writes that the king of Scots desires two marriages connected with the royal line; one that the duke of Clarence should marry a sister of the king of Scots, and that a brother of that king, the duke of Albany, should marry the duchess of Burgundy: "Ye shall say, that for so much as this desire proceedeth of his entire love and affec- tion anent us, we thank him as heartily as we can; and for so much also as after the old usages of this our realm, no estate or person honorable communeth of marriage within the year of their doole [widowhood], we therefore as yet cannot conveniently speak in this matter. Nathless, when we shall find time convenable [suitable] we shall feel their dispositions, and thereupon shew unto him the same in all goodly haste." † The king did feel the disposition of his brother Clarence, and found that the ambitious duke desired to wed the only daughter and heir of Charles of Burgundy, in which desire he was seconded by the widowed duchess, her stepmother. Edward resolutely opposed this scheme, and the brothers became enemies. Clarence estranged himself from his brother's court. At this time two of his dependants, Thomas Burdett and John Stacy, were accused of having "worked and calculated by art magic, necro- mancy, and astronomy, the death and final destruction of the king and prince," and they were tried and executed. Clarence asserted their innocence before the council, and was immediately arrested by the king, and committed to the Tower, on the 16th of January, 1478. Edward forced on his brother's condemnation, by appearing in per- son to maintain a charge of treason against him. The obsequious peers found the imprudent prince guilty, and sentence of death was pronounced upon him by the duke of Buckingham, who acted as high steward. On the 7th of February the Commons, by their speaker, demanded the execution of the sentence; and within ten days it was announced that the duke had died in the Tower. The drowning in a butt of malmsey wine was a rumor of the period. The suspicion that the duke of Gloucester was implicated in the con- demnation of Clarence rests upon no evidence whatever. The insin- uation against him is thus stated by More: "Some wise men also ween that his drift, covertly conveyed, lacked not in helping forth his brother of Clarence to his death; which he resisted openly, howbeit somewhat, as men deemed, more faintly than he that were heartily minded to his wealth."‡

The few remaining years of the life of King Edward were not years of ease and prosperity. The chroniclers say that his remorse for the death of Clarence was constant and bitter, and that "he was wont to cry out in a rage, O unfortunate brother, for whose life no man in this world would once make request."§ England, in 1479, was

* Margaret Paston, writing on May 23, 1475.
† Bacon, "History of Henry VII.," p. 3.

* The Croyland Chronicle says, "si in furto vel latrocinio *deprehensus*."
† Ellis, "Original Letters," Series I., vol. i. p. 16.
‡ "History of King Richard the Third," Singer's edition, p. 10.
§ Polydore Vergil, p. 168.

visited with a frightful pestilence. While his subjects in London and elsewhere were perishing around him, Edward was enduring bitter mortification in his private affairs. He had a passion for contracting alliances for his children, even while they were in their cradles. His eldest daughter, Elizabeth, was contracted, as we have seen, to the Dauphin of France by the treaty of Picquiny; but Louis began to give indications that the treaty would only endure as long as suited his convenience. His daughter Cecily was engaged to the son and heir of the king of Scotland, and the dowry of the lady had commenced to be paid by instalments. From the time of the death of James I., who was murdered in a conspiracy of his nobles in 1437, the kingdom had been the scene of intestine conflicts. James II. came to the crown when six years old, and his reign was a constant struggle with the great families of Douglas and Livingston and other feudal lords. He was killed at the siege of Roxburgh in 1460. James III. was also a minor when he came to the throne. He was of a contemplative and indolent nature, and fell into the hands of favorites. The Boyds, who had long governed, were at last dispossessed of their power, and the duke of Albany and the earl of Mar, the brothers of James, took the lead in the management of affairs, but soon excited the suspicion of the king that they aspired to the royal authority. Mar was put to death. Albany escaped to France. At this juncture James III. and Edward IV. quarrelled. The marriage treaty was broken off, and in 1480 there was war between England and Scotland. The duke of Gloucester, who was warden of the Marches, commanded the English forces. Berwick was invested, but without success; and the two armies were content with occasional forays upon the borders. In 1482 the duke of Albany was encouraged by Edward in a rebellion against his reigning brother, and he engaged to hold Scotland as a fief of England, and to surrender Berwick. That important fort was now besieged by Gloucester and Albany. James raised an army and marched toward the borders; but his turbulent nobles seized the king, and hanged his associates, two of whom were artists. Albany and Gloucester marched on to Edinburgh; and the rebellion and the war with England were ended by Albany swearing to be a true and faithful subject, and Gloucester obtaining the strong post of Berwick, which ever after remained an English possession. In 1483 Louis of France broke off the contract which he had made with the king of England for the marriage of the Dauphin and the Lady Cecily. He saw a more advantageous union for his son in the daughter of Mary of Burgundy. Edward was furious, and immediately determined for war. But he who was "inclining to be fat" when Comines saw him at Picquiny, was now enfeebled in mind and body by long indulgence in every excess. His anger was expressed in paroxysms of rage without any determinate plans. A serious illness succeeded a slight ailment, and he died on the 9th of April, 1483, in the forty-second year of his age. He was buried in the new chapel of St. George at Windsor, to which the remains of Henry VI. were afterward removed.

"And blended lie th' oppressor and th' opprest."

At the death of his father, Edward, Prince of Wales, was twelve years and a half old. He was residing in considerable state at Ludlow Castle, with a council, among whom were his maternal uncle, Earl Rivers; his half-brother, Sir Richard Grey; Sir Thomas Vaughan, Sir William Stanley, Sir Richard Croft, and Sir Richard Hawte. Ordinances for the regulation of the prince's daily conduct were drawn up by his father a short time before his death, which prescribe his morning attendance at mass, his occupation "at his school," his meals, and his sports. No man is to sit at his board but such as earl Rivers shall allow; and at this hour of meat it is ordered "that there be read before him noble stories, as behoveth a prince to understand; and that the communication at all times, in his presence, be of virtue, honor, cunning [knowledge], wisdom, and deeds of worship, and of nothing that shall move him to vice." * The bishop of Worcester, John Alcock, the president of his council, was the prince's preceptor. The queen's relations and friends were those who exclusively surrounded the heir to the throne. During the life of Edward IV. the jealousy which the ancient nobility entertained of the Woodville family was in some degree repressed; although the catastrophe of the duke of Clarence was probably connected with those court dissensions. But when the youthful prince suddenly became King Edward the Fifth, a struggle for power during his minority would be the almost inevitable issue of the position of parties. We must look back upon the events of forty years to understand how the whole system of English government had been a contest for dominion between factions and individuals, without any leading principle of public good giving even a color to this course of intrigue, insurrection, and civil war. In this system two generations of great ones had been trained, with occasional intervals of tranquillity; but at no period with the conviction that the peace and order of the realm was established upon a solid basis. If we regard the revolutionary events which followed the death of Edward IV. as the result of the daring ambition of one man, Richard of Gloucester, we shall imperfectly comprehend the bold and unscrupulous measures which placed him on the throne. When Edward IV. was on his death-bed he is reported to have called the marquis of Dorset, the queen's son by her first husband, and lord Hastings, his chamberlain, to his side, and implored them to be in amity, saying, "If you among yourselves in a child's reign fall at debate, many a good man shall perish, and haply he too, and ye too, ere this land find peace again." * The prophetic king could scarcely have expected that the troubles of "a child's reign" should have so instantly followed the expiration of his own strong rule.

Gloucester was in the north at the time of his brother's death. It has been related that he was employed in the Scotch marches at this period of Edward's decease, and that, entering York with a train of six hundred knights and esquires, he celebrated the obsequies of the departed king in the minster, and there himself swore fealty to Edward V., his example being followed by all present. The "Records" of York have been published, and they contain many curious facts of this period. No such ceremony is mentioned in these registers of the city.† Richard, however, went on to London with a large number of his followers, with the alleged purpose of assisting at the coronation, which had been fixed for the 4th of May. Meanwhile the marquis of Dorset had removed the royal treasure out of the Tower, of which he was the governor, and had equipped a fleet, commanded by the queen's brother, Sir Edward Woodville. There had been dissensions in the Council, Hastings having protested against Rivers conducting the young king to London with an overwhelming military force. On the 24th of April Edward V. left Ludlow, with Rivers, Vaughan, Grey, and a retinue not exceeding the number which had been prescribed by the Council; and they travelled on until they reached Northampton. There Gloucester and Buckingham arrived the same day; but the king had gone forward to Stony-Stratford, Rivers remaining at Northampton. It is argued, on one hand, that this was a scheme to prevent Gloucester seeing his nephew;‡ while, on the other hand, it is affirmed that Rivers returned to Northampton from Stony-Stratford, to show his respect for Gloucester.§ There can be little doubt that each party was preparing to out-manœuvre the other, and that each was advancing to the perpetration of some decided act of treachery and bloodshed, such as we designate in modern times by the gentle name of a *coup d'état*. It appears tolerably clear that the two most important men in the country, Gloucester and Buckingham, both of the royal blood, were intended to be omitted in the state arrangements; for in commissions issued as early as the 1st of May their names were not inserted, while those of Dorset, Rivers, and Hastings were prominent.‖

At this juncture, the first decided blow was struck by the two ambitious dukes. They passed the evening of the 29th of April in social companionship with Rivers; and then "the dukes secretly, with a few of their most privy friends, set them down in counsel, wherein they spent a great part of the night." ¶ The next morning they surrounded Rivers in his inn, and arrested him. They then rode on to Stony-Stratford, "where they found the king with his company ready to leap on horseback, and depart forward, to leave that lodging for them, because it was too straight for both compa-

* Quoted in Turner's "History," from MS. in British Museum, vol iii. p. 363. See also "Grants of Edward V.," Introduction by Mr. John Gough Nicholls, p. 8.

* More, "History of Richard III." Singer's edit. p. 17.
† See "Grants," etc., p. xxiii. ‡ Turner, vol. iii. p. 408.
§ Lingard, vol. v. p. 324.
‖ "Grants," etc., Introduction, p. xiv. ¶ More, p. 24.

es." * There was more fearful work to be done before the frightened boy could leap on horseback." The dukes arrested Lord Grey d Sir Thomas Vaughan, and brought the king back to Northampn. He wept and was nothing content, but it booted not." The ws of these sudden demonstrations went on to London, where the sgivings of the queen drove her to leave the palace of Westmir, and take refuge in the adjoining sanctuary with her second son. ere the archbishop of York, and chancellor, Rotherham, went to r with a consolatory message from Hastings; but she would take comfort, and 'sat alone alow in the rushes. all desolate and disyed." † The chancellor, with singular imprudence, left the Great al with the queen, but secretly got it back again. The state of ndon at this juncture is graphically described by More—the ames full of boats of the duke of Gloucester's servants; the citiis gathered in groups, to discourse of these strange events; lords, ights, and gentlemen, putting on their harness, and assembling in mpanies. At a meeting of the Council, Hastings maintained that oucester and Buckingham had commanded the arrests, not for the ng's jeopardy but for their own safety. On the 4th of May Edrd the Fifth publicly entered the city, being met at Hornsey by e mayor and aldermen; the duke of Gloucester bearing him "in en sight most reverently to the prince, with all semblance of lowliss." ‡ The peers took the oath of fealty to Edward. At a great uncil of prelates, nobles, and citizens, Gloucester was appointed otector. On the 14th of May new commissions of the peace were ued into several counties, where his name appears as "Protector England." § From that time, as we learn from the form of offil documents, the supreme power is wielded in the name of "Edrd, by the grace of God king of England and France and lord of eland," acting "by the advice of our most entirely beloved uncle e duke of Gloucester, protector and defender of this our realm of gland during our young age."

The grants from the crown during the brief reign of Edward V. ow how suddenly and how completely the king's signet had bene the instrument for the ruin of his mother's kindred and friends, d the elevation of those who were in the interest of the protector. the 14th of May there is a letter to certain men to go to the sea th ships to take Sir Edward Woodville. Those of the Prince of ales's court who had been previously arrested—Rivers, Vaughan, ey, and Hawte—were kept prisoners at various castles. Buckingm, the great adviser and advocate of Richard, received immediate vards for his services. Appointments were heaped upon him in a v weeks, as constable of royal castles and keeper of royal forests; t his chief promotion was to the government of the principality of ales. Rivers had administered the Welsh affairs as governor of e prince, and would have necessarily become the viceroy, if the een's party had triumphed. Northumberland was found in the st of warden of the Scotch marches and captain of Berwick, and ntracts were immediately made with him for the defence of the rder. Lovell secured a grant of the castle and honor of Wallingd. Catesby was made chancellor of the earldom of March. n, lord Howard, afterward created duke of Norfolk, received the pointment of steward of the duchy of Lancaster, south of the ent; but he had a stronger motive of interest to bind him to Rich—the expectation of the inheritance of the Mowbrays, which had en withheld from him.‖ When we look at the authentic records m which these particulars are derived, we see the unwearied labor h which the protector built up his own power in the name of his phew. The filling up of the smallest offices does not appear to ve been beneath his notice. The keeper of a jail and the bailiff of ark are as summarily displaced and successors appointed, as the nstable of a castle and the viceroy of a province.

The opening of parliament was fixed for the 25th of June. The rd Chancellor, John Russell, bishop of Lincoln, had prepared a eech for the opening of Edward the Fifth's parliament, the draft of ich remains among the Cotton MSS. in the British Museum; and m a passage which says that one of the causes for assembling the liament was to establish the authority of the lord protector, it may inferred that the chancellor, the chief officer of the government, was unacquainted with the plot, if it were formed at an early stage of the protectorate, for raising Richard to the throne.* On the 5th of June letters were addressed to fifty persons, commanding them to attend at the Tower of London four days before the 22d of that month, when they were to receive knighthood at the coronation. The public aspect of affairs at this crisis is described in a letter written by Simon Stallworthe, one of the officers of the chancellor, to Sir William Stonor. The importance of private correspondence to support the narratives of the chroniclers of this eventful period is pointed out in the interesting volume in which this letter, and another from the same person, appear.† Stallworthe says, writing "in haste from London," on the 9th of June, "Master Stonor, after due recommendations, I recommend me to you. As for tidings, since I wrote to you we hear nought new. The queen keeps still at Westminster [with] my lord of York, my lord of Salisbury, with others more, which will not depart as yet."‡ He then proceeds to say that the goods of my lord marquis [Dorset] were taken wherever found; and that the prior of Westminster was, and is, in great trouble for certain of these goods delivered to him. "My lord protector, my lord of Buckingham, with all other lords, as well temporal as spiritual, were at Westminster in the council-chamber, from ten to two [o'clock], but there was none that spake with the queen. There is great business against the coronation, which shall be this day fortnight, as we say; where I trust ye will be at London, and there shall ye know all the world. The king is at the Tower. My lady of Gloucester came to London on Thursday last." Within four days of the date of this letter, when "all the world" was gathering toward London to be present at the coronation of King Edward the Fifth, an event took place which gave warning of some impending change.

Lord Hastings, the attached friend of Edward the Fourth, if real friendship is compatible with a companionship in licentious pursuits, had gone along with Gloucester and Buckingham in the arrest of the queen's kindred and friends. It is recorded, in the narrative ascribed to More, that on the 13th day of June it was devised by the assent of Hastings that Rivers and the others should be beheaded at Pomfret; and subsequent historians assert that they were so beheaded on that day. The date of the will of Earl Rivers, the 23d of June, shows the inaccuracy of this statement, and, in some degree, relieves Hastings from this charge against him. On the 13th of June, then, took place that wonderful scene which, first painted by More, has been reproduced in imperishable colors—enamelled, as it were, by Shakespeare. It is Friday, the 13th of June. Many lords are assembled in the Tower, arranging the solemnity of the coronation. At nine o'clock the protector enters, excusing himself that he was so late in attendance, saying he had been sleeping. "And after a little talking with them, he said unto the bishop of Ely, 'My lord, you have very good strawberries at your garden in Holborn; I require you let us have a mess of them.' 'Gladly, my lord,' quoth he, 'would God I had some better thing as ready to your pleasure as that.' And therewith in all the haste he sent his servant for a mess of strawberries. The protector set the lords fast in communing, and thereupon praying them to spare him for a little while, departed thence. And soon after one hour, between ten and eleven, he returned into the chamber among them all changed with a wonderful sour, angry countenance, knitting the brows, frowning and fretting, and gnawing on his lips, and so sat him down in his place." § The protector, after a while, asked what they were worthy to have that compassed his destruction; and Hastings replied that they deserved to be punished as heinous traitors. The denunciations of Gloucester pointed at the queen, and others with her. "Then," said the protector, "ye shall all see in what wise that sorceress and that other witch of her counsel, Shore's wife, with their affinity, have by their sorcery and witchcraft wasted my body. And therewith he plucked up his doublet sleeve to his elbow upon his left arm, where he showed a werish, withered arm, and small as it was never other. And thereupon every man's mind sore misgave them, well perceiving that this matter was but a quarrel." ‖ The relation then goes on to

* More, p. 26. † Ibid., p. 30. ‡ Ibid., p. 34.
§ "Grants," etc., p. xii.
‖ See Mr. Nicholls' Introduction to "Grants," pages xxiv. to xxvi

* The speech is given in the valuable volume of "Grants," etc., p. xxxix. † "Excerpta Historica," 1831.
‡ "My lord of Salisbury" was the queen's brother, the bishop of Salisbury. § More, p. 70. ‖ Ibid., p.72.

state that every man knew that Gloucester's arm was such from his birth, and that Shore's wife, whom the queen hated as the mistress of her husband, was the least likely to be of her counsel. Then Hastings, who is affirmed to have doted on Shore's wife, "answered, and said 'Certainly, my lord, if they have so heinously done, they be worthy heinous punishment.' 'What,' quoth the protector, 'thou servest me, I ween, with "ifs" and with "ands;" I tell thee they have so done, and that I will make good on thy body, traitor.' And therewith, as in a great rage, he clapped his fist upon the board a great rap. At which token given, one cried 'treason,' without the chamber. Therewith a door clapped, and in come there rushing men in harness, as many as the chamber might hold. And anon the protector said to the Lord Hastings, 'I arrest thee, traitor.' 'What, me, my lord?' quoth he. 'Yea, thee, traitor,' quoth the protector. And another let fly at the lord Stanley, which shrunk at the stroke and fell under the table, or else his head had been cleft to the teeth; for as shortly as he shrank, yet ran the blood about his ears. Then were they all quickly bestowed in divers chambers, except the lord chamberlain [Hastings], whom the protector bade speed and shrive him apace, 'for, by St. Paul,' quoth he, 'I will not to dinner till I see thy head off.' It booted him not to ask why, but heavily he took a priest at adventure, and made a short shrift, for a longer would not be suffered, the protector made so much haste to dinner; which he might not go to till this were done for saving of his oath. So was he brought forth into the green beside the chapel within the tower, and his head laid down upon a long log of timber, and there stricken off." The bishop of Ely who had "very good strawberries in his garden" was Morton, from whom More derived the animated details of this and other portions of his history. He also was arrested by the protector, in spite of his courtly politeness, and was committed to the custody of the duke of Buckingham. The agitation of the Londoners upon this summer morning, when the peaceful cry of "strawberries ripe" was heard in their streets amid ominous looks and timid whisperings, is described by More: "Now flew the fame of this lord's death swiftly through the city, and so forth farther about like a wind in every man's ear. But the protector immediately after dinner, intending to set some color upon the matter, sent in all the haste for many substantial men out of the city into the Tower. And at their coming, himself with the duke of Buckingham stood harnessed in old ill-faring briginders, such as no man should ween that they would vouchsafe to have put upon their backs, except that some sudden necessity had constrained them. And then the protector showed them that the lord chamberlain, and other of his conspiracy, had contrived to have suddenly destroyed him and the duke, there the same day in the council. And what they intended further was as yet not well known. Of which their treason we never had knowledge before ten of the clock the same forenoon. Which sudden fear drave them to put on for their defence such harness as came next to hand. And so had God holpen them, that the mischief turned upon them that would have done it. And this he required them to report" *

That Richard believed in a conspiracy against himself might be inferred from a remarkable letter, addressed by him on the 10th of June to the mayor of York, in which he prays him "to come up unto us in London, in all the diligence ye can possible, after the sight hereof, with as many as ye can make defensibly arrayed; there to aid and assist us against the queen, her bloody adherents and affinity, which have entended, and daily do entend, to murder and utterly destroy us and our cousin the duke of Buckingham, and the old royal blood of the realm."† But this letter, preserved among the York Records, might have been a subtle device to assemble an armed force in London, from York and other towns, previous to the announced coronation. In another letter of Simon Stallworthe, dated the 21st of June, we have a hurried notice of the events which had occurred since his letter of the 9th, and of the apprehensions with which men's minds were filled. He says, "Worshipful sir, I commend me to you; and for tidings I hold you happy that ye are out of the press; for with us is much trouble, and every man doubts other. As on Friday last was the lord chamberlain headed soon upon noon. On Monday last was at Westminster great plenty of harnessed men. There was the deliverance of the duke of York to my lord cardinal, my lord chancellor, and other many lords temporal. And with him met my lord of Buckingham in the midst of the Hall of Westminster, my lord protector receiving him at the Star-Chamber door, with many loving words; and so departed with my lord cardinal to the Tower, where he is—blessed be Jesu's mercy. The Lord Lisle is come to my lord protector, and waits upon him.* It is thought there shall be twenty thousand of my lord protector's and my lord of Buckingham's men in London this week—to what intent I know not but [except] to keep the peace. My lord [the chancellor] hath much business, and more than he is content withal, if any other ways would be taken." The writer then goes on to state that the archbishop of York—(the ex-chancellor, who left the great seal with the queen)—the bishop of Ely, and master Oliver King, are in the Tower; that their town-houses were in sure keeping; and that it was expected that men of the lord protector would be sent to their places in the country. He then adds, "Mistress Chore [Shore] is in prison what shall happen her I know not." Mistress Shore is one of those who lives in the world's remembrance chiefly through More's description of her gentle influence over the mind of Edward IV. "Her he loved whose favor, to say the truth (for sin it were to bely the devil) she never abused to any man's hurt, but to many a man's comfort and relief." Richard did not attempt to maintain his charge of sorcery and conspiracy against her, but seized her goods; and the bishop of London put her to penance for her alleged vicious life, "going before the cross in procession upon a Sunday, with a taper in her hand." She lived till the time of Henry VIII. It appears from a letter written by Richard to his chancellor after he became king, that after the death of Hastings other important personages were enslaved to her charms. Richard represents that his solicitor, Thomas Lynom, "marvellously blinded and abused with the late wife of William Shore, now being in Ludgate, hath made contract of matrimony with her;" and that he "intendeth to our full great marvel to proceed to the effect of the same." He adds, "We, for many causes, would be sorry that he so should be disposed. Pray you, therefore, to send for him, and, in that ye goodly may, exhort and stir him to the contrary." He then thus directs the bishop: "If ye find him utterly set for to marry her, and none otherwise will be advertised; then, if it may stand with the law of the church, we be content the time of marriage deferred to our coming next to London; that, upon sufficient surety found of her good bearing, ye do send for her, and discharge him of our said commandment, committing her to the rule and guiding of her father, or any other by your discretion, in the mean season."†

The duke of Gloucester kept his household in Crosby-place; and here, according to More, "by little and little all folk withdrew from the Tower." The general council of the realm was held at the Tower. The protector had a special council at Crosby-place. More also writes that Lord Stanley had said to Hastings that he "much misliked these two several councils." Out of the private deliberations of Crosby-place in all likelihood resulted the removal of the duke of York from his mother's protection in the Sanctuary at Westminster, which took place on the 16th of June. But the general council assented to the removal; declared that it was "good and reasonable;" and the archbishop of Canterbury, Cardinal Bourchier, pledged himself for the boy's safety. We have seen by Stallworthe's letter that the removal of the young duke from the Sanctuary was a public act, done at Westminster Hall in the presence of many principal persons. Whether they were induced by fear or by state policy, it is now tolerably clear that Richard was working with the concurrence of the great majority of prelates and nobles; and that the whole course of affairs was now tending to give him the crown without opposition. There is a passage in the well-informed French contemporary which has scarcely been borne in mind in the usual narratives of the sudden events of this June of 1483. Comines says, speaking of Richard drawing the duke of York out of the Sanctuary, "The conclusion was this: By the assistance of the bishop of Bath (who had been formerly one of King Edward's council, but, falling afterward into disgrace, had been removed from court, made prisoner, and paid a round sum for his ransom) he executed his design." He proceeds to say, that "the bishop discovered to the duke of Gloucester" that he had married King Edward IV. to a beautiful

* More, p. 78.

† Drake's "York," quoted in Turner, p. 436.

* Lord Lisle was of the queen's party, being uncle to the marquis of Dorset.

† Quoted by Turner, "History," vol. iii. p. 450, from Harl. MS. 433.

young lady, which secret marriage had taken place before the king's marriage with Lady Elizabeth Woodville. Comines again says, "The bishop having discovered this mystery to the duke of Gloucester, he gave his assistance to the execution of the barbarous designs of the duke."* If Robert Stillington, the bishop of Bath and Wells, who had been chancellor in the time of Edward IV., revealed this mystery to Gloucester after he had assumed the protectorate, it is easy to conceive how this revelation would have given a new impulse to his ambition. On the 22d of June, Ralph Shaw, the brother of the lord mayor of London, delivered a sermon at Paul's Cross, taking as his text, "The multiplying brood of the ungodly shall not thrive, nor take deep rooting from bastard slips, nor lay any fast foundation."† Of this sermon, Fabyan, who was a resident in the city at that time, is probably the most accurate reporter. He says that the protector, with the duke of Buckingham, and other lords being present, "by the mouth of Dr. Ralph Shaw, in the time of his sermon, was there showed openly that the children of King Edward the Fourth were not legitimate, nor rightful inheritors of the crown, with many dis-slanderous words, in preferring of the title of the said lord protector, and of disannulling of the other."‡ The ecclesiastics of that age, if they gave their confident belief to the story that Edward had been married, or even contracted, to another lady previous to his marriage with the queen, without a papal dispensation, would have agreed in pronouncing the princes illegitimate. On the 24th of June, two days after the Paul's Cross sermon, the duke of Buckingham harangued the citizens at the Guildhall, rehearsing the right and title which the protector had to be preferred to the crown of England. Fabyan commends the sugared words of the duke, with a curious appreciation of his fluent oratory, which he says was "without any impediment of spitting." It is recorded by More that Buckingham, attended by the mayor of London and many others, went on the 24th of June to Richard, at Baynard's Castle, and there solicited him to become their king. On the 25th the parliament had been summoned; but a supersedeas had been received on the 21st of June, by the sheriffs of York § which renders it clear that the choice of Richard to be king was not an open act of the legislature. There was some assembly on that 25th of June, for in the next parliament a statute was passed, reciting that in a bill presented by many lords, spiritual and temporal, and others of the Commons, in great multitude, the crown was claimed for Richard, as his father's heir, in consequence of a pre-contract of matrimony having been made by Edward IV. with dame Eleanor Butler, daughter of the earl of Shrewsbury, by which his children became illegitimate, and that the line of the duke of Clarence had been attainted. On the 26th of June Richard duke of Gloucester sat down in the marble chair of Westminster Hall as king of England. There is a remarkable document, being instructions from Richard to Lord Mountjoy, and others, to explain to the garrison of Calais, who had taken the oath of fealty to Edward V., what they were to do with reference to that oath, under the altered circumstances of the accession of the lord protector to the throne. He directs these commissioners to say, "that howbeit such oath of allegiance was made soen upon the death of the said King Edward IV. to his son, not only at Calais but also in divers places in England, by many great estates and personages being then ignorant of the very sure and true title which our sovereign lord that now is, King Richard III., hath and had the same time to the crown of England. That oath notwithstanding, now, every good true Englishman is bound, upon knowledge had of the said very true title, to depart from the first oath *so ignorantly given to him to whom it appertained not*, and therefore to make his oath of new, and owe his service and fidelity to him that good law, reason, and the concord assent of the Lords and Commons of the Royaume have ordained to reign upon the people, which is our said sovereign lord King Richard III., brother to the said King Edward IV. late deceased, whom God pardon; whose sure and true title is evidently showed and declared in a Bill of Petition which the lords spiritual and temporal and the Commons of this land solemnly porrected [presented] unto the king's highness at London, the 26th day of June. Whereupon the king's said highness, notably assisted by well near all the lords spiritual and temporal of the Royaume, went the same day unto his palace of Westminster, and there in such royal honorable apparel within the great hall there took possession, and declared his mind that the same day he would begin to reign upon his people, and from thence rode solemnly to the cathedral church of London, and was received there with procession, and acclamation of all the people in every place, and by the way that the king was in, that day."*

On the day on which Richard "took possession," or soon after, the accomplished Rivers, with Grey, Vaughan, and Hawte, went through some form of trial before the earl of Northumberland, and were beheaded at Pomfret. There is a singular passage in the will of Rivers, made at the castle of Sheriff Hutton on the 23d of June, which is, at least, a tribute to the power of the protector, if not to his justice. After appointing his executors, he says, "Over this, I beseech humbly my lord of Gloucester, in the worship of Christ's passion, and for the merit and weal of his soul, to comfort, help, and assist, as supervisor, for very trust, of this testament, that my executors may with his pleasure fulfil this my last will, which I have made the day aforesaid."† There is a composition of earl Rivers, written during his imprisonment, which is as touching as this last appeal to his great enemy. It is a "Balet," transcribed by the contemporary historian, Rous, from the unfortunate lord's manuscript. The old chivalrous spirit led the victims of state-policy to look with as much calmness at death upon the block as at death in the battle-field. It was the decree of "fortune," which they received without shrinking:

"Somewhat musing, and more mourning,
In remembering the unsteadfastness,
This world being of such wheeling,
Me contrarying, what can I guess?

"I fear, doubtless, remediless,
Is now to seize my woful chance;
For unkindness, withouten less [lessening],
And no redress, doth me avance

"With displeasance, to my grievance,
And no suiance of remedy;
Lo, in this trance, now in substance,
Such is my dance, willing to die.

"Methinks, truly, bounden am I,
And that greatly, to be content;
Seeing plainly Fortune doth wry
All contrary from mine intent.

"My life was lent me to one intent;
It is nigh spent. Welcome Fortune!
But I ne went [thought] thus to be shent,
But she it meant, such is her won [wont]."

On the 6th of July, 1483, Richard III., with his queen, Anne, were crowned at Westminster. There is a minute account of this ceremony, which not only shows that it was conducted with the usual magnificence, but that the great number of dukes, earls, lords, and knights present on that occasion indicated, if such general observances can indicate any real affection, the unanimity with which the claim of Richard was regarded. The king and queen walked from Westminster Hall to St. Edward's shrine, "upon red cloth, barefoot." Abbots were there, and bishops, with mitres and crosiers; Northumberland and the pointless sword; Stanley, bearing the mass; Kent and Lovell and Surrey, bearing the other swords; Suffolk, with the sceptre; Lincoln with the cross and ball; Norfolk with the crown; Buckingham bearing the king's train. Among the bishops, he of Bath and Wells, Stillington, walked on one side of the king. Earls and barons preceded the queen; my lady of Richmond bare her train;‡ and the lady of Suffolk, the duchess of Norfolk, and twenty other ladies followed. The banquet succeeded the crowning. At the second course, "came riding into the hall Sir Robert Dymoke, the king's champion, and his horse trapped with white silk and red, and himself in white harness, and the heralds of arms standing on a stage among all the company. Then came riding up before the king his champion, and there he declared before all the people, if there be any man will say against King Richard the Third why he should not pretend the crown. And anon all the peo-

* Memoirs, book v. chap. xviii.
‡ Chronicle, p. 669.
† Wisdom, chap. iv. v. 3.
§ York Records.

* Harl. MS. 433, given in Ellis, "Original Letters," Series II., vol. i. p. 148.
† The will is printed in "Excerpta Historica," p. 240.
‡ Mother of Henry VII.

ple were in peace awhile. And when he had all said, anon all the hall cried, King Richard, all with one voice."*

The question whether the two sons of Edward IV. were murdered in the Tower by command of Richard, interesting as it is as a great historic doubt, would have had no bearing upon future events but for the pretensions of a young man in the next reign to be the identical duke of York who had escaped from his "unnatural uncle." † These pretensions, which so long disturbed the tranquillity of Henry VII., would have been dissipated beyond all possibility of success, had that crafty king brought forward distinct and absolute proof of the circumstances which preceded the disappearance of Edward V. and his brother. Without unduly anticipating the general course of the narrative, we must state what Henry VII. really did, in 1493, eight years after he took the crown in Bosworth field, to prove the alleged imposture of the pretended duke in establishing the fact of the murder of the two princes. Bacon, who in his "History of the reign of Henry VII." relates the career of the youth called Perkin Warbeck with an absolute conviction of the imposture, thus describes the course which Henry adopted "to make it manifest to the world that the duke of York was indeed murdered." He says that of four persons supposed to be implicated, only two were alive, Sir James Tyrrel and John Dighton; that these two the king committed to the Tower, and examined touching the manner of the death of the two princes; and that they agreed in a tale to this effect: That Richard having directed a warrant to Brackenbury, the lieutenant of the Tower, to put them to death, was by him refused; that Richard then directed a warrant to Sir James Tyrrel to receive the keys of the Tower for one night, for the king's special service; that Tyrrel, with his two servants, Miles Forest and John Dighton, repaired to the Tower, and he stood at the stair-foot, while these villains executed the murder, by smothering them in their beds; that Tyrrel saw their dead bodies, which were buried under the stairs; and that Richard, taking exception to the dishonorable place of their burial, the bodies were removed by the priest of the Tower to some other place, which could not be known. "Thus much," adds Bacon, "was then delivered abroad to be the effect of those examinations. But the king nevertheless made no use of them in any of his declarations; whereby, as it seems, those examinations left the business somewhat perplexed. And as for Sir James Tyrrel, he was soon after beheaded in the Tower yard for other matters of treason. But John Dighton, who it seemeth spake best for the king, was forthwith set at liberty, and was the principal means of divulging this tradition. Therefore this kind of proof being left so naked, the king used the more diligence for the tracing of Perkin." ‡ If the evidence against Richard rested upon this sole averment, we should at once see how open it is to suspicion—how naked is this kind of proof. Two men were apprehended charged with the committal of a great crime, the absolute manifestation of which to the world would have saved the reigning monarch such an amount of insurrection and estrangement of popular regard as "did thoroughly try his sitting, being of force enough to have cast an ordinary rider out of saddle." § The more important of these men, Sir James Tyrrel, was released from his imprisonment, was employed by Henry VII., and was not beheaded "for other matters of treason" till ten years after "those examinations, which left the business somewhat perplexed." The servant of Tyrrel, John Dighton, "who, it seemeth, spake best for the king, was forthwith set at liberty." He, who told the tale which the king was desirous of having believed, "was the principal means of divulging this tradition." When, let us inquire, did the "tradition" assume the distinct shape which is given to it in Bacon's "Life of Henry VII.?" It was first printed in "Grafton's Continuation of the Metrical Chronicle of John Hardyng," in 1543, half a century after the time when the "tradition" was delivered; and from that relation, which was subsequently published as "The History of King Richard the Third (unfinished), written by Master Thomas More, then one of the under-sheriffs of London, about the year of our Lord 1513," did Bacon derive his circumstantial story. We have already alluded to the doubt whether More was the author of this "History of King Richard;" but there can be no doubt that the private information there contained was derived from Cardinal Morton, the bishop of Ely, whom Richard arrested in 1483; who escaped and joined Richmond in 1484; who was subsequently archbishop of Canterbury and cardinal; and was lord chancellor from the time of Henry's accession till his own death in 1500. More, who was born in 1480, became a page in the house of the lord chancellor in 1495; and in Morton's conversation with a boy of wonderful talent this "tradition" among many other relations which are strongly tinctured with bitter animosity to Richard III., may have assumed the circumstantial shape in which every chronicler from that time transmitted it. In one important circumstance, however, More's relation differs from that of Bacon. He says that the confession of Tyrrel was made when he was in the Tower upon the charge of treason against Henry VII., and that both he and Dighton were then examined. As the general tone of Bacon's work is laudatory of Henry VII., it is strange that he should, on the contrary, have stated that the examination of Tyrrel and Dighton, and the king's attempt to trace the history of Perkin, when his pretensions became formidable, were made at the same period, viz., in 1493, and that the effect of these examinations was delivered abroad, but that the king made no use of them in his declarations. Before the publication of More's history, in 1543, the narratives of the death of these princes were of a character far more vague. Polydore Vergil, who wrote his history by the command of Henry VII., relates very briefly that Brackenbury refused to murder the princes, but that James Tyrrel, "being forced to do the king's commandment, rode sorrowfully to London; and, to the worst example that hath been almost ever heard of, murdered those babes of the issue royal;" adding, "but with what kind of death these sely [innocent] children were executed is not certainly known." * Polydore's history was commenced in 1505 and completed in 1517. There is another narrative, published in 1529, compiled and printed by John Rastall, the brother-in-law of More, which says there were "divers opinions" of the manner of the death of the young princes; and, after relating that one was smothered and the other had his throat cut, states that the bodies were put in a chest, which being placed on board a ship going to Flanders was thrown over the hatches into the black deep; and he adds, "which saying, divers men conjectured to be true, because that the bones of the said children could never be found buried, neither in the Tower nor in no other place." † Fabyan says "the common fame went that King Richard had within the Tower put unto secret death the two sons of his brother. Comines speaks of Richard as one "who had caused the two sons of King Edward, his brother, to be put to death, and adds that "our king [Louis XI.] looked upon him as an inhuman and cruel person. The historian of Croyland, another contemporary writer, says that it was set abroad that the two sons of Edward IV. were deceased, but by what manner of violence was unknown. We have thus briefly referred to the materials upon which the modern historian must rest his view of this mysterious transaction. Some of these statements are too vague, and others too suspiciously precise, to induce with us any confident opinion. The "Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London"—the register-book of that fraternity—has this simple and impressive entry, under the date of the first year of Richard III. "And the two sons of King Edward were put to silence." ‡

Here we might leave the question in its original obscurity, if it were not necessary to mention a circumstance which has been held to be a decisive corroboration of the narrative published as Sir Thomas More's. In 1674 some alterations were going on in the White Tower, to prepare it for the reception of papers from the Six Clerks' Office. In making a new staircase into the chapel of that tower some bones were found under the old staircase, whose proportions "were answerable to the ages of the royal youths." Charles II. caused them to be removed to Henry the Seventh's Chapel, where a Latin inscription, upon marble, records the discovery, after a lapse of a hundred and ninety-one years, of these remains of Edward V. and the duke of York, who were confined in the Tower, put to death, and secretly and ignominiously buried, by command of Richard.

* From a Roll, printed in "Historica Excerpta," p. 380.
† So termed in a proclamation of Perkin Warbeck.
‡ History of Henry VII., ed. 1622, p. 120.
§ Speed, quoted in a valuable paper by Sir Frederic Madden, in "Archæologia," vol. xxvii.

* Early Translation, published by the Camden Society, p. 152.
† Quoted in Supplement to Walpole's "Historic Doubts."
‡ Published by the Camden Society, 1852, p. 23.

The decided nature of this inscription shows how absolute was the belief in the seventeenth century in the ordinary relations of these tragical events of the fifteenth. There was little scepticism then among historians, and one chronicler repeated and amplified what another chronicler had handed down. The value of this discovery of bones in the Tower will be differently estimated by different minds. The murder of the princes, regarded without reference to the historical narratives and conjectures, is so consistent a sequel to the other circumstances of violence which accompanied the accession of Richard to the throne that it would require some absolute proof in the support of a contrary belief to disturb what rests upon the popular opinion of generation after generation. Even the local traditions which connect the gateway called "The Bloody Tower" with this tragedy will not readily be shaken by the evidence of the diligent antiquary, that in the reign of Henry VIII. it was called "The Garden Tower."*

CHAPTER XLIII.

Spirit of an age reflected by chroniclers—Mixed character of Richard—Revolt of Buckingham—Suppression of the revolt—Indifference of the people—Salutary laws of Richard's parliament—Statutes now first printed, and in English—Encouragement to printers and sellers of books—Daughters of Edward IV.—Deaths of Richard's son and his queen—Henry, earl of Richmond—Inadequate preparations against invasion—Battle of Bosworth Field—Death in battle of Richard III.

In the true spirit of historical observation, Dr. Arnold, noticing the memoirs of Comines as belonging "to the last stage of an old state of things," remarks how striking they are from their perfect unconsciousness that the notions which the middle ages had tended to foster were "on the point of passing away." As a result of this unconsciousness, Comines, who records the crimes of his master Louis XI., speaks of him as an admirable prince; and Froissart never permits the atrocities which he describes as knightly deeds to interfere with his eulogies of his chivalrous heroes.† These chroniclers, as well as others less celebrated, necessarily reflect the spirit of their age; and their insensibility to the real character of actions which now excite our unmeasured indignation was the result of the general standard of moral judgment in the great body of their contemporaries. Thus, as far as we can discover, the accession of the duke of Gloucester to the crown was not an unsanctioned usurpation, resting only upon the resolute will of one man, surrounded by a few unscrupulous partisans, and having the command of a strong military force. Hastings, Rivers, Vaughan, Grey, Hawte, have been swept away by sudden tyranny. The heir of the last king, to whom the nobles of the land have twice sworn fealty, is, with his brother, in mysterious confinement, which, according to the natural destiny of deposed princes, will probably end in secret murder. And yet, in less than a fortnight after Richard had seated himself on the marble bench of Westminster Hall, thirty-five of the peers of England and seventy of her knights—names among the highest in the land—do homage at his coronation. There is nothing to indicate that the usurper has an insecure seat—that the violence which these great men have witnessed or thoroughly known was far out of the ordinary course of events. Theirs had been a long training in the outrage and dissimulation of a disputed succession; and if their moral sense was not so completely blunted as that of the chief perpetrator of the revolution of 1483, their prostration before the despot of the hour was so absolute as to throw a color of legality over all his proceedings. Nor is it to be affirmed that no principle of public policy was mingled with their ready submission to his will. They had a natural dread of the insecurity of minorities and protectors, and of struggles for power among unprincipled favorites. They were familiar with depositions and "sad stories of the death of kings." These were the invariable accompaniments of the inordinate power of a turbulent aristocracy; and when Buckingham, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Northumberland—the highest of the nobles—were ranged on the side of Richard, the herd of lesser lords of the soil did not trouble their consciences with thoughts of the probable fate of the children of their late master. One had leaped into the throne whom they knew for a man of courage and sagacity, as ready to defend his own interests as to uphold those who served him and depress those who were open enemies or cold friends. During the next half century of our history we shall see how much more completely even than in the case of Richard the directing minds of the country were subjected to the absolute will of the monarch, and therefore, how imperfect is the evidence furnished by proclamations of council, and statutes of parliament, and verdicts of peers, of a regard for the public welfare overriding the baser influences of selfishness and cowardice, to sanctify, as some would believe, the caprice, injustice, and cruelty of regal pride and passion.

The character of Richard was an extraordinary mixture of hateful and amiable qualities, of either of which we must not attempt altogether to judge by the opinions of our own times. Those who had served him he loaded with benefits. Foremost among these was the duke of Buckingham, to whom by letters patent, dated a week after the coronation, he assigned the estates which Buckingham derived in right of his descent from Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford, which had been withheld from him by Edward IV. Nor had Richard any petty feelings of revenge toward the representatives of those whom his policy had cast down. About the same time he released the estates of Hastings from forfeiture, in favor of his widow and her children. He secured her jointure to the widow of Rivers, and bestowed a pension on Lady Oxford, whose husband was in prison. He moved about among the people as though he had no sense of having committed wrongs which would make him obnoxious; going a progress to Reading, Oxford, Gloucester, Tewkesbury, Worcester, Warwick, Coventry, Leicester, Nottingham, York. At the great city of the north Richard and his queen were again crowned in the minster. During the progress he administered justice against offenders, and "heard the complaints of poor folks." All seemed to promise a reign of peace and security, however troubled were its beginnings. But insurrections suddenly sprung up in various parts of the country. On the 10th of October the duke of Norfolk writes to Sir John Paston, from London, that "the Kentish-men be up in the Weald, and say that they will come and rob the city;" and prays him to come to him, "and bring with you six tall fellows in harness."* On the 12th of October Richard himself writes a remarkable letter to his chancellor, John Russell, who at that time was sick in London, in which he says, "Whereas we, by God's grace, intend briefly to advance us toward our rebel and traitor, the duke of Buckingham, to resist and withstand his malicious purpose, as lately by our other letters we certified you our mind more at large; for which cause it behoveth us to have our great seal here." In a subsequent portion of this letter, in Richard's own hand-writing, he urges the chancellor to send the seal, if he is unable to come himself, and adds, "Here, loved be God, is all well and truly determined, and for to resist the malice of him that had best cause to be true, the duke of Buckingham, the most untrue creature living."† Among the mysterious events of this reign none are more incapable of a wholly satisfactory explanation than this sudden revolt of the man who had been the chief instrument of placing Richard on the throne; who had been his counsellor, agent, and abettor in every act, whether of violence or craft, up to the time of his taking the crown. We have only, for interpreting these secret passages, the very doubtful relation contained in Grafton's "Chronicle," which purports to be a continuation of More's "History." This narrative takes up the story where More breaks off, in a dialogue between the duke of Buckingham and Morton, bishop of Ely, who was committed to the duke's charge after his release from the Tower. Out of the long-winded orations of these two personages we collect that Morton incited the duke's ambition, by suggesting that he, "the very undoubted similitude and image of true honor," was meet to be a ruler of the realm, in preference to "a blood-supper and child-killer." Then, that Buckingham, having slept upon the suggestion, entered upon a defence of his conduct in taking part with the duke of Gloucester to be Protector, and further to consent "that he might take upon him the crown, till the prince [Edward V.] came to the age of four-and-twenty years, and were able to govern the realm." Next, that when he was "credibly

* Bayley's "History of the Tower," p. 257.
† "Lectures on Modern History," lecture ii.

* "Paston Letters," letter ccccxxxviii.
† Ellis, "Original Letters," Series II., vol. i. p. 169.

informed of the death of the two young innocents, his own natural nephews," he abhorred the sight and company of Richard, so that he could not abide in his court; and thought that he would take arms and aspire to be king himself, as heir of the house of Lancaster, till he by accident recollected that Margaret, countess of Richmond (now wife to Lord Stanley), had a prior claim. And lastly, that Buckingham and Morton agreed that Henry, earl of Richmond, the son of Margaret, should wed Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Edward IV., and thus uniting the houses of Lancaster and York should bring to confusion "the bragging boar, that with his tusks raseth every man's skin." This apocryphal account is so clearly a manufacture after the accession of Henry VII. that it is worthless, except for the fact that Buckingham concerted with Morton a general insurrection against the rule of Richard, and that they put themselves in communication with Richmond. "High-reaching Buckingham," and miscalled "shallow Richmond," were each descended from John of Gaunt by Catherine Swynford, the issue of this irregular union having been legitimated. Margaret, countess of Richmond, was the great-granddaughter of the duke of Lancaster, and so was Margaret, countess of Stafford, the mother of Buckingham. But the father of Richmond's mother was the elder branch. Her husband was Henry, earl of Richmond, who was the son of Owen Tudor, a gentleman of Wales, whom Catherine, the widow of Henry V., had married. But Buckingham was also descended from Thomas of Woodstock, the youngest son of Edward III., and thus his pride of descent might have been doubly operating upon his wayward mind. The narrative attributed to More—very different in its pithy style from the Continuation—says of Buckingham, "The duke was a high-minded man, and evil could bear the glory of another; so that I have heard of some that said they saw it, that the duke at such time as the crown was first set upon the protector's head, his eye could not abide the sight thereof, but wryed his head another way." * It is easy to comprehend, in the absence of positive facts, that the subtle Morton might naturally work upon this weak scion of the house of Lancaster, to persuade him that, one game of ambition having been played out, and he no more than constable of England and justiciary of Wales, while Richard of York was king, there was another game to be played by the two representatives of the Red Rose, in which the caprices of fortune might leave the more experienced pretender a clear road to the throne. The assumed hostility of Buckingham to Gloucester on account of the murder of the two princes is utterly inconsistent with the statement of a contemporary, that when Richard was being enthroned at York in September, the time when Buckingham and Morton were plotting at Brecknock—there was no suspicion that the princes had ceased to live. "While these things were passing in the north, King Edward's two sons remained under certain deputed custody, for whose release from captivity the people of the southern and western parts began very much to murmur." † For the release of the princes the same historian says that a rising was about to take place, when it was reported that they were dead; and that then the conspirators turned to Richmond as the object of their enterprise. Early chronicles and modern histories detail with much minuteness the negotiations which preceded the outbreak, involving communications between the countess of Richmond and the duke of Buckingham through Sir Reginald Bray, for the distinct object of placing her son on the throne; plots between the countess and the widow of King Edward, carried on through one Lewis, a physician; messengers passing to and fro between the countess and her son in Brittany; the heads of the plot going about in England inciting the commonalty to revolt; and, finally, the earl of Richmond sailing with five thousand Breton soldiers, and attempting a landing in Dorsetshire, simultaneously with the proclamation of himself as the coming king in Devonshire, Wiltshire, Kent, Berkshire, and Wales.‡

This extensive organization of the scattered materials for another revolution in a wonderfully short time, according to the received accounts, is perfectly incompatible with the belief of any sudden impulses on the part of Buckingham and other Lancastrians in concert with the Woodville family, to set up Richmond because Edward V. was removed by assassination. We have seen from Richard's letter to his chancellor that, previous to the 10th of October, he was aware of Buckingham's revolt. More relates that Buckingham, "both with great gifts and high behests in most loving and trusting manner," departed from Richard at Gloucester; and going to his castle at Brecknock, the bishop of Ely being there in custody, "waxed with him familiar." This friendly parting at Gloucester took place in the beginning of August. That the plot of Morton, Buckingham, and Richmond could have been matured after the knowledge of the deaths of the princes in the Tower, which More says was determined by Richard during his sojourn at Warwick, is almost an impossibility. The king was receiving the Spanish ambassador at Warwick in the second week of August. In two months he was intending to advance "against our rebel and traitor the duke of Buckingham." There can be little doubt that the scattered party of the Lancastrians turned their regards upon the earl of Richmond, the nearest lineal representative of that house, from the time when the direct succession of the house of York, in the person of Edward V., had been set aside. Had this king remained upon the throne in his "young age," the energy of the protector would, in all likelihood, have been incessantly demanded to prevent a renewal of the civil war through the pretensions of Buckingham or Richmond. When the crown was usurped, and the issue of Edward IV. declared illegitimate, the hopes of the adherents of the Red Rose would naturally become stronger; and the actual removal of the princes in the Tower by death, or the popular belief that they were dead, would as materially forward the policy of Richmond as the policy of Richard. The report of their death, which preceded the outbreak of the conspiracy of 1483 only about a month, does not furnish the slightest proof that their murder had been accomplished by Richard, or that they did not remain in some secret custody at the period when Buckingham was in insurrection, and Richmond about to land with a Breton force in Dorsetshire.

The revolt of 1483 was soon quelled by the energetic king. On the 23d of October he issued a characteristic proclamation from Leicester, in which he offers high rewards for the apprehension of Buckingham and other conspirators. He marched with a considerable army to Salisbury, the junction of Buckingham's forces with the foreign troops of Richmond being expected to be attempted in the south-western counties. Buckingham moved boldly out from Breton "with a great power of wild Welshmen, whom he, being a man of great courage and sharp speech, had thereto rather enforced and compelled by lordly and strait commandment than by liberal wages and gentle retainer." * Not only with Buckingham's levies, but with other bands of the feudal lords, was the ancient zeal for the cause under whose banner the men served fast passing away. Buckingham experienced a series of disasters, which ended in his discomfiture. For ten days the Severn was overflowing the whole country through continual rains, which flood, says Grafton, "they call to this day the great water, or the duke of Buckingham's great water." The Welshmen, without victual or wages, deserted him. The duke was compelled to fly. The terrible Richard had appointed a vice-constable of England, to supersede the power of Buckingham as constable; and he used the great seal to arm his new officer, Sir Thomas Ashton, with authority to judge all traitors, "without the noise and formality of trial, and without regard to any appeal whatsoever to proceed to execution." When Richard put on the despot, he did the work of tyranny most thoroughly as far as he chose to go. Under this commission, Buckingham, who had been betrayed by one of his servants, was executed at Salisbury on the 2d of November; the other confederates dispersed. The chiefs fled to the continent; some of inferior note were taken and put to death. Richmond, whose fleet had been scattered by a storm, thought it prudent to return without any attempt to land. In Britanny he and the marquis of Dorset, son of Elizabeth Woodville, met to devise new plans; and there, in the cathedral of Vannes on the following Christmas Day, they pledged themselves to another attempt, and Richmond swore to marry Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Edward IV., if he should obtain the crown.

In this abortive revolt against the power of Richard we see nothing like a popular movement on one side or the other. The faithful

* "History," Singer's edit., p. 137. † Croyland Chronicle.

‡ Whether by accident or design, Polydore Vergil has carried forward the date of these events a whole year, making the sailing of Richmond from Britanny occur in October, 1484, "the second year of King Richard."

* Grafton.

adherents of the king, such as the duke of Norfolk, gathered their "tall fellows in harness," and stood by the man whom they had placed on the throne. Buckingham impressed his Welshmen, and a few lords and knights prepared their tenants for the field. But there was no signal demonstration in London or the great cities. The peaceful and industrious people of town and country were utterly weary of these feudal struggles, and had sunk into the worst state of public feeling—that of indifference. Richard and his advisers appear to have partially comprehended the spirit of their time, and to have endeavored to discharge their duty to the people by wise legislation and impartial justice. Bacon says of this king that he was "jealous of the honor of the English nation, and likewise a good law-maker, for the ease and solace of the common people." At the same time Bacon objects that "the politic and wholesome laws which were enacted in his time" were only "to woo and win the hearts of the people, as being conscious to himself that the true obligations of sovereignty in him failed and were wanting."* Bacon lived at a period when "the ease and solace of the common people," to be promoted by wholesome laws, were scarcely thought to be among "the true obligations of sovereignty." The maligned Richard, in the statutes of his one parliament, showed that he was in advance of his age.

The triumph of the king, in the failure of the plans of Buckingham and Richmond, would naturally tend to place his government upon a more secure basis. He found a parliament ready enough to confirm his title, by passing an act for the settlement of the crown upon him and his issue; in which the illegitimacy of the children of Edward IV. was affirmed, and his widow is styled "sometime wife to Sir John Gray, knight, late naming herself and many years heretofore queen of England." But this parliament, which was held at Westminster on the 23d of January, 1484, did something beyond this confirmation of Richard's claims, and the attainder of those who had been concerned in the recent revolt. In the address which the protector delivered to the meeting which invited him to assume the crown, he used these remarkable words: "For certainly we be determined rather to aventure and commit us to the peril of our life and jeopardy of death, than to live in such thraldom and bondage as we have lived long time heretofore, oppressed and injured by extortions and new impositions against the laws of God and man, and the liberty, old policy, and laws of this realm, wherein every Englishman is inherited."† This was not a mere boast of the hour. Edward IV. had been accustomed to plunder his subjects under the name of "Benevolences," which practice the duke of Buckingham defined to be, "that every man should pay, not what he of his own good will list, but what the king of his own good will list to take."‡ The statute of Richard 'to free the subject from Benevolences" denounces these "new and unlawful inventions" as the cause of "great penury and wretchedness," and ordains that no such exactions shall in future be made, but that they be "annulled for ever." The "Act for Bailing of Persons suspected of Felony" provides that on arrests for mere suspicion of felony, every justice of the peace shall have power to bail; and that the goods of persons apprehended for felony shall not be seized before conviction. "An Act for returning of sufficient Jurors" aims at the proper administration of justice, by requiring that no juryman be summoned but such as are of good name and fame, and have twenty shillings a year in freehold land, or twenty-six shillings and eightpence in copyhold. "An Act against privy and unknown feofments" secures the transfer of property to the buyer against the claims of the heirs of the seller. "An Act for Proclamation upon Fines levied"§ is repeated in almost the exact words by a statute of Henry VII.‖ "It is surely strange," says Mr. Hallam, "that those who have extolled this sagacious monarch [Henry VII.] for breaking the fetters of landed property (though many of them were lawyers) should never have observed that whatever credit might be due for the innovation should redound to the honor of the unfortunate usurper."¶ It is unnecessary here to enter upon a technical explanation of the provisions of this Act. By a decision of the courts of law in the time of Edward IV., the practice of barring estates tail—that is, of permitting their alienation in despite of entail—by what is called a common recovery, was established. The statute of Richard, by enacting that a fine levied in the courts, with due proclamation, should, after five years, be a bar to all claims, gave security to possession, and thus facilitated the transfer of lands, and in so doing broke down one of the chief foundations of the feudal system.

A great legal authority, looking at these acts of Richard III.—fifteen altogether—says of this, his only parliament, "We have no difficulty in pronouncing it the most meritorious national council for protecting the liberty of the subject, and putting down abuses in the administration of justice, which had sat since the time of Edward I."* But in opening the volumes of our laws, as printed by authority "from original records and authentic manuscripts," we are struck with a change upon the face of these statutes of Richard III., which indicates as true a regard for the liberty of the subject as the laws themselves. For the first time the laws to be obeyed by the English people are enacted in the English tongue. But, beyond this, they are the first laws of the land which were ever printed. In the legislation of this short and troubled reign, and in the mode of promulgating a knowledge of the laws, there is the evidence of some master mind breaking down the trammels of routine and prescription. The commercial acts are not marked by any advance beyond the principle of protection, except in one striking instance, in which an exception is made to the old system of fettering the dealings and restricting the liberty of alien traders. There was one commodity which was to come into the land as freely as the light from heaven; there was one class of foreign merchants whose calling was to be encouraged, for in their hands were the great instruments of all national progress. Let us give this memorable enactment in its original English: "Provided alwey that this acte, or any part thereof, or any other acte made or to be made in this present parliament, in no wise extende or be prejudiciall any lette hurte or impediment to any artificer or merchaunt straungier of what nacion or contrey he be or shalbe of, for bryngyng into this realme, or sellyng by retaill or otherwise, of any maner bokes wrytten or imprynted, or for the inhabitynge within the said realme for the same intent, or to any writer, lympner, bynder, or imprynter, of suche bokes, as he hath or shall have to sell by wey of merchaundise, or for their abode in the same realme for the exercisyng of the said occupacions; this acte or any parte therof notwithstandyng." There could be no greater homage to the memory of Gutenberg, the inventor of printing, than this law, enacted fifteen years after his death, which said to his fellow-craftsmen of every nation that no English restrictions upon aliens should touch them. The power, now for the first time exercised, of securing a better obedience to the laws by a wider publicity, demanded such a tribute to the merchants and artificers of knowledge. Richard and his counsellors stood upon the threshold of a new state of society; and this encouragement of transcribers, printers, and sellers of books showed that they understood what was one of the characteristics of their time. But the spirit of the feudal ages was still a living presence. As the commercial classes were pressing forward to the honors which wealth commanded, and the gates of knowledge were opened wider, the claims of blood came to be regarded even more than when the only social distinction was that of lord and vassal. The knight-riders, poursuivants, heralds of kings, were more than ever required to be the arbiters of rank and the tracers of genealogies. Richard III. raised the heralds into an incorporation, and bestowed upon them the royal house of Cold Harbor. They became the worthy depositaries of the nation's family antiquities.

One of the measures of Richard's parliament was to annul all letters-patent granting estates to "Elizabeth, late wife of Sir John Gray." The relict of Edward IV. still remained with her daughters in sanctuary. But on the 1st of March, 1484, the king, in the presence of lords spiritual and temporal, and the mayor and aldermen of London, made oath *verbo regio*, upon the holy Evangelists, that if Elizabeth, Cecile, Anne, Katherine, and Bridget, the daughters of dame Elizabeth Gray, would come out of the sanctuary, and be guided, ruled, and demeaned after him, he would see that they should be in surety of their lives and suffer no hurt or imprisonment,

* History of Henry VII., p. 2, ed. 1622.

† Rolls of Parliament. See Hallam's "Middle Ages," chap. viii. part iii.

‡ More, "History of Richard III."

§ Cap. vii., 1 Richard III., in the Statutes published by authority, vol. i. p. 482.

‖ 4 Henry VII., c. 24.

¶ "Constitutional History," vol. i. chap. i.

* Lord Campbell, "Lives of the Chancellors," vol. i. p. 404.

but that they should have everything necessary as his kinswomen; and that he would endow such as were marriageable with lands to the yearly value of two hundred marks, and provide them gentlemen born as husbands; and that their mother should receive of him seven hundred marks annually for her support.* This family, accordingly, came out of their place of refuge, and submitted themselves to the guidance of Richard. In the next month he, who was suspected of having destroyed his brother's sons, sustained himself the heaviest of human afflictions. His own son, Edward, the only child of his marriage with the daughter of Warwick, died at Middleham Castle. The unhappy parents were almost driven mad by the intelligence.† But the king had too many enemies to watch, to sit down in hopeless grief. He declared his nephew, John de la Pole, earl of Lincoln, his heir, and applied himself to counteract the schemes of Richmond, by negotiating with the duke of Brittany to deliver him up. But Richmond was in many respects his intellectual equal; and he had secret friends in the English court as useful as the spies whom Richard employed to watch the motions of his rival. He suddenly fled from Vannys with a few servants, and succeeded in entering France, where he claimed the protection of Charles VIII. The earl of Oxford, one of the most constant of the Lancastrians, escaped from his prison at Ham and joined Richmond, to whom other adherents gradually flocked. The king spent the year in active preparation for the possible invasion. He kept his Christmas at Westminster with great splendor; and it was remarked that his niece Elizabeth was dressed in robes of the same fashion and color as those of his queen. Scandal upon this hint took up its courtly vocation, and the rumor went that as the queen was in ill health he contemplated marriage with his niece. On the 16th of March, 1485, the queen died. Here was a new occasion for fastening one more horrible suspicion upon the evil reputation of Richard; and therefore Polydore Vergil makes a doubt "whether she were dispatched by sorrowfulness or poison." An eulogist of Richard, Sir George Buck, affirms that he had seen a letter written to the duke of Norfolk by Elizabeth of York, in which she called the king "her joy and maker in this world; and said that she was his in heart and thought; withal insinuating that the better part of February was past, and that she feared the queen would never die." Although such a marriage was not beyond the bounds of papal dispensation, Richard felt that the rumor was injurious to him. Within a month after the death of the queen, on the 11th of April, before the mayor and citizens of London, he solemnly disavowed the intention which had been imputed to him. It has been justly observed that his title to the crown would not have been strengthened by marrying a woman whom the law had declared illegitimate; and as justly inferred that "the whole tale was invented with the view of blackening Richard's character, to gratify the monarch in whose reign all the contemporary writers who relate it flourished."‡ But they told the story, as against Richard, without the slightest hint that the lady who became the wife of Henry VII. was enamored of the man who was held to be the destroyer of her brothers; but on the contrary they said that she abhorred his proposals. After the death of Richard's queen, Elizabeth was removed to Sheriff Hutton Castle, where her cousin, the earl of Warwick, the son of the duke of Clarence, was kept in a sort of honorable captivity. Historians, who can scarcely avoid dwelling too much upon the intrigues of courts, are indignant with the widow of Edward IV. that at this time she was in friendly relations with Richard, and induced her son, the marquis of Dorset, to attempt to return to England. He was detained by the king of France, who gave assistance to the project of Richmond, and the preparations for invasion went forward. Richard appears to have somewhat too much despised his adversary. He was in London from the beginning of the year till the middle of May. There had been no parliament to grant him a subsidy; and he, by a solemn legislative act, had declared against "Benevolences." He was too straitened for money to make large warlike preparations. Fabyan, who personally knew whatever actions of the king bore upon the pockets of the citizens, says of this period that "King Richard spared not to spend the great treasure which, before, King Edward IV. had gathered, in giving of great and large gifts;" and that "he borrowed many notable sums of money of rich men of this realm, and specially of the citizens of London, whereof the least sum was forty pounds. For surety whereof he delivered to them good and sufficient pledges."* This is explicit enough; and yet we constantly find it stated that Richard lost his small share of the affections of the citizens by adopting the system of Benevolences, though not in name.† He who gives "good and sufficient pledges" for a loan can scarcely be said to pursue the same system of extortion as he who compels a gift without an intention of repayment.

The earl of Richmond had been acquainted with misfortune from his first years. Comines says, "He told me not long before his departure from this kingdom that from the time he was five years old he had always been a fugitive or a prisoner."; According to outward appearances and ordinary calculations, his enterprise for the English crown was not likely to improve his lot. The same observer regarded Richmond as without money, without power, without reputation, and without right; and he describes the three thousand Normans that were furnished to the earl by the king of France as "the loosest and most profligate persons in all that country."§ But Richmond had better support than his outward power of three thousand vagabond Normans. There was a systematic organization of the Lancastrian party in England, which Richard, with all his penetration and caution, and with his reputation for striking hard when he did strike, very insufficiently guarded against. He had no great military force at his command. Fourteen years had passed since the battle of Tewkesbury, when the people of the south had rallied round the banner of the White Rose. The Welsh had followed Buckingham, and were now ready to follow Richmond, who came with a genealogy from Cadwallader and King Arthur up to the Trojan Brute. Stanley, who could command many followers in Cheshire and Lancashire, and Northumberland, the great lord of the border country, were nominally for the king, and employed their authority as his accredited officers. The day of battle showed how dexterously they had been won over to betray him. The confidence of Richard in the fidelity of these nobles seems a judicial blindness, very different from the supposed temper of the man who "while he was thinking of any matter, did continually bite his nether lip, as though that cruel nature of his did so rage against itself in that little carcass."‖ He indeed took some security in detaining the son of Lord Stanley at his court, while the father went among his tenantry; but, beyond this, he seems to have had no suspicion of the treachery which Norfolk had to learn on the day when he fell, with his master "bought and sold." Henry of Richmond set sail from Harfleur on the 1st of August, and landed at Milford Haven on the 7th. Beyond the precaution of having beacons on the hills of the coast—"lamps fastened upon frames of timber"¶—the king had no sure means of being informed of the movements of his enemy. He took up a position at Nottingham, as the centre of the kingdom. But the landing of Richmond in Wales was a surprise. Norfolk, a day or two before the 15th of August, writes to Sir John Paston, then sheriff, "letting you to understand that the king's enemies be a-land," and praying him to meet the duke at Bury, "that ye bring with you such company of tall men as ye may goodly make at my cost and charge, besides that which ye have promised the king; and I pray you ordain them jackets of my livery, and I shall content you at your meeting with me."** The records of York show that it was not till the 16th that the king's firm friends in that city dispatched their officer to him to know whether they should send him aid; and four hundred men were accordingly ordered to march on the 19th. Richard is said to have despised his adversary as "a man of small courage and of less experience in martial art," and this, combined with his fear of taxing the people, made him inadequately employ the resources of the crown. The very materials of the old English arm of war were deficient, if we may judge from an act of 1484, of which a petition from the bowyers forms the preamble, they saying that from the want of "good and able stuff of bowstaves" the craft

* The document is given at length in Ellis, "Original Letters," 2d Series, vol. i. p. 149.
† "Pene insanire." Croyland Chron.
‡ Sir N. H. Nicholas, "Memoir of Elizabeth of York," p. lii., prefixed to her "Privy Purse Expenses."

* Chronicle, 4to. p. 671.
† See Lingard, vol. v. 8vo. p. 361.
‡ Book v. chap. xviii.
§ Book vi. chap. x.
‖ Polydore Vergil, p. 227. Camden edit.
¶ Ibid., p. 213.
** "Paston Letters," letter ccccxliii.

or bowyers is sorely diminished, and "thereby the land greatly enfeebled, to the great jeopardy of the same, and great comfort to the enemies and adversaries thereof." The want of preparation was, in some degree, the natural result of a period in which the industry of the nation had made remarkable progress, but in which the military arts had proportionably declined. The battle of the 22d of August was fought with so few men on either side that it would appear marvellous that it should have decided the fate of a kingdom, if we did not bear in mind that it was not fought by one section of an aroused population against another section similarly excited; but that the king himself, with a few faithful friends, was fighting with scarcely more power that that of a feudal partisan, and that when he, the first crowned sovereign since Harold that died in battle upon English ground, was struck down, the contest was at an end. In instructions to his chancellor to prepare a proclamation against Henry Tudor and other rebels, the king desires him to make known "that our said sovereign lord willeth and commandeth all his said subjects to be ready in their most defensible array, to do his highness service of war, when they by open proclamation or otherwise shall be commanded so to do."* But this command was not of equal force as in the earlier days if the monarchy, or even in the recent time when Edward led forth the men of London to the hill of Barnet. The feudal chain which bound the lord to the king, and the vassal to the lord, had been impaired in many of its links. The sentiment of loyalty to the sovereign, founded upon the spirit of patriotism and not upon the obligations of feudal service, was scarcely yet created. That had to be born when the dominant power of the aristocracy was broken down, not so much by the force of arms or of law as by the decay of the principle which was incompatible with the civilization that more readily assimilated with the rule of one than the rule of many. With Richard, the last of the Plantagenets, expired the political system under which England had been governed by that house for more than three centuries.

Market-Bosworth, the nearest town of importance, gave the name to the decisive battle of the 22d of August, 1485. "Not," says Burton, the old historian of Leicestershire, "that this battle was fought at this place (it being fought in a large flat plain and spacious ground three miles distant from this town, between the towns of Shenton, Sutton, Dadlington, and Stoke); but for this town was the most worthy town of note near adjacent, and was therefore called Bosworth field."† Burton, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, was familiar with the traditions that belonged to the scene of so important an event. In 1787 William Hutton, who had a true love for his nation's antiquities, without the pedantry of mere antiquarianism, described this battle-field. Its real name, he says, is Redmoor plain, from the color of the soil; rather of an oval form, about two miles long and one broad; part waste land, part in grass, part in tillage. Near a wood at the south end is a spring called King Richard's well. No human being resides on this desolate field or near it. Twenty years after his first visit Hutton again went to the field, and found the plain inclosed, fences grown up, Richard's well vanished, and the swamp where he is recorded to have fallen become firm land. It is thus that the material improvement of a country obliterates the physical traces of its history. Dr. Parr, in 1812, found the spring by digging; and, by way of preserving the popular memory of a great English event, wrote a pompous Latin inscription to be inscribed on a local monument. The form of the ground, with an amphitheatre of hills bounding the plain to the south-east and south-west, and a rivulet called "the Tweed," will now furnish little assistance to him who goes to seek some illustration of the descriptions of the chroniclers. The facts of this battle may be soon told. On Sunday, the 20th of August, Richard marched from Nottingham to Leicester, at the head of his troops, riding on a white horse, in full armor, and a crown on his helmet. On the 21st he moved to the abbey of Mirivall, near Bosworth, and encamped on a rising ground called Anbeame or Amyon Hill. Richmond had crossed the Severn at Shrewsbury; had a conference at Stafford with Sir William Stanley, when it was agreed that the Stanleys should move toward Richard's camp, as if for his support; and on the 21st he reached Atherstone, by Tamworth. On the morning of the 22d both armies advanced to Redmoor. Hutton, on his first visit, found traces of four camps. The largest, which he assigns to Richard, covers about eighteen acres; Richmond's, he says, covers six or seven acres; Lord Stanley's comprises about four acres, and Sir William Stanley's three acres. When the battle begun, Richard found the Stanleys opposed to him, and Northumberland stirring not a foot to his aid. No strategy could now be of avail. It was of little consequence that Richmond "had never set a squadron in the field." The men whom Richard had loaded with benefits deserted him in the hour of his need, with a treachery that proclaimed that the knell of chivalry was rung. The courage of his race sustained him to the end. He made a desperate onset upon that part of the battle-field where Henry was, after having maintained an unequal conflict for two hours, with the aid of those who remained faithful to him. Polydore Vergil, the eulogist of Henry, does justice to the valiancy of Richard in this last struggle: "King Richard, at the first brunt, killed certain; overthrew Henry's standard, together with William Brandon, the standard-bearer, and matched also with John Cheney, a man of much fortitude, far exceeding the common sort, who encountered with him as he came; but the king with great force drove him to the ground, making way with weapon on every side. But yet Henry abode the brunt longer than ever his own soldiers would have weened, who were now almost out of hope of victory, whenas Sir William Stanley with three thousand men came to the rescue. Then truly, in a very moment, the residue all fled, and King Richard alone was killed, fighting manfully in the thickest ress of his enemies."

† Ellis: "Original Letters," Series II., vol. i. p. 162.

* Hutton's "Bosworth Field," with additions, by J. G. Nicholls, p. 181.

CHAPTER XLIV.

Richmond crowned in the battle-field—Henry VII. crowned at Westminster—His parliamentary title—Marriage with Elizabeth of York—Henry VII. suited to his times—Imposture of Lambert Simnel—Battle of Stoke—Alleged harsh treatment of the widow of Edward IV.—The earl of Warwick exhibited to the people—Unreal war and real taxation—An English army in France—A hurried peace concluded at Estaples—Its motives.

Richard III. lies covered with wounds in the marsh of Redland. It was a part of the policy of the victors to heap insult and degradation upon the poor remains of the man who chose rather to perish than to save himself by flight; and thus his body, "naked and despoiled, was trussed behind a poursuivant of arms, like a hog or a calf, the head and the arms hanging on the one side of the horse, and the legs on the other side, and all besprinkled with mire and blood, was brought to the Gray-friars church at Leicester." Thus writes Grafton, one of the meanest of the eulogists of Henry VII. The earl of Richmond, he says, ascended to the top of a little mountain, and there rendered thanks to his soldiers and friends. "Then the people rejoiced and clapped their hands, crying up to heaven, King Henry, King Henry. When the Lord Stanley saw the good will and gladness of the people, he took the crown of King Richard which was found among the spoil in the field, and set it on the earl's head, as though he had been elected king by the voice of the people, as in ancient times past in divers realms it hath been accustomed." In the evening the camp of Richmond, now King Henry VII., was removed to Leicester; and two days after the conqueror went forward to London. He chose to consider himself to have won the crown of England by conquest; and he held to the delusion in his latter years, providing by his last will "that our executors cause to be made an image of a king, representing our own person, the same to be of timber, covered and wrought with plates of fine gold, in manner of an armed man; and upon the same armor a coat-armor of our arms of England and France, enamelled, with a sword and spurs accordingly; and the said image to kneel upon a table of silver and gilt, and holding betwixt his hands the crown which it pleased God to give us, with the victory of our enemy at our first field."* Henry, earl of Richmond, who came to put down an usurper, was himself an usurper in every sense. Bacon has clearly stated the dilemma in which the new king was placed. He had been engaged to marry the

* Sir N. H. Nicolas, "Memoirs of Elizabeth of York," p. lxiii.

lady Elizabeth, under the compact by which he was to be supported in his pretensions. This claim, through the daughter of Edward IV., was most likely to content the people, who had become attached to the house of York, and were satisfied of the clearness of their title to the throne. But relying upon the title to be obtained by this marriage, he would only have been a king by courtesy. "Neither," adds his historian, "wanted there even at that time secret rumors and whisperings—which afterward gathered strength and turned to great troubles—that the two young sons of King Edward IV., or one of them, which sons were said to be destroyed in the Tower, were not indeed murthered, but were conveyed secretly away, and were yet living: which, if it had been true, had prevented the title of the Lady Elizabeth." * As to his own title, as the representative of the house of Lancaster, "he knew it was a title condemned by parliament, and generally prejudged in the common opinion of the realm." † As to the third title, that of conqueror, he felt that it would provoke terror, and that even William I. forbore to use that claim in the beginning. He put on the name and state of a king, therefore, without proclaiming any title, in the first instance; and thus the needy adventurer of August, 1485, was crowned king of England and France on the 30th of October. But a parliament being held on the 7th of November, when the speaker was presented to the king—who had received his crown on the battle-field, from his Norman vagabonds, as Comines describes his soldiers, and from the deserters of Richard, "as though he had been elected by the voice of the people"—he spoke of his accession, "as well by just hereditary title as by the sure judgment of God, which was manifested by giving him the victory in the field over his enemy." ‡ But the parliament would not accept the vain pretension of an hereditary title, nor the insolent one of a title by conquest. The desire for tranquillity and a peaceful succession was paramount, and a title was made for Henry VII. as king de facto. By the Act of Settlement it is ordained, "in avoiding all ambiguities and questions, that the inheritance of the crowns of the realms of England and of France," etc., shall "be, rest, remain, and abide, in the most royal person of our now sovereign lord King Henry VII., and in the heirs of his body, lawfully coming, perpetually, with the grace of God so to endure, and in none other." § The parliament, however, would not bestow the crown upon this branch of the house of Lancaster without a regard to the condition which was likely to prevent future disputes. Before its prorogation in December, the speaker of the Commons prayed the king, "that in consideration of the right to the realms of England and France being vested in his person and the heirs of his body, by the authority of the said parliament, he would be pleased to espouse the Lady Elizabeth, daughter of King Edward IV., which marriage they hoped God would bless with a progeny of the race of kings." The Lords rose, and, bowing to the throne, intimated that they assented to this desire. Henry expressed his willingness to comply with the request, and the marriage took place on the following 18th of January. In consequence of their relationship, a dispensation was necessary; but it appears that no efforts had been made to obtain it until after this parliamentary declaration.

The mode in which the question of Henry's title was determined by the parliament is some evidence that the ancient spirit of the great council of the realm was not extinct. The Lords and Commons would not allow themselves to be considered the representatives of a conquered people; nor would they admit a claim of lineal descent which would be resisted by a powerful party, if not by a majority of the nation. The accident, for it was scarcely more, of the victory of Bosworth Field had left the way clear for the adherents of the house of Lancaster to regain their lost position, and a qualified submission to the favored of fortune was the most prudent and honest course. There could have been no enthusiasm for the personal qualities of Henry, which were not of a nature to command the admiration of an age in which the military virtues were still held as the proudest adornment of a ruler of men. The new king was essentially different in character from any one of the Plantagenet race. He was not intellectually weak, as Henry VI., nor incapable of self-government, as Edward II. and Richard II. But he had none of the heroic qualities—the thirst for glory, the pride, the high courage, the resolute will which were the attributes of the first, the third, and the fourth Edward, of Henry IV. and Henry V., of Richard III. The spirit of the feudal ages had no longer a representative. But Henry VII. brought to the throne a character which was eminently fitted to the requirements of a new state of society. The work which he had to carry forward had been partially accomplished in the wars of York and Lancaster, by the outpouring of the blood, the waste of the resources, the attainders and forfeitures of the dominant nobility. The new king was to build up the monarchy upon the complete subjection of the aristocracy as a caste separate from the people; and he was to do this, not by force but by sagacity; not by terror but by subtlety; not by lavish expenditure but by ever-grasping acquisition. If this first sovereign of the house of Tudor had carried forward his policy, which was essentially arbitrary, among a people without that reverence for ancestral freedom which was almost an instinct, he and his successors might have established a despotism as severe as that which in some other European countries followed a similar triumph of the regal prerogative. But Henry VII., although indifferent enough to the rights of the people, and always ready to increase his hoarded riches by cunning extortion rather than by parliamentary taxation, preserved the country in order and tranquillity, and thus the practical liberties of the people were constantly advancing with their industrial prosperity. We shall have occasion to relate a succession of attempts to disturb the rule of this king; but the indifference with which the bulk of the English community regarded them is the best proof that the policy of this man was fitted for his time. The period of Henry VII. was that of the invention of printing and the discovery of America. The spread of knowledge and the extension of commerce were soon to work mighty changes in all nations, and England was in a great degree fortunate to have passed under the rule of a king who would not retard the progress of improvement by clinging to the worn-out systems of the middle ages.

The desire for the union of the houses of York and Lancaster was a popular sentiment to which Henry gave little encouragement when he had the reins of power in his hands. "His aversion to the house of York was so predominant in him," says Bacon, "as it found place, not only in his wars and councils, but in his chamber and bed." * He had sworn at Vannes to marry Elizabeth of York; but he showed no alacrity in performing his oath. Although the marriage was solemnized in January, 1486, the public honor of the queen's coronation was deferred till late in the year 1487. The chief adherents of Richard III. had been attainted, in the usual course of such revolutions. But Henry also held the property of a great body of Yorkists within his grasp, by revoking, on his own authority, all grants of the crown made since 1454–5, when the influence of Richard, duke of York, began to preponderate. There was one representative of that house whom he held in dread, even in the moment of his victory at Bosworth. Edward, earl of Warwick, the son of the duke of Clarence, had been placed by Edward IV. at the castle of Sheriff Hutton, from the time of his father's death in 1478. The young prince remained there during the reign of Richard III. The first exercise of authority by Henry was to remove the earl of Warwick to the Tower, out of whose dreary walls he never passed. The temper of the king toward the Yorkists produced an injudicious rising in 1486, under lord Lovel and Thomas and Humphrey Stafford. This was soon quelled. In Ireland, the partisans of the house of York had filled the chief offices, under the earls of Kildare, since the accession of Edward IV. The love for that house was still the prevailing feeling; and, in reliance upon this fidelity, two remarkable attempts to shake the power of Henry VII. had their first manifestations in Ireland.

Henry, after the insurgents under Lovel and the Staffords had dispersed, continued his progress through the midland and northern counties. The queen remained at Winchester. Here, in September, she gave birth to a son, who received the name of Arthur. The partisans of the house of York chose this period for the development of a plot, apparently most wild and purposeless, founded upon a reliance upon popular credulity almost beyond belief. In the spring of 1487 a youth appeared in Ireland, calling himself Edward Plantagenet, earl of Warwick. The son of Clarence when committed to the Tower was about fifteen years of age. The youth who presented

* "History of Henry VII.," p. 4. † Ibid.
‡ Rolls of Parliament. § Statutes, by Authority, vol. ii. p. 499.

* "History of Henry VII.," p. 16.

himself to the earl of Kildare, the lord deputy, at Dublin, was accompanied by a priest of the name of Simons, and he represented himself as the earl of Warwick, who had escaped from his confinement in the Tower. Either his pretensions were implicitly believed by Kildare or he was a party to the scheme, which had evidently been promoted by persons of influence. In a letter written by King Henry, four years after, he says, "not forgetting the great malice that the lady Margaret of Burgoigne beareth continually against us; as she shewed lately in sending hither of a feigned boy, surmising him to have been the son of the duke of Clarence, and caused him to be accompanied with the earl of Lincoln, the lord Lovel, and with a great multitude of Irishmen and of Almains."* The hostility of Margaret of Burgundy to Richmond, the husband of her niece, was possibly the result of his neglect of that niece, and of his general oppression of the Yorkists. But her countenance of an imposture, which could be so readily exposed by producing the real son of Clarence, who was well known, and the subsequent adherence of persons of high position to the conspiracy, can scarcely be explained upon any rational principles of human conduct, except we believe that the pretended earl of Warwick was set up as a feeler of public opinion. Bacon, speaking of Margaret of Burgundy, says, "it was not her meaning, nor no more was it the meaning of any of the better and sager sort that favored this enterprise and knew the secret, that this disguised idol should possess the crown; but at his peril to make way to the overthrow of the king; and that done they had their several hopes and ways."† The earl of Lincoln and lord Lovel were of these "better and sager sort;" and they, with two thousand troops, under an experienced captain, Martin Swartz, set sail from Flanders in March, and landing at Dublin, the pupil of Simons the priest was proclaimed king as Edward VI. Lincoln, the son of the eldest sister of Edward IV., had been nominated as his heir by Richard III.; but in taking up the cause of the simulated king, in whose name writs had been issued and a parliament convoked at Dublin, he made no assertion of his own pretensions. With "a great multitude of Irishmen and Almains," Lincoln and Lovel landed on the Lancashire coast, encamped near Ulverstone, and marched through Yorkshire toward Newark. Very few joined the band who proclaimed Edward VI. the head of the house of York. The number of the insurgents and their foreign auxiliaries amounted to eight thousand men. At Stoke-upon-Trent, on the 4th of June, the vanguard of Henry's army, under the earl of Oxford, was attacked by this ill-appointed force, of which few understood regular warfare except the Germans. The cavalry of the earl of Oxford soon obtained a victory, in which one half of the insurgents were slaughtered. The earl of Lincoln, lords Thomas and Maurice Fitzgerald, Sir Thomas Broughton, and the brave Martin Swartz, fell in the field. Lord Lovel escaped, but was no more heard of. The seat of this family was Minster-Lovel in Oxfordshire, and that house being pulled down early in the eighteenth century, "in a vault was found the person of a man, in very rich clothing, seated in a chair, with a table and a mass-book before him, the body of whom was yet entire when the workmen entered, but upon admission of the air soon fell to dust; from whence we may reasonably conclude that it was the fate of this unhappy nobleman to have retired to his own house after the battle before mentioned, and there to have trusted himself to some servant, by whom he was there immured, and afterward neglected, either through treachery or fear, or some accident which befell that person."‡

The pretended earl of Warwick and Simons the priest were captured at the battle of Stoke. The youth, who was named Lambert Simnel, was treated by the king "as an image of wax that others had tempered and moulded," and was taken into a mean office in Henry's kitchen. "He turned a broach that had a worn a crown." The priest was committed to prison, and was never more heard of, "the king loving to seal up his own dangers." Thus Bacon describes the issue of this mysterious imposture. But he also says that when Henry knew that the earl of Lincoln was slain he declared to some of his council that "he was sorry for the earl's death, because, by him, he said, he might have known the bottom of his danger." The historian of Henry VII. relates, as every chronicler had related before him, that in consequence of this attempt to set up a representative, although a false one, of the house of York, "it was one of the king's first acts to cloister the queen-dowager in the nunnery of Bermondsey, and to take away all her lands and estate; and this by a close counsel, without any legal proceeding, upon far-fetched pretences that she had delivered her two daughters out of sanctuary to king Richard, contrary to promise." Recent investigations have been held to render this alleged persecution of the widow of Edward IV. more than doubtful. Before Lincoln's rebellion she was chosen to be the godmother of Henry, first-born son. After the battle of Stoke it was proposed by the king that she should marry the king of Scotland. She might have been confined, it is admitted, when Lincoln's attempt became serious, as the earl of Dorset, her son, was also confined. He was released at the coronation of Henry's queen, in November, 1487. The actions of this king were so inscrutable, and he was so accustomed to walk in crooked paths, that it is very difficult in his case, as we believe, to set up a few isolated facts against a general testimony. Thus, when we find the queen-dowager attending her daughter, in 1489, when ambassadors from France were received at court, we are furnished with no absolute disproof, as alleged, of her enforced seclusion at Bermondsey. Nor is the mere proposal that she should marry the king of Scotland any evidence that Henry did not regard her with suspicion and treat her with harshness.* She might be paraded for state purposes before the ambassadors, and her name might be used in a negotiation with Scotland for some covert purpose never intended to be realized. The hypothesis of some modern historians as to the cause of her alleged confinement at Bermondsey—having "no worldly goods," as appears by her will, wherewith to reward any of her children according to her heart and mind—is, that she was kept in poverty and durance, to prevent her revealing the existence, and taking measures for establishing the rights of one of the sons of king Edward IV., who was still living. Bacon says that the proceedings against the dowager-queen, being even at that time [1487] taxed as rigorous and undue, "make it very probable there was some greater matter against her, which the king, upon reason of policy, and to avoid envy, would not publish." In judging of this question of the forced seclusion of the mother of Henry's wife, we must bear in mind that there are two recorded facts which appear to contradict the less precise statements of historical writers. But these are scarcely enough to justify the antiquarian contempt with which, in this instance, the ordinary relations are regarded: "Such, however," says Sir H. N. Nicolas, "is history as it is represented by chroniclers, and such are the effects of historians repeating the statements of their predecessors."† Let us have all due respect for records; but let not such solitary notices of uncorroborated circumstances be held sufficient to turn aside the whole current of ordinary testimony. When such testimony is evidently colored for a particular object—as the unmeasured vituperation of Richard III. evidently was by those who wrote in the interests of him whose succession had a shadow of justice arising out of Richard's alleged crimes—it may reasonably be suspected. But it can scarcely be imputed to "the ignorance or the prejudices of writers to whom implicit credence has been generally given"—chroniclers who wrote with a similar bias toward Henry VII.—that they all agree in relating some actions highly discreditable to him, such as his severity toward the mother of his queen, his prejudice against the queen herself, and his unrelenting hostility to the great body of the supporters of the house of York.

There was one straightforward proceeding connected with the insurrection of 1487, which was a remarkable deviation from Henry's ambiguous policy. He publicly exhibited the real earl of Warwick to the people, in a procession from the Tower to St. Paul's; and he allowed him, for a short time, to be seen at his palace of Sheene. The serious nature of the insurrection, however ridiculous its pretence, convinced him also that it was necessary to pursue a course of more outward respect for the feelings of those who thought that the union of the two houses was a better foundation for security and peace than his own pretensions of hereditary right. After the long-

* Ellis, "Original Letters," Series I., vol. i. p. 19.
† "History of Henry VII.," p. 21.
‡ "Genealogical History of the House of Yvery," quoted in preface to "Liber de Antiquis Legibus," p. ccxxxiii.

* Sir N. H. Nicolas and Dr. Lingard consider these facts as conclusive against the statements of Bacon and the previous chroniclers, Polydore, Hall, and Grafton.
† "Memoirs of Elizabeth of York," p. lxxxi.

delayed coronation of his queen, a due provision was made for her maintenance, and she appeared with proper state upon public occasions.

The period had arrived when the foreign policy of England was to assume a very different character from that of the feudal times. It was no longer a question whether provinces of France should belong to the English crown, and costly wars be undertaken that English nobles should be lords in Normandy and Poitou. But England could not separate herself from the affairs of the continent, and her internal administration had still an almost inevitable relation to foreign alliances and foreign quarrels. The principal European monarchies having become, to a great extent, consolidated, the policy of each government was conducted upon a broader scale than that of disturbing a nation by stimulating a revolt of pretty princes against their suzerain. The contests for dominion were now to be between kingdom and kingdom. The schemes of rival princes for accessions of territory, or preponderance of influence through intermarriages, were to raise up political combinations among other states, whose sovereigns, armed with the powers of war and peace, would carry on their diplomacy, chiefly according to their own personal views of what was necessary for aggrandizement or security. In England, where the ambition of the monarch was limited by the power of parliament to give or withhold supplies, the disposition to rush into distant quarrels was in some degree regulated and restrained. King Henry pursued a cautious and almost timid policy in his foreign relations. It was fortunate for the material progress of the country that, in the complicated questions of European supremacy which were arising, he followed the direction of his own subtlety rather than the promptings of the national spirit. He taxed his people for the ostentation of war, and then put their subsidies into his own purse. He was a benefactor to this land, however, in his anxiety to preserve peace between England and Scotland, at a period when the internal troubles of Scotland, and the death of James III. in battle with his rebellious nobles, might have tempted a more warlike ruler into new projects of conquest and concentration of power.

Henry VII. had the strongest obligations of gratitude to the duke of Britanny, who had sheltered him in his period of exile and poverty. The duke Francis was advanced in years. Charles VIII. of France was in the flush of youth, with a sort of rash chivalrous spirit, which was mixed up with the same love of secret policies as belonged to his intriguing father. During the period of his tutelage under a regency, a quarrel had arisen between the governments of Britanny and France, and war was declared against Britanny. That country was distracted by rival parties, the chief object of contention being who should marry Anne, the rich heiress of Francis, and thus be ruler of the duchy after his death. There were several candidates for this prize. The French government thought it a favorable time to enter upon a war, for the real purpose of preventing the marriage of the Breton heiress to either of her suitors, and for the annexation of Britanny to France. Henry VII. was appealed to for assistance by both parties in the contest. The sympathies of England went with the weaker state in this struggle. Henry would declare for neither, but offered himself as a mediator. Charles VIII. was now of an age to act for himself, and he carried war into Britanny, and besieged the duke in his capital of Rennes. Henry, meanwhile, had been employed in his natural vocation of statecraft; promising assistance to the friend of his adversity, but never rendering it; asking his parliament for means to resist the dangerous aggrandizement of France; and, having obtained a grant of two fifteenths, concluding an armistice with Charles. By the end of 1488, when Francis of Britanny had died, his country was overrun by the French. Henry was now compelled to do something. He promised an English army to the orphan princess Anne, and at the same time he contrived to let Charles understand that if the English people compelled him into war, his troops should act only on the defensive. At the beginning of 1489 he again went to parliament, and demanded an aid of a hundred thousand pounds. Seventy-five thousand were granted to him. He raised a force of six thousand archers and sent them to Britanny, according to his engagement with Anne that this force should serve in her cause for six months. The French king knew precisely what this meant; avoided any engagement with the English, who as carefully kept out of his way; and at the end of six months the little army returned home. Meanwhile the crafty king learned that it was somewhat unsafe to play these tricks of cunning with the English people; for a violent insurrection had broken out in the northern counties, to resist the payment of the tax raised for this mockery of war. "This, no doubt," says Bacon, "proceeded not simply of any present necessity, but much by reason of the old humor of these countries, where the memory of King Richard was so strong that it lay like lees in the bottom of men's hearts, and if the vessel was but stirred it would come up." Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, who had betrayed Richard on Bosworth Field, enforced the payment of the subsidy. "A harsh business was fallen into the hands of a harsh man," and the revolted people murdered him. As a general movement, the insurrection was soon suppressed by the earl of Surrey. The tax had not yielded what was expected, and in 1491 the king again went to parliament for further aid to carry on the pretended war. He was again at his favorite work of diplomacy; entering into alliances with Ferdinand of Spain, and Maximilian, king of the Romans, for the alleged purpose of restraining the growing power of France, but each having a private and special object. Maximilian wanted the princess Anne and the duchy of Britanny; Ferdinand aimed at the restitution of Rousillon; all that Henry sought was to get money wherever he could, either as a bribe from France or as a repayment of expenses from Anne. Maximilian was the most open of these royal schemers. He gave manful assistance to the oppressed Bretons, and the princess entered into a contract of marriage with him. Charles of France now put forward his pretensions to the hand of the lady. The contract was void, he said, because Britanny was a fief of France, and the lord could control the marriage of an heiress who was his vassal. This argument was supported by the emphatic presence of a French army; and the princess, who resisted till resistance was no longer possible, was forced into a marriage which she hated, and into the conclusion of a treaty which placed the province, so long independent, under the French dominion. While these events were ripening, Henry had been employing the pretence of war as a reason for extorting money under the system of "Benevolences," which had been annulled by the parliament of Richard. In October, 1491, he proclaimed his intention of punishing the French king. He again obtained a large grant from his faithful Lords and Commons, and procured several laws to be passed which gave encouragement to the prosecution of a war which had become a national object. But, having got the money and encouraged many knights and nobles in raising men, he still delayed any active measures of apparent hostility through the spring, summer, and autumn of 1492. At length, in October, he landed at Calais with a well-appointed army, and invested Boulogne with twenty-five thousand infantry and sixteen hundred cavalry. The old military spirit of England was again predominant. But, for three months previous to this costly parade, the wily king had been negotiating a peace with Charles of France; and it appears in the highest degree probable that the treaty was actually signed when the English forces landed. Henry called a council within a week after his landing, and laid before them a rough draft of a treaty offered by France, which his subservient ministers advised him to sign. This was a public instrument, by which peace was concluded between the two crowns. There was another document, a private one, by which Charles was to pay a hundred and forty-nine thousand pounds to the money-making king of England. The advisers of Henry were handsomely bribed, as well as their master. The half-ruined chiefs of the expedition had no course but that of venting useless execrations on their dissembling and rapacious sovereign, "who did but traffic in that war to make his return in money."* Henry, however, had a motive for pacification, which was even more imperative than his avarice. Charles of France had a guest at his court, who, if the king of England were really to become an enemy in earnest, might be let loose to work more damage to the house of Tudor than any failure in open warfare. One who called himself Richard, duke of York, was in France acknowledged as the rightful heir to the English throne, and surrounded with a guard of honor and other demonstrations of confidence and respect. When Henry had concluded the pacification, the French king commanded this Richard to leave his dominions. The peace was welcome to both kings, says Bacon "to Henry, for that it filled his coffers, and that he foresaw, a

* Bacon.

that time, a storm of inward troubles coming upon him, which presently after broke forth." These "inward troubles" form the subject of one of the most curious and controverted passages of English history—the story commonly known as that of Perkin Warbeck. The story would not be worth relating in detail if we were to accept the dogmatic assertion that "the legitimacy of Perkin Warbeck is a mere freak of paradoxical ingenuity."* We shall endeavor to put together a brief narrative of this remarkable claim to the crown, as far as possible from authentic materials; not resting wholly on the common supposition that the two sons of Edward IV. were murdered, or confidently arguing that the younger escaped, and reappeared to demand his inheritance; but rather accepting the more safe conclusion of Mr. Hallam, that "a very strong conviction either way is not readily attainable."†

CHAPTER XLV.

A young man received at Cork as the second son of Edward IV.—Ex-parte accounts of Perkin Warbeck—Letter from "Richard Plantagenet" to Isabella, queen of Spain—Henry requires the surrender of Richard from the duke of Austria—Arrests and executions in England—Sir William Stanley impeached by Clifford, whom Henry had bribed—Arrests in Ireland—Statute regarding allegiance to a king de facto—Richard, so-called, in Scotland—Correspondence of Bothwell—Difficulties of an imposture—Invasion by the Scots—The Cornish insurrection—Captivity of the adventurer—Alleged treason of the earl of Warwick—Warwick and his fellow-prisoner executed.

It was about the beginning of 1492, when King Henry was busied in making a great show of preparation for war with France, that a small merchant-vessel from Lisbon entered the Cove of Cork, and landed a young man who was among the passengers. Bacon has described him as of fine countenance and shape; "but more than that, he had such a crafty and bewitching fashion, both to move pity and to induce belief, as was like a kind of fascination or enchantment to those that saw him or heard him." The rumor went through Cork that he was the second son of Edward IV.; and the citizens, encouraged by John Water, who had been their mayor, became enthusiastic in his behalf. The earl of Desmond, who had been devotedly attached to the house of York, declared in favor of this supposed representative of that house, and the earl of Kildare offered him some assistance. Bacon says that "he wrote his letters unto the earls of Desmond and Kildare to come in to his aid, and be of his party, the originals of which letters are yet extant." But the young man remained only a short time in Ireland, and then passed over to France, as we have before indicated. After the peace of Estaples he left the court of Charles VIII. and proceeded to Flanders, where he claimed the protection of Margaret, duchess of Burgundy, the sister of Edward IV. To this princess, whom the friends of Henry called Juno, because they believed she was to him the cause of every mischief, as Juno was to Æneas, is assigned by all the chroniclers the scheme of raising up an impostor, and preparing him for his part before his appearance in Ireland. Hall says, "She kept him a certain space with her privily, and him with such diligence instructed, both of the secrets and common affairs of the realm of England, and of the lineage, descent, and order of the house of York, that he, like a good scholar not forgetting his lesson, could tell all that was taught him promptly."‡ Bacon is more minute, stating that the duchess described to him, whom "she kept by her a great while, but with extreme secrecy," whatever related to the person of Richard, duke of York, and made him have an accurate impression of the features and manners of Edward, and his queen, their family, and all those who would have been about the princes in their childhood. To these statements it has been objected that the duchess of Burgundy was married out of England seven years before Richard of York was born, and having never returned was little capable of entering into minute circumstances connected with the English court.§ But the "Wardrobe Accounts of Edward IV." show that this sister of Edward was in England for six weeks, in 1480, and thus could have acquired the intimate knowledge with which she formed her apt scholar.* The circumstances which the chroniclers relate of the life of this young man, before his alleged instruction at the court of the duchess of Burgundy, are in many respects inconsistent with what is certain in his subsequent career, especially when they attempt any great exactness. Hall's notice of his early years, in its vague generalization, is less suspicious. He says that this youth, "travelling many countries, could speak English and many other languages, and from the baseness of his birth was known to none almost; and, only for the gain of his living, from his childhood, was of necessity compelled to seek and frequent divers realms and regions." When the young man's adherents had been sacrificed to the vengeance of Henry, and he was reduced to the condition of a degraded captive, he is related to have "read openly his own confession written with his own hand."† Bacon calls this document, which he says was printed and dispersed abroad, "an extract" of such parts of the confession "as were fit to be divulged;" and he truly describes it as "a labored tale of particulars of Perkin's father, and mother, and grandsire, and grandmother, and uncles, and cousins, and from what places he travelled up and down." In this "confession" there is not a word of the duchess of Burgundy; and the whole period of the young man's life, from his birth "in the town of Tournay in Flanders" to his coming from Portugal to Cork, is attempted to be accounted for, by relating his various services under Flemish, Portuguese, and Breton masters, especially his service for a whole year with a knight that dwelt in Lisbon, "which said knight had but one eye." This narrative might readily excite Bacon's contempt, however strong his conviction of the so-called Perkin being an impostor, were it only for the absurd statement that when the young man landed in Cork, the people of the town, because he was arrayed in some of his master's fine silken clothes, laid hold of him, and maintained, first, that he was the son of the duke of Clarence; next, that he was the illegitimate son of Richard III.; and lastly, called him duke of York, "and so against my will made me to learn English, and taught me what I should do and say." This confession sets out with declaring that his father's name was John Osbeck, who was comptroller of the town of Tournay. King Henry, in instructions which he gave, in 1494, to a herald employed as his confidential envoy, says, "It is notorious that the said garçon is of no consanguinity or kin to the late King Edward, but is a native of the town of Tournay, and son of a boatman who is named Warbec; as the king is certainly assured as well by those who are acquainted with his life and habits, as by some others his companions, who are at present with the king; and others still are beyond the sea, who have been brought up with him in their youth."‡ Bernard André, the poet-laureate of Henry VII., states in his MS. life of his patron that Perkin, when a boy, was "*servant* in England to a Jew named Edward, who was baptized, and adopted as godson by Edward IV., and was on terms of intimacy with the king and his family."§ Speed, mistranslating André's words, makes Perkin the *son* of the Jew, instead of the servant; and Bacon amplifies the error, and transforms John Osbeck into the convert Jew, who, having a handsome wife, it might be surmised why the licentious king "should become gossip in so mean a house." Hume adds, "People thence accounted for that resemblance which was afterward remarked between young Perkin and that monarch." The surmise of Bacon, grounded upon the error of Speed, is clinched into the positive assertion of Hume as to a popular belief for which there is not the slightest ground.

We may now turn from the ex-parte statements, which represent the young adventurer as of low birth and mean education, to an undoubted document in which he sets forth his own history. It is a Latin letter written to Isabella, queen of Spain, wife of King Ferdinand, and is dated from Dendermonde, August 25th, 1493.‖ This letter is so interesting that we take the freedom of republishing that

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* *Edinburgh Review*, June, 1826, p. 2.

† "Middle Ages," chap. viii. part iii.

‡ Chronicle, 7th year of Henry VII. § "Historic Doubts."

* Sir N. H. Nicolas.

† This confession is given by Hall as "the very copy." Fabyan and Polydore Vergil offer no account of such a document.

‡ From the very valuable collection of "Documents relating to Perkin Warbeck," published by Sir Frederic Madden in "Archæologia," vol. xxvii. p. 165. § Ibid., p. 163.

‖ This most curious letter, first published by Sir Frederic Madden, is in the British Museum. The paper in the "Archæologia" gives a copy of the original, as well as a translation.

portion of it which relates the early history of him who subscribes himself, "Richard Plantagenet, second son of Edward formerly king, duke of York, etc."

"Most serene and most excellent princess, my most honored lady and cousin, I commend me entirely to your Majesty. Whereas the Prince of Wales, eldest son of Edward formerly king of England, of pious memory, my dearest lord and father, was miserably put to death, and I myself, then nearly nine years of age, was also delivered to a certain lord to be killed, it pleased the Divine Clemency that that lord, having compassion on my innocence, preserved me alive and in safety; first, however, causing me to swear on the holy sacrament, that to no one should I disclose my name, origin, or family, until a certain number of years had passed. He sent me therefore abroad, with two persons, who should watch over and take charge of me; and thus I, an orphan, bereaved of my royal father and brother, an exile from my kingdom, and deprived of country, inheritance and fortune, a fugitive in the midst of extreme perils, led my miserable life in fear, and weeping, and grief, and for the space of nearly eight years lay hid in divers provinces. At length one of those who had charge of me being dead, and the other returned to his country, and never afterward seen, scarcely had I emerged from childhood, alone and without means, I remained for a time in the kingdom of Portugal, and thence sailed to Ireland, where being recognized by the illustrious lords, the earls of Desmond and Kildare, my cousins, as also by other noblemen of the island, I was received with great joy and honor. Thence being invited by the king of France, with many ships and attendants, and having been promised aid and assistance against Henry of Richmond, the wicked usurper of the kingdom of England, I came to the aforesaid king of France, who received me honorably, as a kinsman and friend. But on his failing to afford me the promised assistance, I betook myself to the illustrious princess, the lady duchess of Burgundy, sister of my father, my dearest aunt, who, with her known humanity and virtue, welcomed me with all piety and honor; out of regard also to her, the most serene king of the Romans, and his son, the archduke of Austria, and the duke of Saxony, my dearest cousins, as likewise the kings of Denmark and Scotland, who sent to me their envoys, for the purpose of friendship and alliance. The great nobles of the kingdom of England did the same, who execrate the proud and wicked tyranny of this Henry of Richmond."* The letter then concludes with a touching appeal to Isabella, on account of their consanguinity, that she should influence the king of Spain to pity the numerous calamities of the house of York, and further him with assistance.

At the time when the so-styled "Richard Plantagenet" wrote this letter from Dendermonde, a town belonging to the archduke of Austria, Henry had dispatched an embassy to the archduke as sovereign of Burgundy, to protest against his affording any assistance to an adventurer of low birth, maintaining that the sons of Edward were murdered in the Tower by their uncle, "which to believe or affirm otherwise would be the height of madness."† The ambassadors were also directed to declare Margaret of Burgundy as the instigator of this plot against the king of England.‡ The envoys of the king, Sir Edward Poynings and Dr. Warham, demanded the surrender of him who called himself Richard of York, or his expulsion from the territory of the archduke. The council of the sovereign of Burgundy was divided in opinion as to the pretensions of the adventurer; and it was returned for answer that the archduke would render him no aid, but that he could not control the duchess Margaret, who, on the lands which she held as her dower, was wholly independent. Henry was indignant at this practical rejection of his demand, and, by way of revenge, strictly prohibited all intercourse between England and Flanders, and removed the mart of English cloth from Antwerp. He had made a hasty peace with France, that the pretensions of one whom he professed to regard as a contemptible impostor should no be put forward and advocated; and he now inflicted the most serious injury upon the commerce of England, because the son of the boatman of Tournay was not surrendered to him. It seems incredible that the facts of this young man's origin and education, which Henry professed to have received from his companions, and those brough up with him in their youth, should not have been known to the ministers of the archduke Philip. If the same inquiries at Tournay, a Henry alleged to have been made, had established the imposture, i is scarcely to be believed that respect for the dowager-duchess o Burgundy's fraudulent schemes would have led the archduke to encounter the hostility of Henry, who had ample means of injury at hi command.

The pretensions of the adventurer in Flanders gradually found powerful but secret supporters in England. In August, 1494, Henry had instructed his envoy to declare to the court of France, tha "there is no nobleman, gentleman, or person of any condition in th realm of England that does not well know that it is a manifest an evident imposture."* The same agent was sent a second time to th French king, with instructions dated the 30th of December in th same year, to express the indifference which Henry affected to fee for this attempt to shake his title. Yet at this time the subtle kin was engaged in corrupting Sir Robert Clifford to betray the associates who had sent him to Flanders, and to whom Clifford had reported that the young man was the indubitable "White Rose." O the 20th of January, 1495, there is this significant entry in the priv purse expenses of Henry VII.: "Delivered to Sir Robert Clifford by the hand of Master Bray, 500*l.*" Toward the end of 1494 Lor Fitzwalter, Sir Simon Mountford, Sir Thomas Thwaites, Rober Ratcliffe, and others, were arrested on a charge of high treason, an were proved to have corresponded with the friends of Richar abroad. All received sentence of death; and Mountford, Thwaites and Ratcliffe were at once executed. On the 7th of January Clifford, who was considered by some to have been a spy from th beginning, arrived from Flanders, and, throwing himself on hi knees before the king, humbly supplicated for pardon, when he wa certain that he should receive a reward. He was commanded to tel all he knew, and forthwith impeached Sir William Stanley. Th rich and powerful knight, who had saved the life of the earl of Rich mond on Bosworth Field, when the onslaught of Richard would hav been fatal without such interposition—the faithful chamberlain o King Henry VII.—was accused of favoring the pretensions of th "garçon" in Flanders, and had said that were he sure that he wa the son of Edward, he would never fight against him. He had on quality which obliterated from the king's mind all claims of ancien friendship. He was enormously rich; and when Henry knew tha Stanley's head had fallen on the sawdust of the scaffold on Towe Hill he had the further satisfaction of putting forty thousand pound of money and plate into his own treasury, and of securing lands to th crown worth three thousand annual pounds. There are two entrie in his "Privy Purse Expenses" which show that this dear friend o Stanley was not wholly wanting in generosity on the last occasion i which friendship could be exhibited. The king gave "To Sir Williar Stanley, at his execution, 10*l.*"—supposed to be a reward to th headsman—and he paid 15*l.* 19*s.* for his "burial at Syon."†

While these severe measures were proceeding in England agains those who had taken an interest in the fortunes of the young ma who was supported by Margaret of Burgundy, Sir Edward Poynings appointed the deputy of Ireland, was employed with an army "t search and purge all, such towns and places where Perkin was re ceived, relieved, or favored."‡ The earl of Kildare was arrested an sent to England. A parliament was called by the deputy, in whic some salutary laws were enacted; recent English statutes were de clared to have the force of law, and it was provided that all meas ures brought before the Irish legislature should have the previous ap proval of the king and council in England. Henry chose to dea with clemency toward those who had supported the adventurer Wh

* Sir Frederic Madden conceives that a proof of the imposition of Perkin is furnished in this letter, by the assertion that the duke of York was "nearly nine years of age" at the time of his escape, when he was really in his eleventh year. Sir F. Madden, upon the testimony of a herald, believes that the second son of King Edward was born in 1472. His birth has been commonly referred to 1473. Sir H. Nicolas says, "The date of the birth of this prince has not been exactly ascertained, but it may be assigned to the year 1472." The princes were in the Tower in June, 1483.

† The king's examination of the supposed murderers was made at this period, according to Bacon. See *ante*, p. 206.

‡ The substance of the instructions to the ambassadors is given by Polydore Vergil. See "Documents relating to Perkin Warbeck," p. 160.

* Instructions to Richmond, King-at-arms, "Archæologia," vo xxvii. p. 165.

† "Privy Purse Expenses," published in "Excerpta Historica," p 101.

‡ Hall.

anded at Cork in 1492. He reversed the attainder of the earl of Kildare, pardoned the earl of Desmond, and only excepted from his mercy Lord Barry and John Water. In the middle of July, 1495, a bold effort was made by "Richard" to land at Deal, with a portion of his foreign troops. The inhabitants repulsed the invaders, and made prisoners of a hundred and sixty-nine, all of whom Henry caused to be hanged. Their young leader returned to his protectress, after an ineffectual attempt to besiege Waterford. But early in 1496 Henry concluded a commercial treaty with Philip, the archduke, to which an article was annexed that the rebels of either prince should be expelled from their territories, if required. In a few months the young man, driven out from the Burgundian provinces, was dwelling in honor at the court of James IV., in Scotland, having arrived there with a considerable military force. At this period a statute was passed, which indicates that the Lords and Commons thought it necessary to take some measure of security, that in a possible change of dynasty the supporters of the reigning king should not be exposed to the renewal of such persecutions as had occurred in the times of Henry VI. and Edward IV. The act declares that "subjects are bounden to serve their prince and sovereign lord *for the time being*, in his wars for the defence of him and the land, against every rebellion, power, and might reared against him." It then enacts that no person for the same "true service of allegiance" shall be "convict or attaint of high treason nor of other offences for that cause."* This constitutional principle, thus solemnly set forth at a time when there was a doubtful claimant of the crown in arms, and a true Plantagenet in prison, is evidence that the probability of a real war for the succession was strongly impressed upon those who had everything to risk in such a conflict.

The employment of spies was an established principle of the government of Henry. There are repeated entries in his book of 'Privy Purse Expenses" of payments to these dangerous tools. In one place the entry is "To a fellow with a beard—a spy, in reward, 1*l.*" In another, "To two monks, spies, in reward, 2*l.*" He had his men, too, ready for bold acts of violence as well as treachery. One of his most devoted instruments was Ramsay, Lord Bothwell, who was ambassador from James III. of Scotland to Henry, and who was proscribed in the parliament which James IV. called at Edinburgh in 1488. In 1491 Bothwell was in England, and was in the intimate confidence of Henry; for he concluded an agreement with Sir Thomas Todde that he and the earl of Buchan should seize the persons of King James and his brother and deliver them to the king of England. In a statute of that year all Scots are commanded to depart the realm, because the king of Scotland and his subjects will not observe treaties of amity; "for the which it is better to be with them at open war than under such a feigned peace." According to the indenture which Bothwell signed, Henry had advanced on loan 266*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, to excite an act of treachery against his neighbor-king, at the time of this "feigned peace." There was no open war, nor had there been for some years, when the adventurer from Flanders appeared at the Scottish court. But James IV. had no cause to love Henry, and he gave a ready welcome to him who was prepared to dispute the throne of England with its possessor. He treated him in every respect as the real duke of York; and he gave the most absolute proof of his conviction of the truth of his pretensions by bestowing upon him in marriage his own kinswoman, Lady Catherine Gordon. At the court of James IV. the young man so favored was attended by fourteen hundred men, of all nations. It appears from a very curious paper, dated at Rouen, in March, 1496, purporting to disclose a plot against the life of Henry VII., that the men and money with which the self-styled duke of York was supplied came from Maximilian, king of the Romans, and not from the duchess of Burgundy. The prior of St. John of Jerusalem is accused in this paper of being privy to the conspiracy; and it is alleged that "when Perkin Warbeck was in Flanders, a servant of his often wrote letters to the said prior of St. John," in one of which it was stated in words of secret signification, "how the Merchant of the Ruby was not able to sell his merchandise in Flanders at the price he demanded, on which account he had gone to the court of the king of the Romans." The "Merchant of the Ruby" is further explained to be "Perkin Warbeck."* With other help, then, than that of Margaret of Burgundy he has come to show his merchandise to James of Scotland. But Henry of England is not sleeping. Wherever there is danger, there he has his spies. Ramsay, Lord Bothwell, has obtained a license for his return to the Scottish court. His relations with Henry are among the deepest secrets. He enters into the palace of James; he sees his guests; he is informed of his councils. His business is to obtain the best intelligence for the king of England, and to perpetrate any atrocity that is within his power, either by corruption or violence. Through two extant letters of this most accomplished spy we have a distinct view of the position of the so-called Richard, in the autumn of 1496.† We learn, from the first letter, that the war which James was contemplating in favor of the adventurer was against the will of the nobles and the people, and that Bothwell had won over the brother of James to promise that he would not join the host against Henry. But he also informs the king that he has been busy about the matter that Master Wyat propounded to him, and that "my lord of Buchan takes upon him the fulfilling of it." My lord of Buchan is the worthy who bargained with Henry to seize his young king, James IV.; and now he is ready to enterprise another matter—which is, "in the long night," to make a prisoner "within his tent" of that guest of the king of Scotland whom Henry dreads; "for he has no watch but the king's appointed to be about him; and they have ordained the Englishmen and the strangers to be at another quarter." There came a man, Bothwell says, on the 25th of August, out of Carlisle to "Perkin,' and "Perkin" brought him to the king; and that the man came from the brother of Lord Dacre, as he learned from secret information. The Northumberland men came to meetings between them and Scotsmen. He then urges Henry to be prepared for attack. In a second letter Bothwell protests that "all this long time I have remained under respite and assurance within the realm of Scotland, and most in the court about the king, giving attendance and making labors to do your grace the best service I can, and have full ofttimes solicited the king's highness, and all the well-advised lords of this realm, to leave the favor and support they give to this feigned boy." The king, he goes on to say, with all the whole people of his realm he can make, and Perkin and his company with him, in number fourteen hundred of all nations, will enter England on the 17th of September, "in the quarrel of this same feigned boy." In another passage we see that "the feigned boy" treated upon affairs of national import as a sovereign prince, not eagerly catching at any prospect of assistance, but deliberating upon terms as if he were already lord of the realm which he claimed: "Sir, the second day of September the king sent for his lords that were nearest about him, and caused them to pass into the chamber of council, and thereafter called Perkin to them, and they laid many desires to him, both anent the restorance of the seven sheriffdoms, the delivery of the castle and town of Berwick; and also for the listing of the king's army, and for charges made upon him and his company, to bind him to pay one hundred thousand marks within five years after his entry. To this asked he delay until the morn; and on the morn entered he in the council, and took with him Sir George Neville, Lound the priest, and Heron; and after long communing has bound him to deliver Berwick, and to pay for the costs made on him fifty thousand marks in two years, and thus is this taken up in writing." The Lord Concressault—he who was captain of the guard of honor when the adventurer was first welcomed by the king of France—comes to the Scottish court, professing that he was sent to offer a mediation between England and Scotland. The crafty Bothwell goes on to say, pressing Henry to be "privy," that he had wormed out of the Lord Concressault, that he had offered the king of Scotland a hundred thousand crowns to send Perkin into France. He adds, "I think his coming hither has done but little good, for he and the boy are every day in counsel." The traitor to his country constantly urges Henry to come quickly and make war in Scotland, setting forth the poverty of James, "who had not a hundred pounds till he had coined his chains and his plate." The following is one of the most curious passages of the correspondence: "Sir, here is come out of Flanders

* Statutes, by Authority, 11 Henry VII., c. 1, p. 568.

* This singular narrative first appears in Sir F. Madden's paper in the "Archæologia," vol. xxvii.

† Ellis, "Original Letters," Series I., vol. i. pp. 22–32. The letters of Bothwell are in the Scotch dialect.

Roderick de la Lane, with two little ships and three hundred of Almains. I stood by when the king received him in presence of Perkin; and thus he said in French: 'Sir, I am come here according to my promise to do your highness service, and for none other man's sake am I come here; for an I had not had your letters of warrant, I had been arrested in Flanders and put to great trouble for Perkin's sake.' And he came not near Perkin. And then came Perkin to him, and he saluted him, and asked how his aunt did; and he said, 'Well.' And he inquired if he had any letters from her to him, and he said he durst bring none, but [what] he had for the king.' And surely he has brought the king sundry pleasant things for the war, both for man and horse."

We may judge from such authentic materials for history how difficult must have been the part which the young man had to play at the court of Scotland; married to a beautiful woman of the royal blood, whose love would have turned to hate against a low-born impostor—surrounded by jealous nobles—moving in presence of Henry's spy—and subject to the prying inquiries of the French ambassador, who told Bothwell "how great inquisition was made to understand of Perkin's birth, both by the admiral and him." And yet he seems to have borne all this ordeal without blemish; for Bothwell states that he showed the French ambassador a paper about the origin of "the feigned boy," drawn up by Meautis, Henry's French secretary, and the ambassador "plainly said he never understood it, but rather trowed the contrary." At this season a letter is written by the young man, dated from Edinburgh, October 18th, to Sir Bernard de la Forse, who had been employed by Edward IV., and had been the envoy of Richard III. to Spain, in which he desires the knight to be to him "as loving, faithful, and kind counsellor and friend, as ye were unto our said father;" praying him to do him the service of ascertaining "the good heart and mind that our most dear cousin, the king of Spain, beareth toward us;" and promising that he would be ready to perform any good in his power to him, and to "our right trusty and well-beloved servant, your son, Antony de la Forse, which hath full lovingly given his long attendance upon us in sundry countries." The autograph signature to this letter, "Your friend Richard of England," is, as the fac-simile shows, "very remarkable from its bold and thoroughly English character, and would cause one to believe that the education of Perkin, in this respect, must have been attended to with considerable care."* In many other respects his education could not have been neglected. His abilities and acquirements must have been tested at the court of James, a poet himself and an encourager of letters, who brought the art of printing into Scotland. An ignorant impostor, qualified only by cunning for the difficult game he had to play, would have found himself ill at ease in the company of Gawin Douglas and William Dunbar. Whatever be the contradictory evidence which prevents us yielding an unqualified belief that this was the son of Edward IV., it is manifest that for years he sustained his part, without betraying by a single accident of self-consciousness that he was a deceiver, whose temporary elevation would only make his ultimate fall more humiliating. The theory that he was set up to act this part, as the child Lambert Simnel had done before him, to prepare the way for the succession of the earl of Warwick, appears irreconcilable with the fact of the open nature, and continuance of the support which he received from the duchess of Burgundy, the king of the Romans, and the king of Scotland. The employment of the men and money at his command, however supplied, was wholly within his own power.

The winter was approaching when James IV. and his adopted ally advanced with an army into Scotland. A proclamation signed R. R. was issued in the name of "the king of England," which set forth the escape of the son of Edward IV. from the Tower, and his residence abroad, with little variation from the statement made to Isabella of Spain. It denounced Henry Tydder as a false usurper of the crown of England; called upon the people to arm in the cause of the true king; and promised rewards to such as should take or distress his mortal enemy. The king of Scotland had come to aid his righteous quarrel, and after the usurper was subdued would return peaceably into his own kingdom. This appeal to the people of England was wholly unsuccessful. If there had been no doubt whatever of the identity of the duke of York, it is very questionable if the nation generally would have stirred in a new war of succession. With the exception of the battle of Stoke, there had been internal peace for eleven years. Before the battle of Bosworth there had been no sword of Englishman drawn against Englishman for fourteen years. A quarter of a century of almost unbroken peace had enabled a generation to settle down in the quiet pursuits of industry, under a king essentially pacific. If Henry would abstain from grinding them by subsidies, and maintain order and security of property, they were as contented to be governed by the house of Tudor as by the house of York. The people would fight for their own liberties, but not for a barren title. But when an army of Scots, headed by the king of Scotland, entered England, the sturdy Northmen looked upon that invasion as the act of the ancient national enemy, and the fierce hatreds of centuries were again in full force. No alliance could have been more unpropitious than this; and it was felt to be so in the care with which the proclamation affirmed that the Scots came only in "true and faithful love and amity." James and his friend marched back to Scotland, their army having done much mischief, but having produced no political results.

The invasion of England, and the natural excesses which accompanied it, offered a fit occasion for Henry to demand a large grant from parliament. The tax was paid without resistance in most parts of the kingdom. But in Cornwall the people were instigated by one Flammock, an attorney, and by a farrier, to take up arms; for they said the northern counties ought to pay for the means of defence, with which the western had no concern. Sixteen thousand insurgents commenced a progress to London, to demand the punishment of the king's ministers, archbishop Morton and Sir Reginald Gray, as the promoters of the tax. Lord Audly placed himself at their head when they had reached Wells. At Blackheath they encamped. A battle took place on the 22d of June. At the bridge at Deptford they obstinately defended the passage against the king's troops. But the bridge was forced, and they fled in consternation. There was a great slaughter, and many hundred prisoners were taken. Audly was beheaded, and the attorney and the farrier were hanged. Henry treated the prisoners with a politic mercy, and they returned home. During this insurrection James again crossed the border and besieged Norham castle. But he retreated before the earl of Surrey. The ambassador of Ferdinand of Spain now undertook to mediate between James and Henry, and a truce was finally concluded. Henry required that Perkin should be given up, but without success. The disappointed pretender to the crown of England now quitted the court of James, having received a safe conduct from his chivalric supporter. He departed from Scotland with four ships and a small body of followers. Once more he addressed himself to his old friends at Cork, but received no encouragement. He then sailed to the coast of Cornwall, and in September landed at Whitsand Bay. The Cornishmen, still disposed for revolt, flocked to the standard of Richard the Fourth. He seized St. Michael's Mount, and there he left his wife, Catherine, the faithful sharer of his fortunes. The enterprise now began to wear a more serious aspect than at any former period. Before the adventurer had reached Exeter he had six thousand men under his command. King Henry himself has related the issue, in a letter to the bishop of Bath and Wells, dated from Woodstock, the 20th of September.* Perkin, he says, is landed; "our commons of Cornwall take his part, but no gentleman. On the 17th of September he came before Exeter, and attacked the east gate and the north gate, but they were so defended that he lost three or four hundred of his company." The king then incloses a letter from the earl of Devonshire, which describes another attack on the 18th. A local record states that the north gate was burned, and that the insurgents forced an entrance into the town by the east gate, but were repulsed by the citizens.† The insurgents and their leader then quitted Exeter without molestation, and proceeded to Collumpton, where, says the earl, "many of his company departed from him, and I trust more will." On the 25th of September the king himself writes to one of his nobles: "Cousin, trust for certain that upon Thursday about midnight Perkin fled from his company at Taunton, and took no leave nor license of them."‡ It

* Sir F. Madden, "Archæologia," vol. xxvii. p. 184.

* Ellis, "Original Letters," Series I., vol. i.
† Ibid., p. 39, in note.
‡ Ibid.

appears that very heavy fines were levied upon many persons who had favored these western insurrections, amounting, in Somerset, Dorset, Wilts, Hampshire, and Devon, to nearly ten thousand pounds; so that some support was given to these rash enterprises beyond that of the class whom Hall calls "dunghill ruffians." Among those so fined were four abbots. The forsaken adventurer rode through that autumn night from Taunton to the monastery of Beaulieu, in the New Forest, whose ruins still show its ancient importance. Here he demanded sanctuary on the 21st of September. The privileged retreat was quickly surrounded by the king's forces, and in a few days he surrendered, upon a promise that his life should be spared. Henry was most anxious to secure the wife of the captive; and having effected his object without difficulty, he placed her under the protection of his queen. Her beauty obtained for Catherine the name of "The White Rose," when the utterance of that name with sympathy was no longer dangerous.

Fabyan, the Londoner, briefly relates that on the 28th of November "Perkin was brought through the city unto the Tower, and there left as prisoner." Others state that he was taken leisurely on horseback through the city to the Tower, and then back again to Westminster. The story of his confessing his imposture in the presence of his wife rests upon no credible authority, and is not mentioned by Fabyan, Hall, or Bacon. The confession which he is stated to have made, of which Bacon speaks so contemptuously, was then dispersed abroad.* A letter from the king to the mayor of Waterford states that "The said Perkin came unto us to the town of Taunton, from whence he fled; and immediately after his first coming, humbly submitting himself to us, hath of his free will openly showed, in the presence of all the lords here with us and all nobles, his name to be Pierce Osbeck, whence he has been named Perkin Warbeck."† It is precisely the same tale which Henry desired his herald to promulgate about "the garçon" in 1494. There is no copy set forth of the evidence so taken before "all the lords;" no attesting witnesses to the statement. It was altogether what Bacon describes as "the king's manner of showing things by pieces and dark lights." During seven months' imprisonment of Henry's captive he was not treated with indignity. He was allowed to take exercise on horseback; for there is an entry in Henry's "Privy Purse Expenses," of a payment, at the rate of 5*d.* a day, during three months of 1498, "for Perkyn's horse-meat;" and another payment of 11*s.* "for Perkyn's riding-gown."‡ There is no distinct statement of his abiding place at this period. He was not concealed; but there was little chance that he could have been identified as the real duke of York, who purported to have escaped from the Tower fifteen years before, or ascertained to be an impostor, through casual glances at his person. Elizabeth, the widow of Edward IV., died in the very year when this adventurer first landed at Cork. The queen of Henry VII. and her sisters probably never saw him. He was as effectually deprived of all opportunities of private communication with others as if he had been shut up within stone walls. According to Hall, his apparent freedom was an insupportable durance; for "the king appointed certain keepers to attend upon him, which should not, the breadth of a nail, go from his person." In June, 1498, he escaped, and fled toward the coast. But he was in the toils. "Every by-way and lane was set abroad with the king's guard." In his despair he turned back from the road to the sea and threw himself into the priory of Sheen. The prior obtained from the king a promise that the fugitive's life should be spared; and the Tower then became his close prison. Hall relates that, upon being conveyed to London, "Perkin was brought to the court again to Westminster, with many a curse and reproach, and was one day set fettered in a pair of stocks before the door of Westminster Hall." The chronicler adds that the next day he was exhibited in the same way before the Standard in Cheap, and there "read openly his confession, written with his own hand." There was another prisoner in the Tower, who had there pined for fourteen years, Edward, earl of Warwick. From June, 1498, to November, 1499, these young men were fellow-prisoners. They probably had some means of intercourse, open or secret, during these sixteen months. In March, 1499, another pretended earl of Warwick appeared in Kent, and was announced from the pulpit by a friar of the order of St. Augustine. The poor tool, Wulford, was hanged, and the friar was imprisoned. Hall writes that the friar set on foot this scheme, "to the intent to bring this earl into disdain and hatred." Men were not slow to believe that "this was but the king's device."* The earl of Warwick stood in the way of Henry's family projects. A negotiation was proceeding to marry Arthur, Prince of Wales, to Catherine, the daughter of Ferdinand of Spain. "Ferdinand," says Bacon, "had written to the king in plain terms that he saw no assurance of his succession as long as the earl of Warwick lived; and that he was loth to send his daughter to troubles and dangers." The suggestion was not thrown away upon such an unprincipled schemer as Henry VII. "Lady Catherine herself, a sad and a religious woman, long after, when King Henry the Eighth's resolution of a divorce from her was first made known to her, used some words—that she had not offended, but it was a judgment of God, for that her former marriage was made in blood—meaning that of the earl of Warwick."† On the 21st of November, 1499, an indictment was preferred before the Lord High Steward and the Peers against the earl of Warwick for high treason. It set forth that two men, Thomas Astwood, one of Warwick's keepers, and Robert Cleymound, had, in August, conspired with him to make him king. They were to seize the Tower, and there defend themselves; or to obtain the royal treasure there, blow up the powder-magazine, and in the confusion escape. But it was also averred in the same wonderful document that it was intended to make "Peter Warbeck, of Tournay," king. Cleymound, it was affirmed, with the assent of Warwick, knocked on the floor, Warbeck being confined beneath, and called out, "Perkin, be of good cheer and comfort; and afterward the earl made a hole in the floor, to the intent that he might converse with him concerning the said treason." The chronicler states that Perkin, "by false persuasions and liberal promises, corrupted Strangeways, Blewet, Astwood, and long Roger, his keepers, being servants to Sir John Digby, lieutenant; insomuch that they, as it was at their arraignment openly proved, intended to have slain the said master, and to have set Perkin and the earl of Warwick at large."‡ Two of these keepers were hanged; but Cleymound, who appears to have been so active and so confided in, vanishes, when the purpose is served for which he was in the Tower, in some capacity or other, that would enable him to act the betrayer. Upon this tissue of contradictory charges, set forth in Warwick's indictment, the two young men were convicted. The earl of Warwick, wholly ignorant of the ways of the world, was induced to plead guilty. His companion in misfortune went through some form of trial, of which there is no record. He was arraigned as a foreigner. The doubtful Plantagenet was executed at Tyburn—his old friend, John Water, of Cork, suffering with him—on the 23d of November. The earl was beheaded within the Tower on the 28th of the same month. "One fierce and strong wave," says the old chronicler, with a touch of pity, "devoured and swallowed both their lives."§

* See *ante*, p. 215.
† Note of Sir F. Madden in "Archæologia," vol. xxvii. p. 188.
‡ "Excerpta Historica," p. 117.

* Bacon, p. 194. † Ibid., p. 196. ‡ Hall, p. 491.
§ Ibid., p. 488.
‖ Bacon, "Dedication of History of Henry VII. to Prince Charles."

CHAPTER XLVI.

Edmund de la Pole, duke of Suffolk—Marriage of Prince Arthur to Catherine of Arragon—The Court of Henry VII.—Henry's passion for wealth—Treaty with Scotland—Death of Prince Arthur—Contract of Prince Henry with Arthur's widow—Death of Henry VII.—Extortions through Empson and Dudley—Tendency toward absolute monarchy—Few parliaments during this reign—State of the clergy—Monastic establishments—Population—Agriculture—Maritime Discovery — Commerce — Regulations of internal trade—Wages—Vagrancy—Criminal Laws—Public Health—Feasts—National pride—Pageants—Sports.

After fifteen years of a reign in which "the times were rough, and full of mutations and strange accidents,"‖ Henry VII. sits steadily on his throne. There is only one Plantagenet connection left to give him more trouble, Edmund de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, the brother of the earl of Lincoln, whom Richard III. declared his heir.

He had manifestly wronged this nobleman by withholding from him his property and his true title of duke, pretending that the attainder of the elder brother cancelled his right. After the oppressed man, who appears to have been rash and ill-conducted, had fled abroad, and several persons had been executed upon a charge of conspiracy with him, the king contrived to get hold of him upon a promise to spare his life, and he shut him up in the Tower, leaving to his successor his pious command to put the prisoner to death. From the commencement of the sixteenth century to the end of Henry VII.'s reign we have neither revolts nor wars. But the policy of the king has brought about two events which will have a powerful influence on the future destinies of this country—the marriage of his son, Arthur, Prince of Wales, to Catherine of Arragon, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella; and the marriage of his daughter, Margaret, to James IV. of Scotland.

In 1485 Queen Isabella gave birth to Catalina, her youngest child. Arthur, the eldest son of Henry VII. and of Elizabeth of York, was born in 1486. Their second son, Henry, was born in 1491. Catalina, or Catherine, was educated with religious strictness; and she, as well as her sisters, acquired, under the most competent masters, a complete knowledge of Latin. "She is remarkably learned," wrote Erasmus; and he adds, "not merely with reference to her sex." The young princes of England were educated with the same attention to the studies of ancient learning, never held in higher esteem than in that age of its revival. It is recorded by André, the preceptor of Prince Arthur, that he had read Homer and Thucydides; Virgil, Lucan, and Ovid; Cicero and Quintilian; Cæsar, Tacitus, and other Roman historians. The younger brother was equally remarkable for his acquirements. There is a Latin letter from Henry to Erasmus, written in 1507, which the great scholar commends for its elegance. When Prince Arthur was not four years old, and the Spanish princess not five, the two politic kings arranged a treaty for the union of these children. This agreement of 1489 was confirmed by one more precise in 1490, by which Catherine's portion was to be two hundred thousand gold crowns; and one third of the revenues of the principality of Wales, the duchy of Cornwall, and the earldom of Chester, were to be settled upon her. In subsequent years the projected union was kept in view by new conventions; and in 1499, when Arthur had reached his twelfth year, the marriage ceremony was performed, the Spanish princess being represented by proxy. In 1501 Catherine arrived; and the ceremonials were again gone through at St. Paul's on the 6th of November. There were then banquets and tournaments and pageants; and "all the nobility were set on pleasure and solace, and the king himself was principally given to joy and rejoicing." * Before this period the annual expenses of the royal household were set at 13,059*l.* † With the avaricious habits of the king, the court was not an extravagant one; though there were occasional splendors and entertainments of a costly nature. Francesco Capello, the Venetian ambassador, was at this court in 1502; and in a very curious "Relation of the Island of England," ‡ probably written by his secretary, it is said of the king, "Though frugal to excess in his own person, he does not change any of the ancient usages of England at his court, keeping a sumptuous table; as I had the opportunity of witnessing twice that your Magnificence dined there, when I judged that there might be from six hundred to seven hundred persons at dinner." § In the "Privy Purse Expenses" of this king, we have an insight into the nature of his personal expenses, which the Italian notices as "frugal to excess." In one characteristic expenditure he was most extravagant. On the 25th of March, in the year of Arthur's marriage, we find the following entry: "Delivered and paid by the king's commandment for divers and many jewels brought out of France, against the marriage of my lord prince, 14,000*l.*" ‖ The editor of this record says, "His desire for the acquirement of jewels scarcely knew any bounds; and on them alone he spent 110,000*l.*" It appears to us that this investment of money in jewels was a part of the habitual prudence of the king. Some of his wealth thus lay in a small compass, was of a generally received value, and was available in any evil turn of fortune. In architecture he disbursed large sums. His palace at Richmond and his chapel at Westminster were of the most costly of these works. Beyond these matters he was frugal even when he meant to be generous. He saw the policy of encouraging navigation and discovery, if such encouragement should be without cost to himself; and in March, 1496, he granted letters-patent to John Cabot and his two sons, to sail at their own cost and charges, with five ships, for the discovery of new countries, upon condition that the king should have a fifth of the profits. In 1497 we have this entry of money drawn from the privy purse: "To him that found the new isle, 10*l.*" The discoverer of Newfoundland had no mighty reward. In 1502 Henry gives "To men of Bristol that found the isle, 5*l.*" He was more liberal to one from whose science he expected immediate results than to the hardy navigators who were carrying the English flag to shores before unknown. He gives "to a multiplier in the Tower of London, 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*" The "multiplier" was an alchemist. The Christmas festivities of the court do not appear to have been very expensive. The king occasionally draws a few pounds to play at cards. He gives 1*l.* "to four players of Essex, in reward," and another 1*l.* "to the French players." On his own players he bestows 2*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* in reward. The "players of the king's interludes" formed a regular part of the royal establishment, consisting of four performers, who each received five marks annually. * Noblemen had their players, who performed at court. The regular drama was not yet created. It is probable that these "interludes" were something different from the "miracle plays" which were enacted in Coventry and other towns by the inmates of religious houses. There is a curious account by Wharton of "a moral interlude and a pithy, written by Maister Skelton, laureate," entitled "The Negramansir," in which the characters are a necromancer, the devil, a notary, Simony and Avarice. † This was "played before the king and other estates at Woodstock on Palm Sunday." Out of such materials were the court entertainments composed, as well as those which were played in the palaces of noblemen and bishops; in which "Beelzebub with a beard," as in Skelton's play, and the old contest between the "Vice" and the devil formed the chief subjects of amusement. In some of the lives of Sir Thomas More this anecdote is related: "The cardinal [Morton] often would make trial of his pregnant wit, especially at Christmas merriments, when, having plays for recreation, this youth would suddenly step up among the players, and never studying before upon the matter, make often a part of his own invention; which was so witty and so full of jests that he alone made more sport and laughter than all the other players besides." ‡ We must not linger amid these outward shows of a courtly life, which, if we could look beneath the surface, was, in all likelihood, as dull and formal as the temper of the sovereign could render it. We find payments to minstrels, morris-dancers, mummers, fools, tumblers, bear-wards; and higher artists were not disregarded, for "an Italian, a poet," "the Blind-poet," and "a Rymer of Scotland," come in for their rewards. But in that palace of Richmond, which Henry raised up out of the ashes of the older palace of Shene, abided that evil spirit, Avarice, which Skelton presumed to satirize, and to hand over to his principal personage to be tormented. The ridicule was somewhat bold, at a time when the king had discovered how his vast income could be largely increased without asking parliament for subsidies. The annual revenue from the royal estates, and the properties which had lapsed to the crown, were estimated at about one hundred and seventy thousand pounds, of which forty thousand were derived from customs. § Henry is, according to Bacon, reported to have died worth one million eight hundred thousand pounds. We shall presently have to show the course which was pursued by this most extortionate of capitalists. The ingrained covetousness and cunning of the man—for "of nature, assuredly, he coveted to accumulate treasure," ‖ and "neither did he care how cunning they were that he did employ, for he thought himself to have the master-reach" ¶—these qualities made him, to use plain words, a royal swindler. He went far beyond his age as an exaggerated representative of the

* Hall, p. 495. † Stat. 11 Hen. VII. c. 62.
‡ Translated by Charlotte Augusta Sneyd. Camden Society.
§ "Italian Relation," p. 46. ‖ "Excerpta Historica," p. 125.

* See Mr. Collier's "Annals of the Stage," vol. i. p. 37.
† "History of Ancient Poetry," vol. iii. p. 185.
‡ Quoted from Hoddeston's Life, in Dibdin's edit. of "Utopia," vol. i. p. 48.
§ See "Italian Relation," in which there is a minute account, apparently derived from some official source.
‖ Bacon, p. 236. ¶ Ibid., p. 242.

newly-born spirit of money-making, as opposed to the ancient spirit of violence. He carried it forward into that unscrupulous passion for wealth which has rendered the grasping accumulator so detestable at all times, and in no times more to be despised than in our own, when he is too often regarded as the highest model of commercial wisdom.

In January, 1502, a treaty was concluded between England and Scotland, in which a perpetual peace was to be cemented by the marriage of James with the eldest daughter of Henry. There had been a long negotiation upon the subject of this union; and some doubts were expressed in the council of Henry that if the king's two sons were to die without issue, "the kingdom of England would fall to the king of Scotland, which might prejudice the monarchy of England. Whereunto the king replied, 'that if that should be, Scotland would be but an accession to England, and not England to Scotland, for that the greater would draw the less.'" Bacon related this when the oracular opinion of Henry had been realized in the union of the two crowns. The marriage of Margaret took place by proxy; but, on account of her youth, her departure to Scotland was deferred till July, 1503. Meanwhile an event of great import had taken place. Arthur, Prince of Wales, who kept his court at Ludlow, died in April, 1502, only four months after his marriage. The two kings, who were wonderfully matched in their ability at bargain-making, now negotiated for the marriage of young Prince Henry with his brother's widow. A year passed in determining whether the Princess Catherine should be returned to her father, with the hundred thousand crowns which had been paid as a moiety of her dowry—than which nothing could be more disagreeable to Henry; or whether Ferdinand should advance another hundred thousand crowns, and the second marriage be legalized by a dispensation from the pope. The dispensation was obtained; and the marriage contract was completed in 1503, with a solemn ceremonial. On this occasion a form was gone through, in which a person was appointed to object that the marriage was unlawful, and another to defend it as "good and effectual in the law of Christ's Church." * Mr. Hallam suggests that "there seems to be something in this of the tortuous policy of Henry VII." From the same cause it might arise that, before Henry was fifteen, he protested, in legal form, against the contract which had been made during his nonage. This marriage, which was not solemnized during the life of Henry VII., probably excited some scruples beyond the circle of the court. It was a contract which had memorable results, 'the secret providence of God ordaining that marriage to be the occasion of great events and changes." †

Elizabeth, the queen of Henry VII., died in February, 1503. In that year the king was busied in the stipulations of Prince Henry's marriage-contract and the parade of his daughter Margaret's progress to Scotland. But the widower was afterward seeking for an advantageous alliance for himself; and he tried his fortune in three quarters, in each of which there was a prospect of a large marriage-portion. The deceased king of Naples had bequeathed an immense sum to his queen. There was heavy disappointment, for the agents of Henry described her as perfect in all endowments, except that of the expected fortune, which the reigning king refused to pay. Isabella, queen of Castile in her own right, was now dead, and her daughter Juana, the wife of the archduke Philip, received the sceptre of Castile from her father, Ferdinand, now king of Arragon. Philip had a sister, Margaret; and the Castilian sovereigns having been thrown on the shores of England in a tempest, Henry seized his opportunity, and detained them, on various pretences, for three months, till Philip had agreed that his sister should marry the king of England, with a portion of three hundred thousand crowns. But while this negotiation was proceeding to completion, Philip died; and then king Henry thought that the widow, Juana, would give him a far nobler portion in the crown of Castile than the Margaret who was promised to him. But Ferdinand of Arragon steadily refused to allow his daughter Juana, who was of deranged intellect, to come within the toils of the wily negotiator with whom he had fought so many battles of statecraft. Meanwhile the Spanish monarch withheld that part of the portion of Catherine which was promised to be paid upon her marriage with Prince Henry; and the English king, to annoy her father, treated the widow of one son and the betrothed of another with a harshness which indisposed her for the completion of her second marriage. At length two instalments of that marriage-portion were extracted from Ferdinand, according to an agreement that they should be paid half-yearly. Henry the Seventh died before the third and fourth became due.* That event took place at Richmond Palace on the 21st of April, 1509. He had been in weak health for several years; and the prospect of his danger induced him to do some acts of mercy, such as satisfying the creditors of small debtors, and forgiving offences against the crown, with the exception of murder and felony. But the latter years of his life were disgraced by the extortions of his officers, who wrested the law to do the same work of plunder as had been accomplished by the sword and the fetter in the days of baronial tyranny. "He was touched," says Bacon, "with remorse for the same;" but the extortions "went on with as great rage as ever." In his will he declared "that his mind was that restitution should be made of those sums which had been unjustly taken by his officers." His historian thinks that he happily died in his prosperity, "to withdraw him from any future blow of fortune; which, certainly, in regard of the great hatred of the people, had not been impossible to have come upon him." He was buried at Westminster, in the magnificent chapel which he built beside the abbey.

The chief extortions which this king practised, through two lawyers, Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley, were carried on by prosecutions against persons of substance, especially the rich merchants of London, under obsolete laws, in which false witnesses, called promoters, were systematically employed. There can be no stronger testimony against these enormities than an eloquent and fearless passage in the "Utopia" of Sir Thomas More; in which he describes what might happen if "some king and his counsel were together, whetting their wits and devising what subtle craft they might invent to enrich the king with great treasures of money." These worthies suggest: the alteration of the standard of money; a pretence of war to raise taxes, and then make peace with great solemnity and holy ceremonies; a revival of old and moth-eaten laws, to exact fines for their transgression; prohibitions of many things under penalties, to be remitted by dispensations for money, and by selling privileges and licenses; and, lastly, to corrupt and overawe the judges "that they may, in every matter, dispute and reason for the king's right." No one can doubt that More—who at the time when this book was published, 1516, was a privy-counsellor of Henry VIII.—distinctly pointed at the political system of Henry VII., unexampled for its combination of tyranny and meanness. He sums up with this bitter satire against that system: "To conclude, all the counsellors agree and consent together, with the rich Crassus, that no abundance of gold can be sufficient for a prince, which must keep and maintain an army; furthermore that a king, though he would, can do nothing unjustly. For all that men have, yea, also the men themselves, be all his. And that every man hath so much of his own as the king's gentleness hath not taken from him. And that it shall be most for the king's advantage that his subjects have very little or nothing in their possession, as whose safeguard doth herein consist that his people do not wax wanton and wealthy through riches and liberty; because where these things be, there men be not wont patiently to obey hard, unjust, and unlawful commandments. Whereas, on the other part, need and poverty doth hold down and keep under stout courages, and maketh them patient perforce, taking from them bold and rebelling stomachs." †

It is the opinion of the historian of our "Constitutional History," that "there had evidently been a retrograde tendency toward absolute monarchy between the reigns of Henry VI. and Henry VIII." ‡ An Italian historian, Biondi, who wrote in the time of James I., describes our mixed constitution as "a well-constituted aristocratic-democratic monarchy"—(aristodemocratica monarchia). It was the policy of the first Tudor to impair, if not to destroy, the aristocratic branch, before the democratic had acquired any great political force.

* Hallam, "Constitutional History," vol. i. chap. ii., Note.
† Bacon, p. 207.

* Dr. Lingard has given this account of the circumstances which delayed the marriage of Henry and Catherine, as derived by him from Spanish documents. The receipt for the second instalment, in 1508, was signed by the two Henrys.
† "Utopia," Introductory Discourse.
‡ Hallam, "Constitutional Hist.," chap. i.

The Venetian secretary says, "Of these lords, who are called *milites*, there are very few left, and these diminish daily;" and he adds that the king, Henry VII., had "appointed certain military services to be performed by his own attendants and familiars, who he knows can be trusted upon any urgent occasion.* These were the yeomen of the guard, a body first instituted by this king, but solely for domestic security and parade. They were, according to a record, "proved archers, strong, bold, and valiant men." But with their damask jackets, embroidered with vine branches and the red rose, they were more fitted to "stand in passages upon a row, when the king's highness moved from chamber to chamber," than to bring their bright halberts into the battle-field. The Tudor king did not establish his partial despotism by the military arm. His great instrument for reducing the pride and power of the nobles was by fine and forfeiture. The earl of Northumberland might keep his solemn state at Warkworth and Prudhow; have his council, his chamberlain, his treasurer, his constables, his chaplains, with a hundred and sixty-six persons in his regular household.† The third duke of Buckingham might entertain four hundred and fifty-nine guests at Thornbury Castle, in 1507.‡ But if either of these great lords, or any other, gathered round them a body of habitual retainers, the statutes of liveries, which were disregarded in the preceding reigns, were now to be strictly enforced. All retainers were held unlawful but those who received wages as household servants; and for each retainer a fine of 5*l.* per month was enforced.§ Bacon has an amusing anecdote, which is highly characteristic of Henry VII. and his times: "There remaineth to this day a report that the king was on a time entertained by the earl of Oxford—that was his principal servant, both for war and peace—nobly and sumptuously, at his castle at Henningham. And at the king's going away the earl's servants stood, in a seemly manner, in their livery coats with cognizances, ranged on both sides, and made the king a lane. The king called the earl to him, and said: 'My lord, I have heard much of your hospitality, but I see it is greater than the speech. These handsome gentlemen and yeomen, which I see on both sides of me, are sure your menial servants.' The earl smiled, and said, 'It may please your grace that were not more for mine ease. They are most of them my retainers, that are come to do me service at such a time as this, and chiefly to see your grace.' The king started a little, and said, 'By my faith, my lord, I thank you for your good cheer, but I may not endure to have my laws broken in my sight. My attorney must speak with you.' And it is part of the report that the earl compounded for no less than fifteen thousand marks." How the nobles were ground in what Bacon calls "Empson's and Dudley's mills," may be seen in the following entry in one of the accounts of sums received by Dudley, which still exist:‖ "Delivered three exemplifications, under the seal of King's Bench, of the condemnation of the Lord Bergavenny for such retainers as he was indicted of in Kent, amounting unto, for his part only, after the rate of the months, 69,000*l.*"¶

One of the early statutes of this reign—"An Act giving the Court of Star-Chamber authority to punnyshe divers mysdemeanours"—has been occasionally represented as the origin of that oppressive court, which, growing more and more arbitrary under the Tudors and Stuarts, was at last finally abolished by statute in the 16th year of Charles I. In that statute it was said that "the judges of the Star-Chamber had not kept themselves within the points limited by the statute 3d Henry VII." These points were offences by maintenance, liveries, and retainers; untrue returns of sheriffs; taking money by juries; and great riots and unlawful assemblies. This court was probably useful and necessary in many respects, although it was open to the charge of being such an instrument of arbitrary power as was exercised by the council of the earlier kings, who met in what was called the star-chamber. The members of the Court of Star-Chamber of Henry VII. were limited, as well as its objects; consisting of the chancellor, treasurer, and keeper of the privy seal, with a bishop and temporal lord of the council, and the chief-justices of the King's Bench and Common Pleas, or two other justices in their absence. But even with these limitations, both of the objects and ministers of the court, it is easy to see that its formal establishment by statute, thus sanctioning encroachments such as those of the council which many previous statutes had endeavored to suppress, was a step toward depriving the subject of the right of being tried by his peers. That Henry wielded this instrument for oppressive purposes we may readily believe. During this reign there was little opportunity afforded to parliament to demand remedy of grievances. There were only seven parliaments called under this king, who was twenty-four years on the throne. From the first to the twelfth year there were six parliaments. There was then an interval of seven years, during which no parliament was held. That of the 19th year was the last. In dispensing with subsidies Henry got rid of the privilege which was the sole check upon prerogative. The Lords and Commons appear to have surrendered the constitution into his keeping, when it was enacted that, as the king was not minded, for the good and ease of his subjects, to call another parliament for a long time, he should have power to reverse and annul all attainders, and pardon all forfeitures, and that his letters-patent should be as valid as acts of parliament.

At the commencement of the reign of Henry VII. the long immunity of the clergy from any interference of the legislature with their course of life, however criminal, was in a slight degree interrupted by a statute, which recognizes the existence in the commonwealth of "priests, clerks, and religious men openly noised of incontinent living." The "Act for bishops to punish priests and other religious men for dishonest life," provides that they may be committed to ward and prison, upon examination and other lawful proof, and that no action of wrongful imprisonment shall arise out of such commitment.* But by a statute of three years later we learn how frightful were the exemptions from the course of justice which persons in holy orders obtained. The "benefit of clergy," which remained partially in force till abolished in the reform of the criminal law in 1828, was orginally devised to exempt all those who could plead their clerkship (*privilegium clericale*) from temporal jurisdiction; and in an age of very general ignorance all those were held to be clerks who could read. The statute of Henry VII. recites that "persons lettered" have been the more bold to commit murder, robbery, and other mischievous deeds, because they have been continually admitted to the benefit of the clergy upon trust of the privilege of the Church." The act, therefore, provides that if a person not in orders shall have once been admitted to such benefit he shall not be again so admitted; but be marked with M. upon the brawn of the left thumb, if convicted of murder, and with T. if for any other felony; and be then delivered to the ordinary. Persons in orders, if asking their clergy a second time, are required to produce letters of orders, or a certificate from the ordinary.† The offender so handed over to the ordinary almost invariably escaped with total impunity, or with some slight punishment. Another enormous abuse was that of sanctuary, which was not abolished by law till the reign of James I.‡ This privilege of sanctuary was often connected with what is styled in the law-books "Abjuration of the realm." In the "Relation of the Island of England" there is a curious and amusing description of the custom of sanctuary and of abjuration, which is essentially confirmed by other authorities: "The clergy are they who have the supreme sway over the country, both in peace and war. Among other things, they have provided that a number of sacred places in the kingdom should serve for the refuge and escape of all delinquents; and no one, were he a traitor to the crown, or had he practised against the king's own person, can be taken out of these by force. And a villain of this kind, who, for some great excess that he has committed, has been obliged to take refuge in one of these sacred places, often goes out of it to brawl in the public streets, and then, returning to it, escapes with impunity for every fresh offence he may have been guilty of. This is no detriment to the purses of the priests, nor to the other perpetual sanctuaries; but every church is a sanctuary for forty days; and if a thief or murderer, who has taken refuge in one, cannot leave

* "Italian Relation," p. 39.
† See the "Northumberland Household Book."
‡ "Archæological Journal," No. xxxi. p. 278.
§ Statute, 19 Hen. VII. c. 14.
‖ Harleian MS. in the British Museum.
¶ This account is given at length in Mr. Turner's "History of England," vol. iv. p. 156.

* Statute, 1 Henry VII. c. 4. † 4 Henry VII. c. 13.
‡ The sanctuary at Westminster, of which we have made repeated mention, was pulled down in the reign of George I.

in safety during those forty days, he gives notice that he wishes to ave England. In which case, being stripped to the shirt by the hief magistrate of the place, and a crucifix placed in his hand, he is onducted along the road to the sea, where, if he finds a passage, he ay go with a 'God speed you.' But if he should not find one, he alks into the sea up to the throat, and three times asks for a passage; nd this is repeated till a ship appears, which comes for him, and so e departs in safety. It is not unamusing to hear how the women nd children lament over the misfortune of these exiles, asking 'how ey can live so destitute out of England;' adding, moreover, that hey had better have died than go out of the world,' as if England ere the whole world." * Henry VII., however, procured a bull om Pope Innocent VII. to enable the civil power to remove from nctuary those who went out to commit crimes and return again, ith other limitations of the privilege, especially as to matters of eason.

At the end of the reign of Henry VII. the monastic establishments ere at the culminating point of their wealth and luxury. Some of e gross profligacy which gave the appearance, if not the reality, of stice to their violent suppression, was the subject of papal admoni- ons in 1490. But in their hospitality and their magnificence they ommanded much popular support; and nothing seemed so unlikely that in thirty years they should be swept away. There was arcely a cloud, no "bigger than a man's hand," to give sign of the oming storm. It is only when we have evidence of the real con- mpt which the higher order of minds, even among churchmen, lt for the impostures which contributed so mainly to the riches of e monastic shrines, that we discover how doubtful was that tenure popularity which rested more upon vain delusions than upon the al benefit which the people derived from the teachings of religion. enry VII. went in pilgrimage to Walsingham in 1487, and visited ir Lady's Church, famous for miracles." We have seen how other eat persons went this pilgrimage in the times of Edward IV., and w zealous they were for "Our Lady's House of Walsingham." † it among the visitors of this shrine at the beginning of the six- enth century was one who has recorded what he saw with a sly grav- , which shows how the wonders had come to be regarded by the oughtful and the learned. Hundreds of pilgrims might still travel any a weary mile, believing that God had set the galaxy in the avens to be their guide by night, that they might find

> "Unto the town of Walsingham,
> Which is the right and ready way." ‡

it there were others who went there to smile at the extent of man credulity. When Erasmus had journeyed to Walsingham he w strange sights which he has described in his "Colloquies." A ide attends him, like the modern cathedral-verger. "The joint of man's finger is exhibited to us, the largest of three. I kiss it; and hen ask, Whose relics were these? He says, St. Peter's. The ostle? He said, Yes. Then, observing the size of the joint, which ight have been that of a giant, I remarked, Peter must have been man of very large size. At this, one of my companions burst into augh; which I certainly took ill, for if he had been quiet the at- ndant would have shown us all the relics." To exhibit some of e more important objects to be worshipped a canon of the church me forward; and when the learned sceptic inquired, as civilly as could, by what proofs he was assured that "what looked like ound chalk, mixed with white of egg," was the milk of the Vir- n, "the canon, as if possessed by a fury, looking aghast upon us, d apparently horrified at the blasphemous inquiry, replied 'What ed to ask such questions, when you have the authenticated inscrip- on?'" The question was asked through an interpreter, a friend the great scholar of Rotterdam. This was Aldrich, afterward ovost of Eton and bishop of Carlisle. To Canterbury Erasmus o went, with his admirable friend, dean Colet,§ the founder of St. ul's School; whom he, with his quaint humor, calls "a somewhat manageable companion—a learned and pious man, but not so well fected to this part of religion [the reverence for relics] as he could sh." They saw the amazing riches of the shrine of St. Thomas; and in the sacristy a box of black leather was produced, and when it was opened "immediately all knelt and worshipped." It contained "some torn fragments of linen, most of them retaining marks of dirt," which were affirmed to have belonged to the holy martyr. Colet, an Englishman "of no small consequence," was requested to accept one of these rags; but he, "not sufficiently grateful, drew it together with his fingers, not without some intimation of disgust, and disdainfully replaced it." There is a little hospital still existing at Harbaldown, near Canterbury, which Erasmus and his friend passed in returning to London. It was "a hospital for a few old men, one of whom runs out as soon as they perceive any horsemen approaching. He sprinkles his holy water, and frequently offers the upper part of a shoe, bound with a brazen rim, in which is a piece of glass resembling a jewel. Those that kiss it give some small coin." When the shoe was stretched out, the friend of Erasmus "asked what the man wanted. He said that it was the shoe of St. Thomas. On that my friend was irritable, and turning to me he said, What! do these brutes imagine that we must kiss every good man's shoe?" * These relations are important, as showing how gross were the superstitions of England a few years only before the Reformation; and how, during more than a century, when it had been dangerous to evince any disrespect for the corruptions of the Church, the spirit of the early Reformers had not died out. In answer to a question by his interlocutor in the "Colloquy," whether Colet was a Wickliffite, Erasmus answers, "I do not think so, although he had read Wickliffe's books; where he got them I cannot say."

Although the material wealth of England had been decidedly increasing during the reign of Henry VII., we have abundant evidence that its natural resources were very imperfectly brought into operation. The population appeared to the Venetian traveller not to bear any proportion to the fertility of the land and the riches of the cities. In passing from Dover to London, and from London to Oxford, the country appeared to him to be very thinly inhabited. He inquired, also, of those who rode to the north of the kingdom, and of those who went to Bristol and into Cornwall, and found there was no difference in their report upon this point. The population at the beginning of the sixteenth century has been estimated at four millions; but the data for this conclusion are scarcely to be relied on.

In an act of 1488–9, "concerning the Isle of Wight," it is recited that the isle is "late decayed of people;" † and in an act of the same session, "against pulling down of towns," it is declared that "where, in some towns, two hundred persons were occupied and lived by their lawful labors, now be there occupied two or three herdmen." ‡ The grievance to which this decay of population is ascribed is the conversion of tilled land into pasture, and the consolidation of farms and farmholds "into one man's hold and hands, that of old time were wont to be in many several persons' holds and hands, and many several households kept in them, and thereby much people multiplied." This is the process of which More so bitterly complains, but of which he judged with the half-knowledge of his time on all economical questions. "Forsooth, my lord, quoth I"—he is addressing Morton—"your sheep, that were wont to be so meek and tame, and so small eaters, now, as I hear say, be become so great devourers and so wild that they eat up and swallow down the very men themselves. They consume, destroy, and devour whole fields, houses, and cities; for look, in what parts of the realm doth grow the finest and therefore dearest wool—there, noblemen and gentlemen, yea, and certain abbots, holy men, no doubt, not contenting themselves with the yearly revenues and profits that were wont to grow to their forefathers and predecessors of their lands, nor being content that they live in rest and pleasure, nothing profiting, yea, much noying the weal public, leave no ground for tillage. They inclose all into pastures; they throw down houses; they pluck down towns, and leave nothing standing, but only the church to be made a sheep-house. And, as though you lost no small quantity of ground by forests, chases, lands, and parks, those good holy men turn all dwelling-places and all glebe land into desolation and wilderness." The houses thrown down, and the towns plucked down, were the

* Page 34.

† See *ante*, p. 186.

‡ "Percy's Reliques," vol. ii. p. 79.

§ Colet is called "Gratian" in the Colloquy; but there is no ubt of the identity of Gratian with the dean of St. Paul's.

* Those parts of the Colloquies which relate to Walsingham and Canterbury are translated by Mr. J. G. Nicholls, with excellent notes

† 4 Hen. VII. cap. 16. ‡ Ibid. cap. 19.

wretched hovels—"the houses made of sticks and dirt"—of which the Spaniard took note in the time of Queen Mary.* But it was not the wretchedness of the buildings that caused them to be removed, but the absence of those means of life which were more abundantly found half a century later, when the same Spaniard said, "These English have their houses made of sticks and dirt, but they fare commonly so well as the king." In the time in which Henry VII. legislated, and More declaimed against the decay of population through pasturage, the tillage of the land was so unprofitable that it afforded no return for the employment of capital. It yielded only a miserable subsistence to those who worked it, with imperfect instruments; with no knowledge of the rotation of crops; with no turnip husbandry to fatten sheep less wastefully than in the pastures; with no sufficient knowledge of the value of manures. The very process by which, upon a true application of commercial intercourse to agriculture, the land might be improved, was reprobated by the author of the "Utopia," in the enforcement of his mistaken benevolence. The rich men, he says, buy great cattle "abroad very cheap, and afterward when they be fatted in their pastures, they sell them again exceeding dear." The difference between cheapness and dearness was a clear addition to the national wealth. The employment of capital in the feeding of sheep, being the more profitable mode of its use, speedily produced a greater demand for the labor of the whole country than the ancient mode of cultivating small patches of land by the cottier-tenantry, who had succeeded the serfs of the earlier times. The pastures were furnishing employment to the manufacturers, the retailers, the merchants of the great towns; and the profit of the pastures would, in course of time, bring about that larger system of tillage which would more perfectly unite the operations of the shepherd and the ploughman under the same tenancy. It is not to be imagined that, at the period of which we are speaking, pasturage had superseded tillage. The Venetian traveller, speaking of the general aspect of the country, says, "England is all diversified by pleasant undulating hills and beautiful valleys, nothing being to be seen but agreeable woods, or extensive meadows, or lands in cultivation." † But he also says, "Agriculture is not practised in this island beyond what is required for the consumption of the people; because, were they to plough and sow all the land that was capable of cultivation, they might sell a quantity of grain to the surrounding countries." ‡ It was more profitable to export wool and broadcloth than to export grain; and no legislation and no philosophy could compel the application of capital to the growth of corn where it could be more advantageously applied to the growth of sheep. The indirect stimulus which a judicious investment of accumulated wealth in one branch of industry must produce upon all industries, was not then understood; nor was it understood during succeeding periods of growing prosperity. It is scarcely understood even in our own day. The belief that land and trade could not prosper together was a fallacy which the more sagacious of the economists of the seventeenth century did not succeed in exploding, and which has scarcely yet ceased to haunt the imaginations of a few whom experience will not make wise.

The discovery of Newfoundland by Cabot, which was not followed up by any settlement upon the island at that time, arose out of the spirit of enterprise which was excited among the maritime nations of Europe by the great success of Bartholomew Dias, of Columbus, and of Vasco de Gama. The passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, partially effected by Dias in 1487, and completed by Vasco de Gama in 1498, and the discovery of the New World by the great Genoese whom Ferdinand and Isabella so tardily supported—these influenced but slowly the growth of English commerce. When the brother of Columbus, after being captured by pirates, obtained an audience of Henry VII., the king desired him to send for the man who had been laboring, for seven tedious years, to make his magnificent project comprehended by the courtiers and monks of the Spanish monarchy. At this juncture Queen Isabella had taken up the cause of the ardent navigator; and he had set out upon that expedition whose triumph was to give a new direction to the intercourse of the whole human race. That Henry would have offered his jewels for the cost of the great adventure, as Isabella did, is very doubtful. But gradually his subjects profited by these momentous discoveries, although the parsimony which forbade the king directly to support any adventurers gave little example to the English merchants to embark in the direct trade to the East or the West. The products of India and of the West Indian islands became branches of English commerce; and the people obtained a more extended enjoyment of foreign luxuries by their comparative cheapness in the marts of Portugal and Spain. The commercial exterprises of the country were necessarily restricted by its legislation, adapted to some imaginary necessity for accomplishing a good or preventing an evil. Such was the statute "against bargains grounded in usury;" by which it was enacted "that all manner of persons lending money to and for a time, taking for the same loan anything more besides or above the money lent, by way of contract or covenant at the time of the same loan," should forfeit half the money so lent.* It is evident that accumulated wealth, so locked up by law, could not be used to profit in furnishing aid to the most promising enterprise, and that very much of the capital of the country must be hoarded and unemployed. The visible wealth of the people in plate was the admiration of foreigners. "There is no small innkeeper, however poor and humble he may be, who does not serve his table with silver dishes and drinking-cups; and no one who has not in his house silver plate to the amount of at least 100*l.* sterling, is considered by the English to be a person of any consequence." This observer adds, "The most remarkable thing in London is the wonderful quantity of wrought silver."† The accumulation of capital in the form of plate was the result of the law which forbade any investment which would produce interest upon loan. And yet legislation here, as in all other cases which interfere with the natural laws of exchange, was not altogether effectual; for the same traveller remarks, of the English traders, "They are so diligent in mercantile pursuits that they do not fear to make contracts on usury."‡ They had the boldness to carry on commerce upon borrowed capital—a proof that the industry of the country had become, to some extent, energetic and self-reliant. Another law, of the same contracted nature, was the more stringent re-enactment of a statute of Edward IV. which had expired, forbidding coin of England or any other country, or plate, bullion, or jewels, to be carried out of the kingdom, "to the great impoverishing of the realm."§ This fallacy, that a country is rich in proportion as it receives money in foreign commercial transactions and pays none, was kept up for several hundred years in the delusion called Balance of Trade. How this law interfered with the extension of commerce, and the consequent ability of the consumers to be supplied at the cheapest rate, may be easily conceived. Its oppression of the voyager from the shores of England may be understood from the instance of Erasmus, who, returning to his own country from Dover, was stripped by the king's officers of all his money, except six angels, the amount permitted to be carried out of the realm. The poor scholar's little treasure was what he had earned by imparting his stores of learning to the youth of the country that thus despoiled him. We can scarcely blame the enactment which forbids the wines of Gascony to come in except in English ships, navigated by English mariners, for the principle has endured till our own time. The shipowners and mariners were encouraged by the navigation law; but the English consumers were deprived of the competition which would bring their wine at the cheapest rate, and with the most constant supply. That such laws are necessary in the infancy of commerce may be maintained by reference to the practice of all imperfectly civilized communities. Unquestionably they are mischievous when the natural laws of exchange have strength to rise above the artificial aids that impede their freedom of action, forbidding nations that would hold out the hand of fellowship to each other from supplying their mutual necessities.

The principle of regulating the prices of commodities still went on, as we have related of previous periods, without reference to any of the circumstances that must render an invariable price unjust, even if it were possible to be generally enforced. The complaint of the Commons, that hat-makers and cap-makers "sell their hats and caps at an outrageous price"—averring that what they buy for sixteenpence they sell for three shillings—is simply evidence of the absence

* Harrison, "Description of England," p. 187, in "Holinshed's Chronicles." † "Italian Relation," p. 20. ‡ Ibid., p. 10.

* 11 Hen. VII., cap. 8. † "Italian Relation," pp. 29 and 42.
‡ Ibid. p. 23. § 4 Hen. VII., cap. 23.

of competition. We may be quite sure that when it was enacted that no hatter should sell the best hat above the price of twenty-pence, the purchaser really obtained no cheaper commodity; that he lost in quality what he gained in price.* But it was long before governments found out the absurdity of such interference with private dealings, in matters where an universal principle could not be applied. In the regulation of weights and measures the state does most properly interpose its authority to establish uniformity; and it was the constant endeavor of the English kings to accomplish this, even before the time of Magna Charta. These regulations were, however, disregarded, as they inevitably must be in localities having imperfect communication with other districts. The parliament of Henry VII. adopted the system of sending measures and weights of brass to the chief officers of every city and borough.† But in four more years complaint was made that the ordinances for establishing a common standard had not been kept, and a new machinery was called into action for the safe conveyance of the brass weights and measures to cities and towns. The knights, citizens, and burgesses of parliament were to convey them, or cause them to be conveyed, to the places where they were to be kept in safe custody. The care which Henry VII. personally devoted to the examination of weights and measures is indicated by an old illumination, which shows him busied in superintending the proof of the standards in his exchequer chamber.

There had been no attempts to regulate wages for half a century. In 1495 a new scale is set up, which, after the short experience of one year, it was found impossible to maintain; and it was therefore repealed in 1496, for "divers and many reasonable considerations and causes."‡ The price of corn was fluctuating, from four shillings a quarter in 1495 to twenty shillings a quarter in 1497; and we can therefore well believe that it was not "for the common wealth of poor artificers" that the carpenter, with his sixpence a day, should be content to earn the fortieth part of a quarter of wheat in 1497, when he had obtained an eighth part in 1495. His wages would not rise proportionately with the price of necessaries; but in the power of making a free contract he would find some mitigation of the hardships of a famine season. It is evident from the tone of the legislation of Henry VII. that the laboring and indigent classes were regarded with a little more consideration than in the times which had immediately succeeded those of the system of slavery. Vagrancy, by the law of Richard II., was synonymous with crime, and to be repressed by the stocks and the prison.§ By an act of 1504 the penalties were somewhat mitigated, and a discretion was given as to the amount of punishment in cases of sickness and old age. The preamble of this statute, which is the same as a previous act of 1495, is some proof that the "quality of mercy" was sweetening, drop by drop, the bitter draught which poverty had to swallow: "Forasmuch as the king's grace most entirely desireth among all earthly tnings the prosperity and restfulness of this his land and his subjects of the same, to live quietly and surely to the pleasure of God and according to his laws, willing always of his pity and intending to reduce them thereunto by softer means than by extreme rigor," etc. The cruelty of the laws against vagrancy, however modified, was seen by More: "They be cast into prison as vagabonds, because they go about and work not, whom no man will set at work, though they never so willingly proffer themselves thereto."‖ But if the wanderer was in this reign treated with a little lenity, however pursued with savage cruelty in the next reign, the thief, in most cases, was hanged without mercy. "To praise that strait and rigorous justice which at that time was executed upon felons, who were, for the most part, twenty hanged together upon one gallows,"¶ was the easy solution of a difficult problem for three centuries. The "certain layman, cunning in the laws," who made an eulogium upon the "strait and rigorous justice," in the presence of More, said, as his successors continued to say, "seeing so few escaped punishment, he could not choose but wonder and marvel how and by what evil luck it should so come to pass that thieves nevertheless were, in every place, so rife and so rank." The Venetian traveller records that "people are taken up every day by dozens, like birds in a covey, and especially in London; yet, for all this, they never cease to rob and murder in the streets."* Erasmus, in one of his letters, says that the harvest of highway-robbery is abundant among the English. Crimes of violence appear to have been far more common than the fraudulent offences for which the age of Elizabeth was so remarkable. The transition from the times of feudal service to those of independent labor was a necessary cause that the discharged serving-man of a decayed house—"who was wont with a sword and a buckler by his side to jet through the street with a bragging look"—should take a purse instead of wielding a spade. It was an age of stews and ale-houses, of dice and cards; and these temptations produced their usual effects, when there was gross ignorance and low morals, unsettled employment, sanctuaries to flee to, and judgment to be arrested by the ability to read a verse of the Bible.

The sanitary condition of London and the great towns was not wholly disregarded. In the session of parliament of 1856 was passed "An Act to repeal certain statutes which are not in use." Among them was "An Act that no butcher slay any manner of beasts within the walls of London."† Did the statute fall into disuse when London had no longer walls? For when we still see the streets which this old statute describes as round St. Paul's, "envenomed by corrupt airs engendered in the said parishes by reason and occasion of the slaughter of beasts," we may ask what effective substitute is provided for its repeal? In many things we have persevered in clinging to the follies of our ancestors, and not unfrequently we have rejected their "wisdom." In matters concerning the health of populous places, the sage warnings of past experience have been treated as delusions. The sweating-sickness was the terror of England at the beginning of the sixteenth century, as the plague was in the seventeenth and the cholera in the nineteenth. Filth and imperfect ventilation were among the main causes of epidemic disease at each of these periods. Erasmus saw that the English so constructed their rooms as to admit no thorough draught, and says, "Before I was thirty years old, if I slept in a room which had been shut up for some months without ventilation, I was immediately attacked with fever." The close air of the English houses, in his sensible opinion, ripened into pestilence. The dirt even of the better households of the sixteenth century was most striking to the Rotterdam scholar, who came from a land of cleanliness: "The floors are mostly of clay, and strewed with rushes. Fresh rushes are periodically laid over them, but the old ones remain as a foundation for perhaps twenty years together." The abominations which Erasmus mentions as collected in these successive layers need not be here particularized.

"It would contribute to health," says the same observer of our manners, "if people ate and drank less, and lived on fresh rather than salt meat." The feasts of the metropolitan city were as magnificent in the days of Henry VII. as in our times—and, it would appear, quite as stupid. The Venetian traveller saw the mayor's banquet at the Guildhall, where a thousand people were seated at table, and "this dinner lasted four hours or more." At the sheriff's dinner he also observed "the infinite profusion of victuals." He adds, "I noticed how punctiliously they sat in their order, and the extraordinary silence of every one." The habit of feasting and being feasted—the dinners of parade which the satirist of our own days so justly ridicules among the manifold follies of vulgar ostentation—was a part of the old English character. "They think that no greater honor can be conferred or received than to invite others to eat with them; and they would sooner give five or six ducats to provide an entertainment for a person than a groat to assist him in any distress."‡ Courtesy to strangers, and to each other, which was also a peculiarity of the English, has scarcely so maintained its ancient ascendency. "They have the incredible courtesy of remaining with their heads uncovered, with an admirable grace, while they talk to each other."§ This was the formality of self-respect and of respect for others, in a high-minded people. The old pride of the English was national. "Above all things," says Erasmus, "take care not to censure or despise any individual things in the country; the natives are very patriotic, and truly not without reason."‖ The Venetian says, "They think that there are no other men than themselves, and no other world but England; and whenever they see a handsome

* Statute, 4 Hen. VII., cap. 9.
‡ See *ante*, p. 182.
‖ "Utopia," vol. i. p. 61.
† 7 Hen. VII., c. 3.
§ See vol. i. p. 50.
¶ Ibid., p. 49.

* "Italian Relation," p. 36.
‡ "Italian Relation," p. 22.
† 4 Hen. VII., c. 3.
§ Ibid., p. 22.
‖ Letter of 1527.

foreigner they say that he looks like an Englishman." The "lords of human kind" have now, for the most part, absorbed the pride of country into a narrower circle. It is the pride of possession, the dignity of his own estate, his stock, his house, his carriage, his liveries, his dinners, and his wine, that now marks the high-blown patriotic native. His country is chiefly valued as comprehending whatever ministers to his individual glory and gratification.

The perilous joustings of the lists of the king's manor of Shene,* the solemn banquets of Guildhall, the lords of misrule at the festivals of the court and the city, the masks and disguisings of royal and noble palaces—these were but reflections of the spirit of activity and enjoyment that abided in the people, amid many physical privations and a general absence of what we call comfort. The "antique pageantry" of Christmas, the old merriments of Easter and May-day, were transmitted from a higher antiquity. It was the poetry of the mixed British, Roman, and Saxon race blending with the festivals of the early Christian Church, and popularly kept up in the mixed excitement of reverence and frolic. These ceremonials, in their original simplicity so associated with the love of nature—with the holly and ivy of December, the linden of the early spring, the blossoms of the life-stirring May—were especially attractive to the inhabitants of the crowded towns. The citizens of Cornhill had danced under the May-pole beneath St. Andrew's Church from time immemorial. The parishes had joined from the earliest days of their guilds, to go forth to the woods to fetch in the May. They had lighted the bonfires in the streets, as their fathers had lighted them, and the players at bucklers were there, as they were of old. The parish clerks performed their interludes in Smithfield as in the time of the second Richard. The wrestlers contended before the mayor and aldermen, and the archers went out into Finsbury Fields, as their fathers before them. The marching watch lighted up the gabled roofs of the city of Lud, as it had done, time out of mind, when every man's door was "shadowed with green birch, long fennel, St. John's wort, orpine, and white lilies."† Seven hundred burning cressets sent up their "triumphant fires;" and the two thousand men of the marching watch came on with the cresset-bearers, each armed with harquebuss and bow and pike, their bright corselets glittering in the pitchy flame, while the waits of the city played their merriest tunes, and the morris-dancers kept time to their inspiriting notes. It was an institution that dated from the time of Henry III. There was a reality in this marvellous pageant, of which Stow writes with the enthusiastic pride of a London citizen. The men of the watch were the organized guardians of the city—its voluntary police, under the orders of its magistrates. The poetry of the old London life is reflected in many other elaborate descriptions by London's most honored antiquary. And he feels, too, that these seasons of civic display and of common rejoicing called forth a spirit of love out of the depths of the heart, which might be too often slumbering in the struggle for personal gain and honor in the great mart of commerce. Such is the sentiment which he infuses into his account of the simple hospitalities of the London streets, in the twilight hours of June and July: "On the vigils of festival days, and on the same festival days after the sun setting, there were usually made bonfires in the streets, every man bestowing wood and labor toward them; the wealthier sort, also, before their doors near to the said bonfires, would set out tables on the vigils, furnished with sweet bread and good drink, and on the festival days with meats and drinks plentifully, whereunto they would invite their neighbors and passengers also to sit and be merry with them in great familiarity, praising God for the benefits bestowed on them."

* Sir James Parker was slain in a combat in the lists of Shene, in 1492.

† Stow. See p. 39 of Mr. Thom's cheap and valuable edition.

CHAPTER XLVII.

Accession of Henry VIII.—Conviction of Empson and Dudley—Marriage of Henry with Catherine of Arragon—Their coronation—The young king's sports and feats of arms—Impending war with France—The balance of power—The pope to be supported—Causes of quarrel with Scotland—English expedition to Spain—Wolsey the real minister—Rise of Wolsey—Naval warfare—Ravages on the coasts—Henry's expedition to France—Siege of Terouenne—Maximilian joins the English army—Battle of the Spurs—Capitulation of Tournay—James IV. invades England—Battle of Flodden Field—Death of James.

The reign of Henry VIII., according to the computations in official records, commenced on the 22d of April, 1509, his father having died on the 21st. It is held to be an erroneous idea that the kings of England always ascended the throne the moment the preceding sovereign died.* The new sovereign was "entering into the flower of pleasant youth," and England was "called then the golden world, such grace of plenty reigned then within this realm."† The kingdom was at peace with all foreign powers. James IV. of Scotland was Henry's brother-in-law. Catherine of Arragon, the daughter of Ferdinand, remained in England, under the peculiar circumstance of being contracted in marriage to the young king, against which contract he had himself protested. Louis XII. was king of France. Maximilian was emperor.

The first act of Henry VIII. and his council was the arrest of Sir Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley, the ministers of the extortions of Henry VII. Many of the false witnesses, or promoters, who were employed by these criminal agents of a greater criminal, were also apprehended; and, in the language of the time, "wore papers"—that is, they stood in the pillory each with a paper describing his offences. The prosecution of Empson and Dudley was a signal instance of the abuse of justice, however politic it might have been to appease the clamors of those whom they had injured. They defended themselves before the council with eloquence, and with a show of truth. They acted, as they declared, according to the commissions with which they were intrusted, and they conformed to precedent and the letter of the law. The charges against them failed, for the real offender was their lord the king, who had benefited by their practices. But it was expedient to punish them; and a ridiculous charge of treason against the reigning monarch was got up against them, it being pretended that they conspired to seize the person of Henry on the death of his father, and to assume the functions of government. Empson was convicted on this charge by a jury at Northampton, and Dudley by a jury in London. The parliament passed a bill of attainder against them at the beginning of 1510, and they were executed in the following August. But out of the treasury, which Henry VIII. found amply supplied in part through their evil labors, there came no relief to their victims. Some laws were made to prevent such abuses in future—an easier duty than that of restitution.

The doubtful position of the Princess Catherine was soon relieved by the determination of Henry to complete the contract of marriage which had been legalized by a papal dispensation in 1503. They were publicly united by the archbishop of Canterbury on the 7th of June, 1509. Catherine was dressed in white, and wore her hair loose—the fashion in which maidens were customarily married. Their coronation took place at Westminster on the 24th of June. There is a curious document still existing which manifests the attention which the young king paid to his own affairs. It also shows the tendency of his mind, even at this early period, to assert the dignity of the crown in matters of church government. This document is the coronation oath of the kings of England, altered and interlined by the hand of Henry.‡ The original form says, "The king shall swear at his coronation that he shall keep and maintain the right and the liberties of the Holy Church of old time granted by the righteous Christian kings of England." The copy, as interlined, reads, "The king shall swear that he shall keep and maintain the lawful right and the liberties of old time granted by the righteous Christian kings of England to the Holy Church of England, not prejudicial to his jurisdiction and dignity royal." The early education of Henry had led him to the consideration of ecclesiastical questions. Whether, in this modification of the accustomed oath, the king "looked to something like supremacy in the Church of England, at the very outset of his reign,"§ or whether it was a general assertion of that dominant spirit which could brook no control and admit no superiority, the interlineations

* Sir N. H. Nicolas, "Chronology of History," p. 314.

† Cavendish, "Life of Wolsey," Singer's edit., p. 79.

‡ Cotton MS. See Ellis, "Original Letters," Second Series, vol. i. p. 176.

§ Ellis, "Original Letters," Second Series, vol. i. p. 176.

are equally consistent with the character of the man whose individual will was to produce the most signal consequences to the country over which he asserted his "dignity royal" for thirty-eight years.

The parliament of the first year of Henry's reign had granted a subsidy of tonnage and poundage, as the customs duties upon certain exports and imports were called. These taxes were granted for the defence of the realm and the keeping of the sea. There were no circumstances to call for an especial provision beyond this ordinary revenue. The ministers of the crown moved in their accustomed course, without any trouble from apprehended dangers at home or abroad. The commonalty were gratified by the vengeance inflicted upon the legal harpies of the preceding reign; and there were no higher violations of the laws, to be met by more stringent legislation, than "the great and costly array and apparel used within this realm, contrary to good statutes;" which excess "hath been the occasion of great impoverishing of divers of the king's subjects, and provoked many of them to rob and to do extortion and other unlawful deeds to maintain thereby their costly array." * Archbishop Warham, the chancellor; Bishop Fox, lord privy seal; and Howard, earl of Surrey, lord treasurer, were the king's chief ministers. For two years the narratives of the chroniclers are chiefly limited to descriptions of the king's feats of chivalry and his exercise in all manly sports. † In his second year, at the feast of Pentecost at Greenwich, "his grace, with two other with him, challenged all comers to fight with them at the barriers with target and casting the spear; and, that done, with two-handed swords." In the use of the old English long-bow "his grace shot as strong and as great a length as any of his guard." On May-day, "his grace being young, and willing not to be idle, rose in the morning very early to fetch May or green boughs, himself fresh and richly apparelled, and clothed all his knights, squires, and gentlemen in white satin, and all his guard and yeomen of the crown in white sarsnet." In these Mayings Queen Catherine sometimes accompanied her active consort; and very harmless bands of archers shot their flights at the command of Robin Hood, their chief; and the courteous outlaw feasted the gallant company in green arbors decked with flowers. When the king entered the lists to joust, and won the prize which the queen bestowed, "all young persons highly praised, but the ancient fathers much doubted, considering the tender youth of the king, and divers chances of horses and armor." They "fain would have him a looker-on, rather than a doer." It was not in the disposition of this king to be "a looker-on." He soon made for himself more exciting occupations than his daily exercise "in shooting, singing, dancing, wrestling, casting of the bar, playing at the recorders, flute, virginals, and in setting of songs and making of ballads." He was to show himself "the most Christian king," by higher feats than that skill in music by which "he did set two goodly masses, every of them five parts, which were sung oftentimes in his chapel, and afterward in divers other places." In the third year of his reign King Henry was preparing for war with France and Scotland.

The statute of 1511–12, which grants a subsidy to the king of "two whole fifteenths and tenths," in the preamble says, "We your humble subjects in this present parliament assembled, well knowing and perceiving that the French king, ancient enemy to this your realm of England, daily obtaineth with great strength and power many great cities, towns, and countries in the parts of Italy and other parts beyond the sea; and also of his high and insatiable appetite and mind, not contented with region and dominions of France, giveth his assistance to the duke of Gueldres against the archduke and prince of Castile, your near ally, and against his subjects of Flanders; and if he may therein prosper and obtain, it is greatly to be presumed that the same country shall be utterly destroyed and subdued, to the inestimable loss and damage of this realm." ‡ From this recital we see that the impending war with France was essentially different in one material principle from any previous war in which England had engaged with a continental power. It was a war—if the preamble to the statute correctly interprets the royal counsels—for the maintenance of the Balance of Power in Europe. In the possible success of Louis of France against Ferdinand of Spain was to be dreaded "the inestimable loss and damage of this realm." The principle thus asserted, in carrying out its necessary consequence of taxation of the people, has been continued to be asserted in the same way for three centuries and a half. Success in this never-ending labor appears as remote as at the first hour when the professors of statecraft threw kingdoms and provinces, now into one scale and now into another, to make the obstinately unresting beam for a moment level. But a war for maintaining the Balance of Power could scarcely appeal to the enthusiasm of the nation for support, and especially to the clergy, the most influential portion of the nation. In 1512 the object of a war with France is more precisely defined. It is to be a war for the "reformation of the schismatic demeanor" of the French king against "our holy father the pope," who has placed France under an interdict, which the said French king "despising, will not thereby reform himself." The holy father, "for the succor, maintenance, and defence of his person and of our mother Holy Church, and for the ceasing of the said schism and errors, hath written and sent for aid and assistance unto our said sovereign lord, and to many other Christian princes." * How Henry would rejoice in such an appeal cannot be doubted. He was trained from his earliest years in the study of the school divinity, and was as vain of his intellectual accomplishments as of his personal prowess. A contest in which he could at once display his zeal for the Church and his passion for "the pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war," if not for its hardships, was a tempting opportunity for this king of England, who had just reached the period when youth is passing into manhood. The real circumstances of this European contest, in which England might well have remained neutral without any loss of power and dignity, may be briefly told.

At the commencement of the reign of Henry VIII. the papal throne had been filled during six years by Julius II.—a pontiff who united the characters of the priest and the warrior, and was equally prepared to uphold the claims of his Church and increase the extent of his dominions, with sword or with interdict. His real policy was to render Italy independent—a project not to be suddenly accomplished by arms, when opposed to Louis of France, or Maximilian the emperor, or Ferdinand of Spain; but to be gradually furthered by sowing dissensions among the temporal princes. He had joined with these sovereigns in curbing the power of the Venetians by the League of Cambray, in 1508. He now professed to dread the ambition of France, and openly defied Louis by the invasion of the territories of his friend the duke of Ferrara. The French king sent an army from Milan to the support of his ally. Julius retired to Bologna, where in 1510 he was besieged by a French army, but without success. In 1511 that papal city was taken, and Louis took the bold step of calling a general council "for the reformation of the Church, both in its head and its members." He had the support of his own clergy and of five cardinals. But the pope called another council, and set in action the spiritual weapons of deposition and excommunication. The princes of Christendom were invited to join the "Holy League" for the defence of the Roman Church and the extinction of schism. The impetuous king of England eagerly rushed to enroll himself among the supporters of the pope, who gratefully flattered him with the promise that the king of France should no longer be "the most Christian king," and that the orthodox Henry should bear that honored title. But there was something in the prospect of a war more tempting to the pride and presumption of Henry than the flatteries of "our holy father." The old dream of the conquest of France—the circumstances being wholly changed which could give the slightest encouragement to a hope of such an issue—came once again before the eyes of an English king, with all its delusive images. In the fifth year of Henry's reign this gay vision was embodied in the preamble to a statute, which shows "the king, our sovereign lord, greatly desiring to recover the realm of France, his very true patrimony and inheritance, and to reduce the same to his obedience." † When Henry went with this avowal to parliament, his warlike career had been marked by some successes which might have intoxicated even a less wilful and arrogant ruler.

There was another ancient quarrel of the kings of England, which the government of Henry appears to have kept up with some of the passion and prejudice which a sound policy would have rejected. There were reasonable causes of complaint on both sides between England and Scotland; but when the king asked for a subsidy in

* 1 Hen. VIII. c. 14.
† See especially Hall, from whom we quote a few passages.
‡ 3 Hen. VIII. c. 22.

* 4 Hen. VIII. c. 19. † 5 Hen. VIII.

the third year of his reign, the quarrel with France being then ripening, the king of Scots is termed by the parliament, "very homager and obediencer of right to your highness." * A famous Scotch privateer, Andrew Barton, with his two brothers, had conducted a naval war against the Portuguese, under letters of marque from James IV. The statute of the 3d of Henry alleges as an offence of Scotland that the king "hath lately taken your subjects with their ships and merchandises on the sea." These captures were made by the Bartons; and the earl of Surrey fitted out two ships to repress these assaults on English vessels, which were not the less obnoxious because they were under color of search for Portuguese goods. Sir Thomas Howard, the son of Surrey, met Andrew Barton in his ship the Lion, cruising in the Downs; and in a desperate engagement the daring privateer fell mortally wounded on his deck. A smaller vessel belonging to this family was taken by another Howard. It is recorded of Surrey that when the exploits of the Bartons were made known in Henry's council, he said, "The king of England should not be imprisoned in his kingdom, while either he had an estate to set up a ship or a son to command it." † When James IV. demanded satisfaction for the death of his brave mariner, Henry replied that kings should disdain to quarrel about the fate of a pirate. But there were other causes of difference less national in their character. Henry VII. had bequeathed some valuable jewels to his daughter Margaret, the queen of Scotland Her brother, with a meanness which might be supposed alien to his ordinary proud and impulsive bearing, withheld this legacy. During the progress of the quarrel with France, Henry sent Dr. Nicolas West, afterward bishop of Ely, to the Scottish court, to endeavor to detach James from the French interest; and the skilful agent in a letter to his master thus relates a conversation with Queen Margaret: "And therewith she asked if your grace had sent her legacy; and I said yea, which I was ready to deliver her, so that the king would promise to keep the treaty of peace. And she asked, 'And not else?' And I said no; for if he would make war, your grace would not only withhold that, but also take from them the best towns they had." ‡ Well might Margaret write, with bitter irony, to her "best beloved brother," with reference to this conversation, "We cannot believe that of your mind, or by your command, we are so friendly dealt with in our father's legacy." The family alliance, which should have ripened into a national alliance between England and Scotland, was broken, and in May, 1512, James IV. concluded a league with France.

In June, 1512, an English force was sent to Spain, under the marquis of Dorset. These ten thousand Englishmen, who were intended for the conquest of Guienne, remained inactive near Fonterabia, while Henry's ally, Ferdinand, was carrying out his own projects in the conquest of Navarre. There is a curious picture of a raw and undisciplined English force, given in a letter of Dr. William Knight, addressed to "The right honorable M. Thomas Wolsey, Almoner to the King's grace of England." "The army," he says, "doeth earthly nothing but feed and sleep;" they mutinied for advance of pay to eightpence a day; they were not practised "how we should behave us in wars, as all other men do, and as all that ever I read of have done, specially when the army is unlearned, and hath not seen the feats of war." § This communication to the king's almoner indicates the position which Thomas Wolsey now filled. We learn from his biographer that in the expedition to France, in 1513, Wolsey was essentially the war-minister: "He being nothing scrupulous in anything that the king would command him to do, although it seemed to other very difficile, took upon him the whole charge and burden of all this business; and proceeded so therein that he brought all things to a good pass and purpose in a right decent order, as of all manner of victuals, provisions, and other necessaries, convenient for so noble a voyage and puissant army." ‖ Strange as it may seem that a priest of the king's household should have the organization of a great warlike expedition, it will appear less strange when we bear in mind that some of the highest offices of the state were filled by churchmen. At the commencement of his career of power, Wolsey, in his position of almoner, appears to have stood to the king in the relation of secretary. But his abilities were so commanding, his services so important, and his adaptation of his counsels to the royal will so politic, that we shall soon recognize him as the most influential of Henry's ministers. He "ruled all them that before ruled him," * even before he occupied the highest position of a subject, second only to the king, and scarcely inferior to him in the command of all the solid power and vain pomp of greatness. Let us look back upon the rise of this extraordinary favorite of fortune.

Thomas Wolsey, according to Cavendish, "was an honest poor man's son, born in Ipswich." There is a tradition that his father was a butcher; and, very probably, before the modern division of occupations the butcher of Ipswich was a grazier and landowner. The son was educated at Oxford, where he took his degree of bachelor of arts at the age of fifteen. That he was preparing to enter the Church appears from his father's will, dated in 1496, wherein he says, "I will that if Thomas my son be a priest within a year next after my decease, then I will that he sing for me and my friends by the space of a year, and he to have for his salary ten marks." Thomas Wolsey became a priest and a fellow of Magdalen College; and having been tutor to the sons of the marquis of Dorset, received from him the benefice of Lymington in 1500 He subsequently was appointed one of the chaplains of Henry VII. His promotion in that court arose out of his capacity to seize upon a fit occasion for the display of remarkable energy. It is an attribute of genius thus to make its opportunities, while the ordinary man passes them by. Henry VII., in his matrimonial speculations after the death of his queen, desired to send a confidential messenger to the Emperor Maximilian, then in Flanders, and Wolsey was recommended for the office. Having received his instructions from the king, he left Richmond at noon, took the ferry-boat for Gravesend, went on with horses to Dover, had a quick passage to Calais, discharged his commission to the emperor on the second night, travelled back to Calais the next day, and was again at Richmond on the fourth evening. This was an extraordinary journey for those times. Presenting himself to the king on the following morning, he was angrily asked why he had not set forth on his travel. That he had accomplished his mission was no doubt a matter of admiring wonder; but that haste might have been fatal if the ambassador's judgment had not been as remarkable as his energy. The king had dispatched a poursuivant with additional instructions, which reached Wolsey as he returned. He had accomplished what was desired, through the exercise of his own discretion Henry VII. knew the value of such a servant, and presented the quick-witted chaplain with the deanery of Lincoln. Henry VIII. found this able man ready for his service when he came to the throne, and he made him one of his council. To the pleasure-loving son, Wolsey was of more value than to the careful father. The young Henry was "nothing minded to travail in the busy affairs of his realm." The almoner would "disburden the king of so weighty a charge and troublesome business, putting the king in comfort that he shall not need to spare any time of his pleasure, for any business that should necessarily happen in the council, as long as he, being there and having the king's authority and commandment, doubted not to see all things sufficiently furnished and protected." † That Wolsey had thus found "a plain path to walk in toward promotion" is clearly shown by his biographer.

The army of Guienne had returned to England, without accomplishing any object beyond facilitating the conquest of Navarre by Ferdinand. The English fleet under Sir Edward Howard made descents on the coast of Britanny, and committed the usual ravages. There was a naval engagement off Brest, which was called a victory, though the largest ship in the English navy, the Regent, was burned. So important was the loss of this ship deemed that Wolsey, writing to Bishop Fox, said, "Keep this tidings secret to yourself, for there is no living man knoweth the same here but only the king and I." The king immediately commanded a magnificent vessel to be built, which figures in history as the "Henry Grace Dieu." In the following spring of 1513 Brest was blockaded. Sir Edward Howard, having made a vow that he would never more see the king till he had revenged the death of Sir Thomas Knyvet, who perished in the flames of the Regent, attempted to cut out a squadron moored in a bay strongly fortified, and fell a victim to the principle which

* 3 Hen. VIII. c. 22.
† Lloyd, "State Worthies," ed. 1670, p. 143.
‡ Ellis, "Original Letters," First Series, vol. i. p. 64.
§ Ibid., Second Series, vol. i. p. 191. ‖ Cavendish, p. 86.

* Cavendish, p. 81. † Ibid.

has given England so many naval victories, that temerity at sea becomes a virtue. The evil that was inflicted upon the French coasts was naturally encountered by a similar infliction upon the English coasts. There is a statute of 1512 for the especial erection of bulwarks from Plymouth to the Land's End, and in all other landing places, which furnishes sufficient evidence that the practical despotism of the government touched every man, however humble. To assist in the defence of their country against invasion necessarily demands some personal privation, from the high and the lowly. But the government which enacted that all inhabitants of the maritime districts should be compelled to work at such bulwarks, with their own instruments, and to receive no compensation for their toil, was a government that hesitated not to rob the poor of their only capital, their power of labor, to spare the rich, whose property was chiefly imperilled by the probable assaults of a hostile force. Those who came not to work and to starve, at the summons of the mayors and constables, were to be committed to prison.* The builders of the pyramids, with their scanty fare of onions and garlic, were in a happier condition than the free English under Henry VIII.

Ferdinand of Castile, with his usual adroitness, had concluded a truce with Louis XII. He had possessed himself of Navarre, and the object with which he drew England into a war was accomplished. But Henry, with Maximilian, the emperor, and the pope (now Leo X.), formed a new league against France. England was dragged into a continuance of the war, contrary to the opinion of the soundest heads among her politicians, that the boastful king who challenged all comers at the barriers might exhibit his pageantry on a real battle-field. Of Henry's animal courage there can be little doubt; but like many other men possessing natural bravery, he was wholly unfitted for the duties of a commander. He had one great object ever present to his mind, in peace or in war, to display Henry the king, in his presumed superiority of mind and body, made doubly impressive by his regal magnificence. A more vain-glorious and self-willed coxcomb never wore a crown. In his first experience of war, in 1513, his qualities were exhibited in a way which sufficiently betokens the total absence of real greatness of character. Two divisions of an army of twenty-five thousand men had sailed for France in May, and the king was to accompany the last division in June. He committed the governance of the realm to his queen, leaving his commands for the execution of the earl of Suffolk, who had remained shut up in the Tower since 1506.† Richard de la Pole, his brother, had accepted a command in the French army, and the hereditary jealousy of the "White Rose" stirred up the feeling with which the first and second Tudor regarded every possible claimant to the Plantagenet blood. The two divisions of the English army, under the earl of Shrewsbury and Lord Herbert, were besieging Terouenne, a strong town of France, near the Flemish frontier, when Henry, on the 15th of June, set forth toward Dover, from his royal manor of Greenwich, accompanied by his queen and a great retinue, to head the third division. It was the 30th of June before the king and his courtiers went on ship-board, and "took leave of the queen and of the ladies, which made such sorrow for the departing of their husbands that it was great dolour to behold."‡ The spirit of the Roman matrons, which once abided in English women, seems to have somewhat passed away from this luxurious court. Ostentatiously sailing near Boulogne, firing guns and sounding trumpets, the king's fleet reached Calais. Wherever Henry appears, we derive from the old chronicler the most intricate details of his magnificent wardrobe; and for three weeks he lingered at Calais, exhibiting his "garment of white cloth of gold, with a red cross," and surrounded by the six hundred archers of his guard, "all in white gaberdines." At length he marched on toward Terouenne, and reached the camp on the 4th of August. On the 12th Maximilian was to join him. Henry was now in his great element, and "prepared all things necessary to meet with the emperor in triumph." How the noblemen of the king's camp were gorgeously apparelled; how their coursers wore trappings of gold and silver, with little bells of gold; how the king was in a garment of great riches in jewels, and armed in a light armor—these trifles are most elaborately depicted. All this unwarlike display is made doubly absurd by the contrast that the emperor and his men came all in plain black cloth. Maximilian was a real warrior, and also a judge of human character. He was poor; and he and his soldiers took the wages of England. He was wise; and called himself the king's soldier, and wore the cross of St. George and the Red Rose. The good simple queen Catherine, upon hearing of this incense to her lord, writes to Wolsey, "I was very glad to hear the meeting of them both, which hath been to my seeming the greatest honor to the king that ever came to prince."* But Maximilian trusted more to the experience beneath the plain black cloth than to the presumption arrayed in cloth of gold. A large body of French cavalry had advanced on the 16th of August for the relief of Tournay. The emperor led his German cavalry and the English mounted archers against this formidable force, far exceeding his own in number. Henry followed with the infantry. At the first shock the French gendarmes, to the number of ten thousand, were seized with some inexplicable panic, and in spite of their practice in war fled before the charge of Maximilian, leaving their best officers in the field. Among these was one of the most distinguished of the soldiers of France—he who in his gallant and honorable career won the name of "the knight without fear and without reproach." Maximilian and Henry received the illustrious Bayard and his companions in misfortune with the courtesy of the chivalric times. Terouenne, after this remarkable victory, was feebly defended; and being surrendered on the 27th of August, its fortifications were destroyed. The French themselves, laughing at the panic-stricken flight of their army, called this "The Battle of the Spurs."

If we may judge from a passage of another letter of Queen Catherine, this skirmish was reckoned by the king a marvellous triumph. "The victory hath been so great that I think none such hath been ever seen before."† But no advance was made into France. There was a grand display to be made when Terouenne was taken possession of; and Henry was invited by the archduchess Margaret to visit her in her court of Lisle, where there were tempting banquets, plays, masques, and other pastimes, to solace him for his privations under his silken pavilions. Here he met his wife's nephew, Prince Charles of Spain, the future dictator of Europe. One more feat was accomplished before the king returned home. Tournay was besieged, and capitulated on the 29th of September. One Englishman was benefited by this capture; for Wolsey received the rich bishopric of Tournay. After three weeks of the accustomed parade—of tilts in the market-place, and of jousts in which "the king and the lord Lisle answered all comers," the campaign was ended; and Henry was again in England on the 24th of November.

During this continental expedition, whose useless triumphs and vain pageantries had swallowed up a great subsidy, there had been a far more serious warfare upon English ground. While Henry encamped before Terouenne, Lyon, king-of-arms of Scotland, arrived with a letter from James IV., to which the king of England desired to send a verbal answer of reproach and defiance. But the herald refused to deliver the insulting message of Henry, that James was his vassal, and that he would expel him from his realm. A letter in more sober style was therefore written; but all the mortal strifes of the king of Scotland were at an end before the missive was received. The circumstances that indicated an approaching war between England and Scotland were in full operation before Henry crossed the Channel. The continual border feuds of the two nations kept alive the general spirit of hostility between them; and "prudence, policy, the prodigies of superstition, and the advice of his most experienced counsellors, were alike unable to subdue in James the blazing zeal of romantic chivalry."‡ The invasion of England can scarcely be attributed wholly to this blazing zeal of the Scottish king; for the army which he led from Edinburgh comprised every race and class of the population, and was commanded by the most powerful of the Scottish nobility. Of those who opposed the invasion the earl of Angus was the most prominent. The stout old man's prudence was treated as pusillanimity, and he retired in just indignation before the shock of war showed the soundness of his judgment. The "messenger from heaven," who is reported to have warned James against this expedition, as he sat "very sad and dolorous, making his devotion to

* 4 Hen. VIII. c. 1. † See *ante*, p. 220.
‡ Hall's Chronicle, p. 539. The narrative of this chronicler, who wrote in the time of Edward VI., is full of such minute details.

* Ellis, First Series, vol. i. p. 85. † Ibid., p. 84.
‡ Scott, "Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border," vol. i. p. 107.

God," and then "vanished away as he had been a blink of the sun or a whip of the whirlwind"*—even this could not shake the resolve of the king, disposed as he was to alternations of levity and superstition. The miraculous cry that was heard at midnight from the market-cross of Edinburgh, summoning earls and barons by name to appear within forty days before their master, Plutock (Pluto), could not shake the courage of those who were going forth with spear and battleaxe to meet the English bowmen. In Holyrood the gallant James has banqueted and danced for the last time; and on the 22d of August he has crossed the Tweed, and has sat down, with many thousand men, the feudal array of the kingdom, before the castle of Norham. After being invested for six days the governor surrendered the place, although it was considered impregnable. Three other border fortresses, Wark, Etall, and Ford, successively fell. The earl of Surrey, to whom was intrusted the defence of the English border, was at Pontefract. He set up the standard of St. George at Newcastle, and with a numerous force marched on to Alnwick; which he reached on the 3d of September. According to the practice of chivalry Surrey offered battle to James, on the following Friday, in a message which he sent by a poursuivant-at-arms. The king of Scotland courteously accepted the challenge. To an insolent defiance from lord Thomas Howard, that he had come to justify the death of Andrew Barton, and would neither give nor receive quarter, the king returned no answer. "The king lay upon the side of a high mountain called Flodden, on the edge of Cheviot, where was but one narrow field for any man to ascend up the said hill to him, and at the foot of the hill lay all his ordnance. On the one side of his army was a great marish, and compassed with the hills of Cheviot, so that he lay too strong to be approached of any side, except the English would have temerariously run on his ordnance."† James was rash; but he kept his strong position, in spite of a taunting message from Surrey to take up a ground where the battle might be fairly tried. The English commander was an experienced soldier, and he showed his knowledge of strategy by an unexpected and masterly movement. The Till, a branch of the Tweed, lay between the two armies. Surrey had crossed this river on the 8th of September, at a distant point from Flodden; by which manœuvre he deceived James as to his real intentions; but on the morning of the 9th he suddenly recrossed it, with his van and cannon, at Twissel bridge, near the junction of the Till with the Tweed, and the remainder of his army passed a ford. Surrey was now in a position in which he could cut off the communication of James with his supplies from Scotland. The English were marching rapidly to secure the eminence of Branksome, when the Scots descended the heights of Flodden to seize this position, setting fire to their tents. The king, who had made no attempt to prevent the English crossing the Till, had now "his enemies before him on a plain field," as his wish is declared to have been. The battle began at four o'clock in the afternoon of the 9th of September.

"The English line stretched east and west,
And southward were their faces set;
The Scottish northward proudly prest,
And manfully their foes they met."‡

Each of the sons of Surrey commanded a division of the right wing: Surrey himself was in the centre; Sir Edward Stanley headed the left wing. The Scottish earls Huntley and Home, who commanded their left wing, attacked the Howards with a vigor that might have decided the battle, had not lord Dacre come to their aid with the reserve of horse. The Scottish right wing, which chiefly consisted of Highlanders, was unable to stand up against the archers of Lancashire. James and Surrey met in close conflict in the centres of their armies. Never was king in the extremity of danger surrounded by more gallant supporters. But though he and his knights were struggling in no unequal strife with Surrey, whose standard was nearly won, the rapid triumph of Stanley over the right wing enabled him to attack the Scottish centre in the rear. James fell within a lance's length of Surrey. None of his division were made prisoners. They all perished with their king. As night came on Surrey drew back his men. Before the dawn the Scots had left the field. The loss of the Scottish army has been computed at ten thousand men; that the English at about seven thousand. "Scarce a family of eminence but has an ancestor killed at Flodden," says Scott. In the words of the ballad,

"The flowers of the forest are a' wede away."

* Pitscottie, quoted in Notes to "Marmion." † Hall, p. 560.
‡ Old Poem of "Flodden Field," quoted in Notes to "Marmion."

CHAPTER XLVIII.

Ravages in Scotland and on the coasts of the Channel—Peace wi France and Scotland—Francis I. and Charles of Spain—Conqu of Milan—Wolsey, cardinal and legate—Position of the Church Affair of Richard Hunne—Election for the Empire—Propos meeting between Henry and Francis—Arrival of Charles at D ver—The embarkation—Characteristics of the two kings—Field the Cloth of Gold—Meeting with Charles V.—Conviction and e ecution of the duke of Buckingham.

The intelligence of the slaughter of Flodden was received in En land with the unmixed exultation that necessarily arose out of wh was deemed a national triumph. The time was yet distant wh Englishmen and Scots should regard each other as children of t same soil, having in a great degree the same origin, speaking the sa language with slight variation, and having more natural sympath than conventional antipathies. The amiable Queen Catherine, who August described herself as "horrible busy in making standar banners, and badges" for this war,* writes to the king, after the v tory, "this battle hath been to your grace and all the realm t greatest honor that could be, and more than [if] ye should win all t crown of France."† When the king returned, Surrey was creat duke of Norfolk, and his son Thomas the earl of Surrey. Hon were also bestowed upon other leaders. But the desolation of Sc land had not extinguished the high spirit of the country; and, af a short time, there were inroads made from the Scottish border, well as from the English, of which the ferocity on either side w equally balanced. In 1514 lord Dacre describing the "robbi spoiling, and vengeance in Scotland," adds, "which I pray our Lo God to continue." Thus men appealed to the Author of all good support of their perpetration of all evil. It was long before w came to be regarded as a great calamity, and before it was held th its inevitable miseries should be inflicted as lightly as possible up non-combatants. Such warfare as that of the forays of England a Scotland was only to be duly estimated when the military cl ceased to be the prepondering power in either state.

England made great preparations for war against France in the ginning of 1514; but the actual hostilities were confined to rava on the coast of the Channel. An attack of the French upon the S sex shore presents a curious contrast to such a possible enterprise our own day. "About this time [May] prior John, great captain the French navy, with his galleys and foists,‡ charged with gr basilisks and other great artillery, came on the border of Suss and came a-land on the night at a poor village in Sussex called Brig helmstone; and ere the watch could him descry he set fire on t town, and took such poor goods as he found. Then the watch fi the beacons, and people began to gather; which seeing, prior Jo sounded his trumpet to call his men aboard, and by that time it w day. Then six archers which kept the watch followed prior John the sea, and shot so fast that they beat the galleymen from the sho and prior John himself waded to the foist."§ The bold prior w shot with an arrow in the face; and he offered an image of himse with the identical arrow sticking in the waxen cheek, in gratitude our Lady at Boulogne for saving his life by miracle. On the co of Normandy an English commander burned twenty-one villages a towns. But Louis of France was too wise to continue a contest which his own safety was so imperilled. Henry of England had sister, Mary, now in her seventeenth year. Charles Brandon, du of Suffolk, had won her affections; but, in treating for peace, wh the king of France asked her hand, she was consigned to age and c crepitude instead of to the most gallant of English knights. Ma was crowned queen of France on the 5th of November, 1514.

* Letter to Wolsey, Ellis, First Series, vol. i. p. 83. † Ibid., p.
‡ *Foists* are light and quick-sailing boats. § Hall, p. 5

he 1st of January King Louis was dead. On the 9th of January he widowed queen wrote to Wolsey, signing herself, "your loving riend," to declare, that "as it shall please the king my brother and is council, I will be ordered."* Charles Brandon was sent to bring he queen from France. She came to England as his wife. Henry vas indignant, but his anger passed away; and "cloth of frize" was match'd with cloth of gold,"† without the risk that might have ttended the "great and high displeasure" of the king at another pe- iod of his life. At the time of the treaty with France peace was also oncluded with Scotland.

The political events of the first ten years of the reign of Henry VIII. appear but as the prologue to the great drama which is about o be enacted. Louis XII. of France, in January, 1515, is succeeded y his son-in-law Francis I., then in his twenty-first year. In 1516 Ferdinand of Spain dies, and is succeeded by his grandson, Charles, he son of Juana, the imbecile daughter of Ferdinand. His father, he archduke Philip, died in 1506, so that the young prince had al- eady inherited the Netherlands, when he came to the crowns of Ar- agon and Castile, of Naples and Sicily. The frontiers of France, on he side of Flanders and on the side of the Pyrenees, were thus in he hands of this monarch, a youth of sixteen. That war would be he result of this dangerous propinquity would have been more than robable under the most moderate of princes. But Francis and Charles vere each extravagantly ambitious, though essentially different in ersonal character. The first act of the enterprising king of France vas to make good his claim to the duchy of Milan. The pope, Leo X., opposed this claim, in conjunction with Ferdinand of Spain, and vith the Swiss. Francis rapidly passed the Alps; and having won he great victory of Marignano, entered Milan as conqueror in Octo- er, 1515. He had recovered that ascendency in Italy which France ad lost. England had therefore more reason to fear that the balance of power would be deranged than when she went to war to re- ist the alleged ambition of Louis XII. But Francis, after some in- ffectual attempts on the part of England's ally, Maximilian, adroitly ropitiated the favor of Wolsey; and the possession of Tournay was elinquished by Henry upon a payment to him of six hundred thou- and crowns. Wolsey had been declared a cardinal in 1516. He eceived the great seal as chancellor in the same year; and he was ominated papal legate in 1517, with the high powers that be- ong to the office of *legatus à latere*. From 1515 to 1523 no par- iament was summoned. Henry and his great minister governed he kingdom at their sole will. In 1519 the Emperor Maximilian ied; and from that time the political affairs of Europe received an xpansion which indicated the influence of higher agencies than the ere passions and caprices of individual sovereigns.

To understand the relative positions of Henry, the king, and of Wolsey, his chancellor, we must constantly bear in mind that the English minster was also the representative of the papal supremacy. The cardinal and legate wielded his great power and displayed his ex- raordinary magnificence, not in opposition to the prerogative of the ing or in rivalry with his dignity, but in strict conformity with the esire of Henry to be the faithful son and devoted champion of the Roman Church. He had raised his almoner from comparative ob- curity to be archbishop of York; and with that preferment Wolsey bsorbed other ecclesiastical revenues which furnished him with al- most unbounded wealth. The magnificence of the cardinal's house- old, the number of noblemen and gentlemen daily attending upon im: the sumptuousness of his menial servants, his master-cook even vearing Latin and velvet; his processions, with his silver crosses and ilver pillars, his cardinal's hat and his great seal; his banquets to he king, with masks and mummeries, dancings and triumphant de- ices—all these exhibitions would have been scarcely endured by the ost jealous of monarchs had they merely emanated from the osten- ation of the courtier and statesman. In the magnificence of the reat churchman Henry might believe that his people would recog- nize and humbly bow before the paramount authority of the Church. The vast abilities and the lofty ambition of the king's powerful minis- ter might practically invest the temporal government with the real ecclesiastical supremacy. The great cardinal was pope in England; but he was also the devoted servant of the crown. The period in which Wolsey was in full possession of these extraordinary powers was one in which the European mind was strongly agitated by signs of approaching change. The wealth, luxury, and immunities of the Church were offensive to a large portion of the laity. The spirit of the Lollards was not wholly trodden out in England. In Germany a new antagonist to the corruptions of the papacy had arisen, whose voice filled a wider area than that of Wycliffe. The spirit with which Martin Luther first denounced the abomination of the sale of indulgences might naturally suggest the fear that other iniquities would be laid bare. The time for effectually suppressing opinions was past; for the printing-press would do its work in spite of papal bulls and excommunications. Leo X., even without yielding to that foreign influence which is supposed to have given Wolsey the cardi- nal's hat, would naturally look to one so able, of himself, and so favored by circumstances, to keep England safe from the contami- nating opinions of the monk of Wittenberg. The appointment of Henry's great minister as the papal legate was concurrent with the time when Luther first challenged the power of the pope to absolve the sinner from the penalties of divine justice. Leo affected to make light of the dispute between the professor of Wittenberg and the Do- minican monk, who was selling his indulgences as openly as any other merchandise was sold. The danger might not appear to him imminent; but the pope was too acute a politician not to secure for himself the services of a man of such commanding influence as Wolsey. The choice was a wise one; for as long as Wolsey was in power, though he was a church-reformer in a limited degree, he maintained the papal supremacy inviolate in England. When his reign was over, the delegated authority of Rome was snatched for- ever from the hands that had previously kept the world in awe. The political despotism of the king was the instrument, under God's providence, by which the inestimable blessing of freedom from the yoke of the Romish Church was secured, without which all civil freedom would have quickly passed away. That Wolsey had a per- fect understanding with his royal master as to the parts which each was to sustain in matters of ecclesiastical controversy, may be in- ferred from the position which each took in 1515. By an act of Henry VII., the "benefit of clergy" was regulated so as to inflict some penalty upon murderers and robbers. In the fourth year of Henry VIII., 1512, a statute was passed, which recites that "rob- beries, murders, and felonies daily increase more and more, and be committed and done in more heinous, open, and detestable wise, than hath been oft seen in times past, and the persons so offending little regard the punishment thereof by the course of the common law, nor by reason of any statute heretofore made, but bear them bold of their clergy." The act then exempts from the benefit of clergy all mur- derers, highway-robbers, and burglars, "such as be within holy or- ders only except." The act could not be passed through the House of Lords without granting the exception to "such as be within holy orders;" and a provision was added that it should only endure for a year. Reasonable and just as this statute was, as far as it went, the ecclesiastical authorities regarded it as an encroachment upon the priv- ileges of the Church, and they prevented its renewal on the expira- tion of the first year. Murderers and robbers might again "bear them bold of their clergy." A certain abbot of Winchelcomb, in 1515, denounced from the pulpit at Paul's Cross all those who had assented to the act of 1512. The temporal lords then addressed the king, beseeching him to repress the increasing extravagance of the pretensions of the churchmen; and after a long debate before Henry in council, the bishops were moved to order the zealous abbot to re- cant his opinions. This they refused to do, justifying all his pro- ceedings. A violent controversy now sprung up between the parlia- ment and the convocation, which became more serious from a re- markable incident of the same period, which agitated the people of London far more than the dispute about the franchises of the Church. There was a paltry quarrel between the incumbent of a parish in Mid- dlesex and Richard Hunne, a merchant tailor of London, about the right of the clergyman to a piece of linen, which he claimed as what was called "a mortuary." The tailor was sued in the spiritua.

* Ellis, First Series, vol. i. p. 121.

† There was a picture at Strawberry Hill, of Brandon and Mary, with this inscription on label affixed to Brandon's lance:

"Cloth of gold do not despise,
Though thou be match'd with cloth of frize;
Cloth of frize, be not too bold,
Though thou be match'd with cloth of gold."

court, then sitting under the authority of the pope's legate; and he by the advice of his counsel took out a writ against his pursuer. The bold citizen held that the clerk of Middlesex was guilty of a præmunire, or offence against the king's majesty, in bringing his subjects under a foreign jurisdiction. A counter-charge of heresy was got up against Hunne. He was imprisoned in the Lollards' Tower at St. Paul's; and, being brought before the bishop of London, was terrified into an admission of some of the crimes of which he was accused, one of which was that he had in his possession the epistles and gospels in English, and "Wycliffe's damnable works." He was sent back to his prison, and two days after was found hanging in his cell. A cororner's inquest charged the bishop's chancellor and other officers with murder; but it was maintained by them that the heretic had committed suicide. The bishop and the clergy had the incredible folly to begin a new process of heresy against the dead body, which was adjudged guilty; and according to the sentence burned in Smithfield. "After that day the city of London was never well affected to the popish clergy."* Dr. Horsey, the bishop of London's chancellor, was hiding from the warrant out against him, on the finding of the coroner's inquest; and the temper of the Londoners is described in a letter of the bishop to Wolsey, in which he says, "If my chancellor be tried by any twelve men in London, they be so maliciously set in favor of heretical wickedness (*in favorem hereticæ pravitatis*) that they will cast and condemn any clerk though he were as innocent as Abel." This affair was eventually compromised. But the previous dispute was kept up by the convocation summoning before them Dr. Standish, who had conducted the discussion against the abbot of Winchelcomb, to defend the opinions which he had declared before the king in council. The matter was again referred to Henry, who called the Lords, some of the Commons, and the judges, before him at Baynard's Castle. Wolsey, as cardinal, knelt before the king, and, in the name of the clergy, protested that none of them intended to do anything that might derogate from his prerogative, and implored that the king, "to avoid the censures of the Church, would refer the matter to the decision of the pope and his council at the court of Rome." Henry, with that determination to uphold his prerogative which was an abiding principle of his government, said, "By the permission and ordinance of God we are king of England, and the kings of England in times past had never any superior but God alone. Therefore know you well that we will maintain the right of our crown, and of our temporal jurisdiction as well in this, and in all other points, in as ample manner as any of our progenitors have done before our time." Rebuking then the spirituality for interpreting their decrees at their own pleasure, he left the matter as it stood. The king and the cardinal had each shown themselves wise in their generation. There was no papal interference to assert the demands of the clergy. There was no trial of the bishop's chancellor to uphold the claims of civil justice. "This was the only thing in the first eighteen years of the king's reign that seemed to lessen the greatness of the clergy, but in all other things he was a most faithful son of the see of Rome."†

The ostentation of Wolsey, as far as we may infer from the character of his display, was the result rather of policy than of temperament. He filled the two highest offices in the country, secular and ecclesiastical. He had been raised from the ranks of the people to be chancellor and cardinal. He was surrounded by a proud nobility, with whom he was "the butcher's cur." He exhibited the pomp of his high stations to demand the respect which would have been withheld from his talents and learning, under the cloud of the meanness of his birth. It was an age of display, when the king set the example to his court of the most extravagant splendor, which many of the nobles ruined themselves to imitate. The simplicity of private life, of which More, as chancellor, afterward furnished so admirable a pattern, was scarcely compatible with Wolsey's great position as an ecclesiastic. He was the representative of the pomp and luxury of Leo X., and he had the same exalted ideas as the pope evinced of bestowing a magnificent patronage upon learning and the arts. "Thus passed the cardinal," says Cavendish, "his life and time, from day to day, and year to year, in such great wealth, joy, and triumph, and glory, having always on his side the king's especial favor." But it was not that favor alone which upheld Wolsey. His position as the greatest of English ecclesiastics commanded the reverence that might have been denied to his civil abilities, his justadministration in his court of equity, and the extraordinary influence over a despotic king, by which, for so long a period, he preserved him, with one or two exceptions, from any sanguinary course of jealousy or revenge, or any blood-guilty violation of the rights of the people. Wolsey's real worth was duly estimated by More, a very competent judge, who said of his administration of the powers of the great seal, "he behaves most beautifully." Still, the sumptuous churchman commanded a respect which the wise chancellor might have scarcely propitiated. In his hour of misfortune the duke of Norfolk said to him, "I regarded your honor, for that ye were archbishop of York, and a cardinal, whose estate of honor surmounteth any duke now living within this realm."* It was this reverence to his spiritual dignity which made him capricious and overbearing in his civil relations. Skelton has reproached him with his haughtiness to the nobility:

> "He saith they have no brain
> Their estate to maintain."†

The same bitter satirist declares of Wolsey that no man dare come to his speech; of the truth of which charge we have evidence in a letter to the earl of Shrewsbury from his chaplain, who danced attendance upon the proud minister at Guildford and Hampton Court for many days, to have an answer to his lord's letter: "Upon Monday last, as he walked in the park at Hampton Court, I besought his grace I might know if he would command me any service. He was not content with me that I spoke to him. So that who shall be a suitor to him may have no other business but give attendance upon his pleasure."‡ To a servant of the deputy of Calais, who pressed for an answer to a letter, Wolsey said, "If ye be not content to tarry my leisure depart when ye will." His biographer says, "I assure you, in his time, he was the haughtiest man in all his proceedings alive." Some allowance must be made for this minister's position. No man in the highest office ever had more labor to perform; no servant of a king ever had a more difficult master to manage. Upon his death-bed he said of Henry to Sir William Kingston, "He is sure a prince of royal courage, and hath a princely heart; and rather than he will either miss or want any part of his will or appetite, he will put the loss of one half of his realm in danger. For I assure you I have often kneeled before him in his privy chamber on my knees the space of an hour or two, to persuade him from his will and appetite, but I could never bring to pass to dissuade him therefrom. Therefore, Master Kingston, if it chance hereafter you to be one of his privy council, as for your wisdom and other qualities ye are meet to be, I warn you to be well advised and assured what matter ye put in his head, for ye shall never put it out again."§

With a king and a minister whose individual characters would naturally give such a color to her foreign policy, England found herself, in 1519, essentially involved in the complicated meshes of continental negotiations. The league with Francis I., in 1518, provided for the strictest amity between England and France; and by a special treaty the marriage of the dauphin with Mary, the daughter of Henry, was arranged. The death of the emperor Maximilian in January, 1519, introduced new complications in European politics. Some time before his death Maximilian had made an extraordinary offer of resigning the empire to Henry; but Dr. Cuthbert Tunstall, the king's ambassador, had clearly shown him that this was little more than an interested scheme of the needy emperor; and pointed out to Henry how impossible it was that he should be chosen, under the laws of the empire, adding, "I am afraid lest the said offer being so specious, at the first hearing, was only made to get thereby some money of your grace."‖ When Maximilian died, the ambition of Henry revived. Richard Pace, an accomplished scholar and able diplomatist, was sent on a secret mission to Germany to sound the electors. But there were two other candidates for the imperial dig-

* Burnet, "History of the Reformation," book i. † Ibid.

* Cavendish, p. 280.

† "Why come ye not to court?" vol. ii. p. 36, in Mr. Dyce's excellent edition.

‡ Ellis, First Series, vol. ii. p. 4. This letter also appears, with some variations, in Lodge's "Illustrations," vol. i. p. 28.

§ Cavendish, p. 389. ‖ Ellis, First Series, vol. i. p. 137.

ty, whose claims were far more natural and reasonable than those
an insular king. Francis, king of France, then in his twenty-fifth
ear, wielded without control the power and resources of the most
mpact monarchy of continental Europe. Of a bold and impas-
oned nature, of a chivalrous bearing, energetic and enterprising, he
as beloved by his own people, and had commanded the respect of
her nations by his brilliant success in his career of arms. Charles
Spain, then in his nineteenth year, united in himself the sover-
gnty of the largest European dominions. Of a rare sagacity, of
flexible determination, of perfect self-command, he was formed by
ature and by education to pursue a career of ambition, in which the
ubtle negotiator would command as great success as the skilful
arrior. At this early period his force of character could be little
nderstood; and the danger to be apprehended from his grasping
mbition calling into action his great resources, would appear dim
nd remote. The election for the empire was the first occasion in
hich Europe felt the real power of a prince who could command
e riches of Flanders and of Spain, and who would employ them
ith all the subtlety that he might derive from the lessons of his
vorite book, "The Prince" of Machiavel. The desire of the king
England, next to that of his own election, was that neither Fran-
s nor Charles should obtain that accession of power. But his
voy intrigued in vain to accomplish either of these wishes. At the
ommencement of the contest Henry had promised his support to
rancis. Toward its end he gave his interest to Charles. Each of
ese monarchs had bribed the needy electoral princes to an enor-
ous extent. The skilful management of Charles secured his unani-
ous election. The rivalry thus excited lasted through their lives;
nd for twenty-eight years the emperor and the king of France, with
ort intervals of peace, warred against each other with unrelenting
imosity; and in the support of one or the other rival England
ifted sides, with little regard to the dignity of the crown or the in-
rests of the people. But it must not be forgotten that the right
ourse for the government of Henry to pursue was essentially of
fficult and doubtful choice, if her insular position were not to free
ngland from the obligation of interference with foreign politics.
ut even if she could have safely kept aloof from the temptation of
spiring to be the arbiter among contending kings, there were two
rcumstances which prevented her looking with a self-reliant calm-
ess upon the preponderance of France or the concentrated power of
e house of Austria. On one hand Henry was constantly urged by
is own weak ambition to recover the English rule in France, and
erefore to seek the depression of the French king. On the other, the
arying interests, spiritual and political, of the see of Rome, had an im-
ortant influence on the policy of Henry's minister, whose own ambi-
on constantly looked to acquiring for himself the dignity of the sover-
gn pontiff. It was a time when a double policy was held to be the
fest by those whose interests were involved in the struggle between
e two great rivals. It is related of Pope Leo X. that he avowed
that when he had concluded a treaty with the one party, he did
ot, on that account, cease to negotiate with the other." * Not the
ast of the difficulties of the papacy was the necessity of looking to
me support in the struggle that seemed approaching between the
fallible Church and the bold opposers of its corruptions. The his-
rian of the popes has truly said of Luther, "The appearance of
ch an actor on the world's stage was too significant a fact not to
vest him with high political importance." † In the councils of
ngland that importance was soon sensibly felt.

On the 12th of March, 1520, a solemn instrument was prepared by
Volsey, for the regulation of a meeting between Henry and Francis,
efore the end of the following May. It was drawn up with a strict
egard to an equal weighing of the honor and dignity of the two
ings. The equality of their personal merits is also flatteringly as-
erted in this document: "As the said serene princes of England
nd France be like in force corporal, beauty, and gift of nature,
ght expert and having knowledge in the art militant, right
hivalrous in arms, and in the flower and vigor of youth," they are
"take counsel and dispose themselves to do some fair feat of
rms." ‡ The place of meeting was to be between the English cas-
e of Guisnes and the French castle of Ardres. The curious

* Ranke, "History of the Popes," vol. i. p. 85.
† Ibid., p. 86.
‡ Hall, p. 602.

"Chronicle of Calais" records that on the 19th of March the commissioners of King Henry landed, "to oversee the making of a palace before the castle gate of Guisnes; wherefore there was sent the king's master-mason, master-carpenter, and three hundred masons, five hundred carpenters, one hundred joiners, many painters, glaziers, tailors, smiths, and other artificers, both out of England and Flanders, to the number in all two thousand and more." The temporary palace was of stone walls and framed timber, with glazed windows and canvas roofs. These particulars are curious as showing how labor could be organized in England for the rapid completion of a great work, at a period when we are accustomed to think that the national industry was conducted upon a very small scale. Henry was highly flattered by the proposal of Francis, "to meet with us within our dominion, pale, and marches of Calais, whereas heretofore semblable honor of pre-eminence hath not been given by any of the French kings to our progenitors or ancestors." * Wolsey took care to modify the offer, so that his sovereign's "honor of pre-eminence" should not be offensively asserted. The vast preparations at Guisnes went forward day and night, to construct a palace whose principal rooms were to be larger than in any house in England—whose canvas roofs were to be "curiously garnished"—whose walls were to be flourished with "histories," which Master Barclay, the poet, was to devise; and, in despite of the fears of the directors of the work, the building approached its completion after two months' labor. On the 21st of May Henry and the queen set forth from Greenwich toward the sea-side. On the 25th they arrived at Canterbury, at which city the feast of Pentecost was to be kept. Slowly had the court travelled, for there was something to be accomplished before the great interview at Calais should take place. Another personage was to appear upon the scene, by the merest accident, at the exact moment when he was wanted. Tidings were brought to Canterbury that Charles, the emperor elect, was on the sea, in sight of the coast of England. He was on his passage from Spain, to visit his dominions in the Netherlands. He could not pass the English shores without landing to behold the king whom he so reverenced, and the aunt he so dearly loved. Wolsey hastened to Dover to welcome Charles, who landed at Hythe. The "*Deus ex machinâ*" was produced, to the wonderment of all spectators, and no one saw the wheels and springs of the mechanism. The politic young statesman won the hearts of the English, who rejoiced "to see the benign manner and meekness of so great a prince." † Henry came to Dover. They kept the Whitsuntide together at Canterbury, "with much joy and gladness;" and on the last day of May Charles sailed to Flanders from Sandwich, and Henry from Dover to Calais.

The character of this royal embarkation has been handed down to us in an ancient painting. The thousands of visitors who now range freely through the state-apartments of Hampton Court, and who are familiar with the solid grandeur of a modern English fleet look with natural curiosity upon the unwieldy hulls, the decks covered with blazonry, the painted sails, of the sixteenth century, and think how a single steam-frigate would consign all this bravery to sudden destruction. With a fair wind such a navy might safely cross the Channel. The low towers of Dover had vomited forth their fire and smoke; and in a few hours the guns of Calais salute the English king. The great palace was ready, with its ceilings draped with silk and its walls hung "with rich and marvellous cloths of arras wrought of gold and silk." But while Henry was contemplating his splendors, Wolsey was busy arranging a treaty with Francis. The friendship of England was to be secured by a renewal of the treaty of marriage between the dauphin and the princess Mary. There can be little doubt that at this very time the cardinal was bound to the interests of the emperor, with the full concurrence of his royal master. Yet the play was to be played out. Henry was to meet the French king with such a display of the magnificence of his court as might challenge any rivalry. But Francis, possessing much of the same temper, was not to be outdone in pageantry.

"To-day the French
All clinquant, all in gold, like heathen gods,
Shone down the English; and, to-morrow, they
Made Britain, India; every man that stood,
Show'd like a mine." ‡

* Letter of Henry to Sir Adrian Fortescue, in Appendix to "Chronicle of Calais," p. 78.
† Hall, p. 604.
‡ Shakespeare, "Henry VIII." act i. scene 1.

The dramatic poet has described this famous meeting in a short dialogue. Hall, the chronicler, who was present, elaborates these "fierce vanities" in many quarto pages. On the 7th of June the two kings met in the valley of Andren. Titian has made us acquainted with the animated features of Francis. Hall has painted him with coarser colors: as "a goodly prince, stately of countenance, merry of cheer, brown colored, great eyes, high-nosed, big-lipped, fair breasted and shoulders, small legs, and long feet." Holbein has rendered Henry familiar to us in his later years; but at this period he was described by a Venetian resident in England as "handsomer by far than the king of France. He is exceeding fair, and as well proportioned in every part as is possible. When he learned that the king of France wore a beard, he allowed his also to grow, which being somewhat red, has at present the appearance of being of gold."* It is scarcely necessary to transcribe the complimentary speeches and the professions of affection which are related to have passed at this meeting. The two kings did not come to the appointed valley, surrounded each with an amazing train of gorgeously apparelled gentlemen and nobles, and with a great body of armed men, without some fears and suspicions on either side. The English, if we may believe the chronicler, were most wanting in honorable confidence. The English lords and their attendants moved not from their appointed ranks. "The Frenchmen suddenly brake, and many of them came into the English party, speaking fair; but for all that, the court of England and the lords kept still their array."†

The solemnities of "The Field of the Cloth of Gold," as the place of this meeting came to be called, occupied nearly three weeks of that June of 1520. Ten days were spent in the feats of arms for which Wolsey had provided. There was tilting with lances, and tourneys on horseback with the broadsword, and fighting on foot at the barriers. The kings were always victorious against all comers. But from the court of the emperor there came no knight to answer the challengers. The lists were set up close to the Flemish frontier, but not a gentleman of Spain, or Flanders, or Brabant, or Burgundy, stirred to do honor to these pageantries. "By that," says Hall, "it seemed there was small love between the emperor and the French king." On midsummer-day the gaudy shows were over. The kings separated after an exchange of valuable presents—Francis to Paris, Henry to Calais. Here the English court remained till the 10th of July. It was in vain that the French king had come unattended and unarmed into the English quarter, to show his confidence in the friendship of his companion in feats of chivalry. In vain had the French nobles put all their estates upon their backs to rival the jewelled satins and velvets of England. On the 11th of July Henry met the emperor near Gravelines; and the emperor returned with him to Calais. After a visit of three days, Charles accomplished far more by his profound sagacity than Francis by his generous frankness. Wolsey was propitiated by presents and promises; Henry by a studied deference to his superior wisdom. Hall has recorded that during the pomps of the valley of Andren, on the 18th of June, "there blew such storms of wind and weather that marvel was to hear; for which hideous tempest some said it was a very prognostication of trouble and hatred to come between princes." The French, in this second meeting between Henry and Charles, saw the accomplishment of the foreboding beginning to take a definite form.

In the roll of illustrious names of nobles and knights at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, the name of the duke of Buckingham stands at the head. He was there one of the four judges of the jousts, deputed on the king's part. High as he was in wealth and honors, he might have deemed that the evil destinies of his line were at an end; and that, while his father had died on the scaffold under Richard III., and the three preceding heads of his house had fallen in civil warfare, he might have securely passed through life to the death of the peaceful. But any lineal descendant of Edward III. was still unsafe, especially if his pride of ancestry were not held in check by unrelaxing prudence. The father of this Edward Stafford perished through his vain conviction that he was "meet to be a ruler of the realm;"‡ and the son, although a man of ability, was tempted by the ever-present thought of his high descent, to commit himself by some unguarded though trifling acts, of which his enemies took advantage. His chief enemy is said to have been Wolsey; and the cause of the cardinal's enmity is held to have arisen out of Buckingham's dissatisfaction with the expense of the great pageantry at Guisnes. But the jealousy of Henry had been exhibited in 1519, when Sir William Bulmer, who had quitted the king's service to enter that of the duke, had to acknowledge his fault in the star-chamber, and to implore the mercy of the king. Henry forgave the offence, but said "that he would none of his servants should hang on another man's sleeve; and that he was as well able to maintain him as the duke of Buckingham, and that what might be thought by his [Bulmer's] departing, and what might be supposed by the duke's retaining, he would not then declare."* The king had now entered upon that course of action which rendered his subsequent career so fearful and so odious. He could cover up his hatreds till the moment arrived for striking his victim securely. After eighteen months had passed since he had rebuked Sir William Bulmer, and darkly hinted at some evil motive of the duke in retaining him in his service, the mine, which had been warily constructed, exploded under Edward Stafford's feet. He was suddenly sent for from his castle of Thornbury, to appear in the king's presence. He was watched by the king's officers to Windsor, and there perceived that he could not escape. He rode to Westminster, where he took his barge, and landed "at the cardinal's bridge;" but Wolsey refusing to see him, the duke said, "Well, yet will I drink of my lord's wine, ere I pass;" and he was brought, with much reverence, into the cellar. On his way to London his barge was boarded, and he arrested. His fate was soon determined. On the 13th of May he was indicted before his peers, the duke of Norfolk presiding. Charles Knyvet, a discarded officer of the duke, was the chief witness against him, and deposed to certain words of Buckingham said to himself and Lord Abergavenny, which, even if true, could not be fairly wrested into an overt act of treason. A monk of the Charterhouse, who pretended to a knowledge of future events, "had divers times said to the duke that he should be king of England; but the duke said that in himself he never consented to it."† The judicial inference was that he had committed the crime of imagining the death of the king, and that his words were satisfactory evidence of such imagining. Buckingham was convicted, and Norfolk pronounced the sentence. The heroic attitude of the man in this his hour of agony needs no exaltation by the power of the poet. He said to his judges, "May the eternal God forgive you my death as I do. I shall never sue to the king for life, howbeit he is a gracious prince, and more grace may come from him than I deserve." The duke was beheaded on the 17th of May.

In the early part of the reign of Henry VIII. there were many reversals of attainders that had been passed in the previous reign. There was then evidently a merciful desire for the oblivion of political offences, and for restoring to their estates and honors the heirs of those unfortunate persons who had suffered the penalties of treason.‡ There was no hesitation in the avowal that it was possible that an attainted person might have been unjustly condemned. In the case of Henry Courtney, earl of Devonshire, the preamble to the act of reversal says that his father was convicted of high treason "by the sinister means and untrue informations of certain malicious and evil disposed persons made unto your noble father, of famous memory."§ This open acknowledgment of the possibility of an unjust conviction, under the forms of law, might have led the king, who would show no mercy to Buckingham, judged as he was upon the most frivolous accusations, to think that the declaration of his high will might have some effect in calling forth such "untrue representations." The time was not yet arrived when he should find his ready instruments of despotism in the highest of the land; and when he should be able to perpetrate, through his slaves in a parliament, the murders which the Oriental despot could effect by a single sign to the eunuchs of the seraglio. He tasted of blood when he put Buckingham to death; and after a few more years, during which his will, being unquestioned, was less tyrannical, he showed that his relish for it was not to be satisfied to his dying hour.

* From a letter of Sebastiano Giustiniani in 1519, quoted in Ellis, First Series, vol. i. p. 177.

* Hall, p. 599. † Ibid., p. 623.

‡ See various statutes from the first year to the sixth of Henry VIII.

CHAPTER XLIX.

ther—King Henry writes a book against his doctrines—His title of Defender of the Faith—League and war against France—Wolsey evies contributions on property—Jealousy of foreigners; Evil May-day—A Parliament assembled—Great debate upon the demand for a subsidy—Affairs of Scotland—Siege of Jedburgh—Duke of Suffolk makes war in France—Battle of Pavia—Francis a prisoner—Taxes levied without authority of Parliament—Insurrection in Suffolk—The illegal demand abandoned.

In the year 1521 Henry had been king for twelve years. Possessed considerable ability and some learning, his mind was not so wholly occupied by pleasures and pageantries as in the flush of youth. He sought for a higher excitement in theological controversy. There was a daring innovator, who had proceeded from attacking the open abuse of indulgences for sin to question the foundations of the authority of the Church. Martin Luther had been first despised in his supported obscurity; but his preaching and writing had produced an effect in Europe which had stirred up the luxurious Leo X. to apprehend that a poor monk, with no power but his zeal and courage, might become troublesome to the repose even of the most splendid of pontiffs. At length, in 1520, the pope issued a bull, declaring certain passages of Luther's writings heretical; denouncing the penalties of excommunication against him unless he should recant; and threatening the same penalties against all princes who should neglect to secure the heretic. In January, 1520, Luther, for having denied the pontifical supremacy, was expelled from the communion of the Church. The Emperor Charles V. was called upon to punish the former; but the elector of Saxony induced the emperor to let the question be tried before a diet of the empire. In April the diet met at Worms. Luther entered the town, singing the noble hymn called by his name. The multitude who surrounded the monk repeated the inspiring words, "Our God is a strong citadel;" and the hymn of Luther became the rallying song of the Reformation. Before the emperor, the electors of the empire, princes, bishops, Luther avowed that the writings denounced by the pope were his; and refused to retract any proposition he had set forth, unless from the authority of the Holy Scriptures it could be proved to be erroneous. The Reformer was proof against the threatenings or the persuasions of this assembly. He was allowed to depart, with a safe-conduct for twenty-one days. Maurice of Saxony knew the danger which Luther incurred if he went at large. He caused him to be seized and carried to the castle of Wartburg. In this solitary fortress the proscribed man was secure, though the emperor had placed him under his ban. Here, in his mountain solitude, he wrote some of his most powerful treatises against what he deemed the abuses of religion—against auricular confession, clerical celibacy, monastic vows, prayers for the dead. Here, in his enthusiastic moods, he struggled against the spiritual dangers by which he fancied himself surrounded; and in his meditations upon the doctrines of revealed religion built up a system of theology that should take the place of the principles that he held to be corrupting. So passed the year 1521 with the great reformer. If the princes of Germany who were opposed to Luther had been unable to inflict any serious injury upon his person or his opinions, there was a prince in England who felt himself called upon to extinguish him by a mortal blow. There is a letter from Richard Pace to Wolsey, dated the 16th of April, in this year, which describes the king, upon the arrival of Pace with the pope's bull against Luther, "looking upon a new work of the said Luther." When the king gave dispraise to the book, Pace delivered the pope's bull and his brief; "with the which the king was well contented; here, at length, showing unto me that it was very joyous to hear these tidings from the pope's holiness at such a time as he had taken upon him the defence of Christ's Church with his pen." The king declares his purpose to send his book not only to Rome, but also "into France and other nations as shall appear convenient;" and Pace, in rapture, writes, "So that all the Church is more bound unto this good and virtuous prince for the vehement zeal he beareth thereto the same than I can express." * Henry, in his book, denominated Luther "the arch-heretic." Luther replied to the king's work in a tone of scurrility which deformed most of the learned controversies of these times. But Henry obtained what he regarded as a great distinction. He had been promised the title of "the Most Christian king" by Julius II.; but the king of France retained that honor when he had appeased the pope. Henry now demanded from Pope Leo the title of "Defender of the Faith;" and the pope bestowed that distinction upon him by bull, dated the 11th of October. The successor of Leo confirmed the title.* The book of Henry on "the Seven Sacraments," against Luther, written in Latin, was published in London in 1521, and in Antwerp in 1522. It produced as little effect upon the progress of the Reformation in Germany as his letter to Louis of Bavaria, in which he says, "Delay not a moment to seize and exterminate this Luther, who is a rebel against Christ: and, unless he repents, deliver himself and his audacious treatises to the flames." This was written in May, 1521. On the 12th of that month the condemned works of Luther had been burned before Paul's Cross.

Although the rivalry between the emperor and the king of France, at length reaching its natural issue of deadly war, involved England at every stage of the quarrel, it scarcely belongs to this history to trace its events with any minuteness. After an ineffectual attempt to recover Navarre from Spain, Francis saw a league against him formed between the emperor and the pope. The mediation of England, in the person of Wolsey, was accepted by the princely disputants. The cardinal appears to have really labored at the attempt to reconcile the differences of these two proud and ambitious potentates; and he drew up the scheme of a treaty of peace, which was solemnly carried to Charles and to Francis. But a new cause of quarrel broke out; and then Wolsey decided that the king of France having been the aggressor, the king of England was bound to give his aid to the emperor. A treaty was then concluded against France with Charles and with the pope. But the papal and imperial forces had already driven the French out of Milan. The exultation of Leo was unbounded. In the hour of his triumph he was seized with a mortal illness. Upon the death of the pontiff, Wolsey aspired to the papal chair. The election fell upon cardinal Adrian, a Belgian, who had been the preceptor of the emperor, and was now his viceroy in Spain. In May, 1522, Charles again visited England, and remained with Henry five weeks. War was declared against France; but the means of carrying on war were wanting. The chronicler, whose tedious descriptions of the processions and banquets when the emperor was in London we willingly pass over, has left us a picture of Wolsey sitting as a commissioner of property-tax, which is a curious illustration of manners as well as of political history. On the 20th of August the cardinal sends for the mayor, aldermen, and most substantial commoners of the city, and tells them that the king had appointed commissioners throughout the realm, "to swear every man of what value he is in movables." He then desires to have an account which may enable him to swear all such as are worth a hundred pounds and upward; the king only deriving a tenth part. "Sir," said a merchant, "if it may please you, how shall this tenth part to the king be delivered?" "In money, plate, or jewels," said the cardinal. "Oh, my lord," answered one, speaking for the aldermen, "it is not yet two months since the king had of the city twenty thousand pounds in ready money in loan, whereby the city is very bare of money. For God's sake remember this, that rich merchants in war be bare of money." The cardinal dismissed them with, "Well, this must be done, and therefore go about it." But the aldermen came again before the cardinal, and humbly besought him that they might not be sworn for the true value of their substance; for the true valuation to them was unknown; and many an honest man's credit was better than his substance; and therefore they feared to incur the peril of perjury. "Well," said the cardinal, "since you dread the crime of perjury it is a sign of grace; and therefore I will for you borrow of the king a little. Make you your bills of your own value likely to report your fame, and then more business needeth not; for you see what two costly armies the king hath ready against both France and Scotland. Therefore now show yourselves like loving subjects, for you be able enough. I dare swear the substance of London is no less worth than two millions." The citizens answered, "The city is sore injured by the great occupying of stran-

* Ellis, Second Series, vol. i. p. 286.

* Dr. Lingard has shown that the title was given to Henry, personally, without any grant of inheritance.

gers." "It shall be redressed, if I live," said the cardinal; "but on Saturday next I shall appoint one to receive your bills; and he that is of credit more than substance, let him resort to me, and I will be secret and good to him." *

The loud complaint against "the great occupying of strangers," was of a grief to London, which four years before had produced fatal consequences. "Evil May-day" was too recent to have passed out of the mind of Wolsey, when he promised a redress which he well knew it was out of his power to accomplish. The king might imprison Frenchmen and Scots, and seize their goods, as he did on the occasion of this war; but the industry of aliens, and of the Flemings especially, was of too vital importance to be interfered with by that jealousy of unreasoning traders and artisans which had already produced fatal results. On the 1st of May, 1517, "the great shaft of Cornhill," famous from the time of Chaucer, had been taken down from the iron hooks upon which it hung over the doors of Shaft-alley, and was set up with much rejoicing before the south door of the church of St. Andrew the Apostle, called St. Andrew Undershaft. It towered above the steeple, decked with its green boughs and its May-garlands.† But there was gloom among the rulers of the city; for a rumor had gone forth, that in consequence of the preachings of a doctor of divinity, named Bell, who was excited by one Lincoln, a broker, the citizens would rise in a body and expel and slay the aliens, who were supposed to interfere with the English traders. The Flemings, especially, kept together in their fraternities; and their number was so great that on a Sunday in the previous Lent six hundred had assembled together to shoot at the popinjay. This was the favorite game of the Netherlanders; and Henry himself had been elected king of the popinjay by the good lieges of Tournay. It would appear from a statute passed about this period that the artificers of London had to bear greater charges for scot and lot, and paid a higher price for house-rent and provisions, than in any other place within the realm. They had also to fill the offices of constable; and upon these humbler citizens fell the unpleasant duty of "skavenship," or street-cleaning.‡ Aliens, who were exempt from the burdens of citizenship, were therefore objects of jealousy; but they were still more so from the fact that whatever prohibitory laws existed against foreign manufactures were necessarily inefficient so long as the native productions were dearer than those of the strangers. When, therefore, Doctor Bell preached that if it were not for the Dutchmen, who brought over wrought goods, "Englishmen might have some work and living," he naturally "excited young people and artificers to bear malice" to these aliens. On this May-day, therefore, Wolsey, as chancellor, sent for the mayor and aldermen, and warned them of a danger that he heard was impending. A council of the city was called in the evening; and the recorder and Sir Thomas More came from the cardinal with a command that every man, with his servants, should be within his house at nine o'clock. Proclamation was made; but proclamations were not readily diffused among the busy and pleasure-loving youths of the city. In Cheap the young men were playing at their manly game of "bucklers" at this hour of nine. An officious alderman commanded them to disperse; and being asked "Why?" by one of the youths, had him taken into custody. Then went forth the well-known cry of "Prentices and clubs;" and "out of every door came clubs and weapons." There was no rest in London on that night. The oratory of Doctor Bell might have been harmless if the people had been left in quiet. But once roused, there was no limit to their violence. The houses of foreigners in Whitechapel were rifled; for therein dwelt alien shoemakers, a class of artisans who have always provoked English jealousy. The affair became an insurrection. The lieutenant of the Tower fired his ordnance upon the city. The earls of Surrey and Shrewsbury came with their armed bands. Three hundred of the rioters were committed to prison; and, after a trial, thirteen were hanged as traitors "because the king had amity with all Christian princes, and they had broken the truce and league." The remainder of the prisoners, being taken with halters round their necks to Westminster Hall, came before Henry in person. Wolsey gave them "a good exhortation;" and when a general pardon was pronounced, "all the prisoners shouted at once, and altogether cast up their halters into the hall roof, so that the king might perceive that they were none of the discreetest sort."*

In April, 1523, a parliament met at the Blackfriars. It was the first parliament that had been assembled since 1516. The representative principle of the constitution might have merged in a monarchical despotism, if the warlike plans of the government could have been carried out by forced loans and benevolences, such as Wolsey exacted from the citizens of London. The inquisitions into their substance and credit irritated the traders of the capital, in spite of the promises of the great cardinal to be "secret and good to them." Men then felt indignant, as they will always feel, at having their private affairs laid bare for fiscal purposes. In the provinces the commissioners of the crown had less chance than Wolsey of making the industrious contribute to the demands of the state in a manner which they knew to be illegal. To the parliament, therefore, of 1523, the king applied for a subsidy.

The chancellor left to an inferior dignitary, the bishop of London, the duty of opening the session, which usually devolved upon the holder of the great seal. Bishop Tonstall told the assembly that the king had called the high court of parliament together for the remedy of mischiefs, and for making new statutes which may be to the high advancement of the commonwealth. Sir Thomas More, who had become one of the king's council, was nominated speaker; and he, "according to the old usage, disabled himself in wit, learning, and discretion."† But Wolsey vouched for the king's knowledge of More's qualities, "by long experience in his service." The next business of the parliament was to be something of more pressing import than "the remedy of mischiefs" and the enactment of new laws. On the 29th of April Wolsey came to the House of Commons, and having set forth the broken promises of the king of France, and declared the intention of the king of England and the emperor to "make such war on France as hath not been seen," demanded a fifth of every man's goods and lands, which would amount to 800,000*l.* There are contradictory accounts of the manner in which Sir Thomas More treated this sweeping claim. Hall says that the speaker declared that "of duty men ought not to deny four shillings in the pound." The debate on this occasion, as given by an historian of the time of Charles I.,‡ is thought to have been an invention of the writer. But a passage in the earlier chronicelr may give us some notion of the resources of the country at, or near, this period. The demand of the subsidy, with the previous loan amounting to 1,200,000*l.*, "could not be had in coin in the whole kingdom." It had been said there were forty thousand parish churches in England; "but it may be proved there are not fifteen thousand parishes." "How many parishes were there in England, except those in cities and towns, which could spare one hundred marks," which sum would be required to make up 1,000,000*l.* from fifteen thousand parishes?§ A commission was appointed to reason with the chancellor, and to induce him to beseech the king to be content with a smaller sum; "to the which he currishly replied that he would rather have his tongue plucked out of his head with a pair of pincers than to move the king to take any less sum."‖ Again Wolsey came to the House with all the pomp with which he was surrounded on state occasions. He "desired to be reasoned withal; to whom it was answered that the fashion of the nether house was to hear and not to reason, except among themselves." Wolsey indignantly retired; and the sturdy Commons—with a temper which showed that no courtly influence or intimidation could break down the ancient spirit which the long line of kings, with all their feudal power, had respected—debated among themselves for fifteen or sixteen days. A sketch of this debate has been preserved to us in a letter from a member to the earl of Surrey:¶ "Please it your good lordship to understand, that sit hence the beginning of the parliament there hath been the greatest and sorest hold in the lower house, for payment of two shillings of the pound, that ever was seen, I think, in any parliament. This matter hath been debated and beaten fifteen or sixteen days together. The highest necessity alleged on the king's behalf to us that ever was heard of; and, of the contrary, the highest

* Hall, p. 645.
† See Stow's "Survey," edit. by Mr. Thoms, p. 54.
‡ 7 Hen. VIII. c. 5.

* Hall, pp. 586 to 591.
† Ibid., p. 652.
‡ Lord Herbert, "History of Henry VIII."
§ Hall, p. 656.
‖ Ibid.
¶ Ellis, First Series, vol. i. p. 290. Also in Strype, "Ecclesiastical Memorials," vol. i.

verty confessed, as well by knights, squires, and gentlemen of ery quarter, as by the commoners, citizens, and burgesses. There th been such hold that the house was like to have been dissevered ;* at is to say, the knights being of the king's council, the king's ser- nts and gentlemen of the one party ; which in so long time were oken with, and made to say yea ; it may fortune, contrary to their art, will, and conscience. Thus hanging this matter, yesterday the ore part being the king's servants, gentlemen, were there assem- d ; and so they, being the more part, willed and gave to the king o shillings of the pound of goods or lands, the best to be taken for e king. All lands to pay two shillings of the pound from the low- to the highest. The goods to pay two shillings of the pound, om twenty pounds upward ; and from forty shillings of goods to enty pounds to pay sixteenpence of the pound ; and under forty illings, every person to pay eightpence. This to be paid in two ars. I have heard no man in my life that can remember that ever ere was given to any one of the king's ancestors half so much at e grant. Nor, I think, there was never such a precedent seen fore this time. I beseeke Almighty God it may be well and peace- ly levied, and surely paid unto the king's grace, without grudge, d especially without losing the good-will and true hearts of his bjects, which I reckon a far greater treasure for a king than gold silver. And the gentlemen which must take pain to levy this oney among the king's subjects, I think, shall have no little busi- ss about the same."

The act for this subsidy contains a number of the most stringent uses for enforcing its assessment by commissioners and its collec- n ; and we may well believe that those appointed to levy the oney had "no little business about the same." For the enactment iched the great industrious class of the community, down to every rson taking daily, weekly, or yearly wages, to the yearly value of enty shillings.† Masters were to hold in their hands the amount the subsidy charged upon their servants. The apprehended fficulty of obtaining payment in the coin of the realm is shown by provision that plate might be received by the collectors. The mbler classes of the people thus directly taxed would naturally oan under their burdens ; but they would also feel that the taxa- n which included them gave them the strongest claim to partici- te in all the privileges of freemen. We shall presently see that ey made their voices heard in the highest places when the demands the crown became more onerous, and were attempted to be en- rced without the sanction of parliament. In this struggle the ergy resisted the demands of the crown as strenuously as the Com- ons ; and during four months the amount of the grant was debated convocation.

After the royal treasury had been thus replenished, the war with rance and Scotland was carried on with a vigor which the command money would naturally produce, and with a ferocity which terly disregarded the miseries of the humble and industrious, whose bors enable the productiveness of the earth to go forward and re- ir the desolations of ambition. In Scotland, especially, there was infliction of misery upon the peaceful inhabitants, which, at a riod when learning and the arts had some general cultivation, far ceeded the atrocities of what are called "the dark ages." The alities of chivalry had vanished ; but its cruelties remained, with e empty pageantries that stood in the place of the stern virtues of the invincible knights of old." Political morality was utterly spised in the cabinets of princes. Henry had always his political ents and spies in the Scottish court, as his father had before him. 1516 the lord warden of the marches writes to Wolsey, England d Scotland being then at peace, "I labor and study all that I can make division and debate . . . I have secret messages from the rl of Angus, and other . . . And also I have four hundred outlaws, d give them rewards, that burn and destroy daily in Scotland."‡ follow out the history of Scotland during the peace that succeeded e battle of Flodden is to trace the personal history of Margaret, e sister of Henry, who appears to have inherited her full share of e passions and caprices of her brother. In 1514 she married the rl of Angus. But the duke of Albany, brother to James III., being invited by the Scottish parliament to assume the regency, Margaret and her husband fled to England, after a fruitless contest with the government. Her two sons were separated from her. Henry addressed the Scottish parliament in the insolent tone which occasionally manifested his nature, desiring that Albany might be banished from the kingdom. He was told, with a spirit that belonged to the descendants of Bruce, that the parliament would resist any attempt to overthrow the government of their choice. Lord Dacre, the warden of the marches, had thus a fair field in which to sow "division and debate." In 1517 Albany went to France ; and Margaret, having been permitted to reside in Scotland, the contests of factions again broke out. She desired Angus to be regent—a demand which the council resisted. Angus was a faithless husband, and the queen-mother resolved upon a divorce. But Henry affected a hollow reconciliation ; and, after the fiercest contests between the factious nobles, Angus became supreme in the conduct of the government. Margaret was again dissatisfied with her husband ; and having sought a divorce in the court of Rome, induced Albany to return to Scotland. Her son, James V., was then nine years old. Henry did not scruple to instruct Wolsey to oppose the divorce, on the ground that his own sister intended to murder her son. Wolsey writes to the king, in 1521, that he had caused the pope's orator to interfere for the prevention of the projected separation, "by means whereof the said divorce shall not proceed when the pope shall be informed that the same is procured only for marriage between the duke of Albany and the queen, whereby the destruction of the young king shall ensue."* It was the object of the English government to raise up impediments in the way of Albany, who was a man of vigor and ability ; and every effort of corruption was made by the English agents to produce disorder in the country. In 1522 Henry repeated his demand that Albany should be removed from power ; and the parliament again disclaimed his right of interference. The borders of the Tweed were then ravaged by the earl of Shrewsbury. Albany raised an army of eighty thousand men. But he effected nothing ; for lord Dacre, with singular address, operated upon his fears that a great force was advancing from England, to consent to a month's suspension of hostilities. Wolsey described Albany's conduct as that of "a coward and a fool." Albany now returned to France ; and the earl of Surrey, who in 1522 had ravaged France from Calais to Amiens, took the command of the army to invade Scotland. His first exploit was to destroy Jedburgh—"which town," he writes, "is so surely burned that no garrisons nor none other shall be lodged there, unto the time when it shall be new builded." In the same letters Surrey relates a remarkable occurrence, which curiously exhibits the superstition of an English army : "After that, my said lord [Dacre] returning to the camp, would in nowise be lodged in the same, but where he lay the first night ; and he being with me at supper about 8 o'clock, the horses of his company brake loose and suddenly run out of his field in such numbers that it caused a marvellous alarm in our field ; and our standing watch being set, the horses came running along the camp, at whom were shot above one hundred sheafs of arrows and divers guns, thinking they had been Scots that would have assaulted the camp. Finally the horses were so mad that they ran like wild deer into the field, above fifteen hundred at the least in divers companies, and in one place above fifty fell down a great rock and slew themselves ; and above two hundred and fifty ran into the town, being on fire, and by the women taken and carried away, right evil brent ; and many were taken again, but finally by that I can esteem by the number of them that I saw go on foot next day, I think there is lost above eight hundred horses, and all with folly for lack of not lying within the camp. I dare not write the wonders that my lord Dacre and all his company do say they saw that night, six times, of spirits and fearful sights. And universally all their company say plainly the devil was that night among them six times. Which misfortune hath blemished the best journey that was made in Scotland many years. I assure your grace I found the Scots at this time the boldest men and the hottest that ever I saw any nation ; and all the journey, upon all parts of the army, kept us with so continual skirmish that I never saw the like. If they might assemble forty thousand as good men as I now saw fifteen hundred or two thousand, it would be a hard

* A division was likely to have taken place—a rare occurrence.

† Stat. 14 & 15 Hen. VIII. c. 16, printed only in the statutes by thority.

‡ Ellis, First Series, vol. i. p. 133.

* State Papers of Henry VIII., vol. i.

encounter to meet them."* The other exploits of Surrey in Scotland are thus recorded in a letter of Wolsey: "The earl of Surrey so devastated and destroyed all Tweedale and March, that there is left neither house, fortress, village, tree, cattle, corn or other succor for man; insomuch that some of the people that fled from the same, afterward returning and finding no sustenance, were compelled to come unto England begging bread, which oftentimes when they do eat, they die incontinently for the hunger passed. And with no imprisonment, cutting off their ears, burning them in their faces, or otherwise, can be kept away." Albany had now returned to Scotland; and, after crossing the English border, suddenly retreated before Surrey; and his two failures having deprived him of his popularity in Scotland, he quitted his native country for France, and returned no more. Margaret, the queen-mother, disgraced herself by renewed immoralities; and her husband, having become regent, the Scottish court and people were freed from her habitual arrogance and her capricious schemes.

In 1523 Henry attempted to realize a part of his declaration to parliament, which is embodied in the preamble to the act of subsidy: "His highness hath employed, and intendeth to employ, not only his mind and study, with labor and travail of body and jeopardy of his own royal person, to the adventure of this war, but also the utmost of his own substance and treasure." He did not jeopardize his own royal person; but he sent Charles Brandon, the duke of Suffolk, to invade France. The period was favorable to the enterprise; for the duke of Bourbon, one of the highest nobles of France, and constable of the kingdom, having cause for private dissatisfaction with Francis, the king, had fled from France to join the confederacy against his sovereign. Francis was intent upon recovering his power in Italy, and was advancing with an army to the Alps. By a plan of operations combined with the emperor, the English were to invade France, the Spaniards attack Guienne, and the Germans make an inroad into Burgundy. The English expedition was a failure, unless a march toward Paris and a devastation of the country could be called a success. The operations of the allies were deferred till October. Winter set in with furious rains and intense frost. The troops of England were perishing; and Suffolk, having retreated, disbanded his army. But he had previously sent the lord Sandes in post to the king," who travelled to Windsor, and there "declared his message; which was that his people that were in the French ground abode much misery; for the weather was wet, the ways deep, long nights and short days, great journies and little victual, which caused the soldiers daily to die."† The king promised to send succor, and declared his will that the army "should not break." But "the soldiers would not abide." The enterprise was at an end. The duke of Suffolk returned to Calais; and there he lingered for a season, till he was assured that his head was safe if he ventured to England.

The chair of St. Peter was a second time vacant during the period in which Wolsey had been a cardinal. Upon the death of Adrian he was again a candidate for the pontificate. His pretensions were supported by the English king, but he again had to endure the disappointment of his ambition. Giulio de Medici was elected; and took the title of Clement VII. As a cardinal he had always supported the cause of the emperor Charles against his rival Francis. The temporal interests of the popedom had now so completely neutralized the spiritual power of the head of the church, that the movements of Rome must be regarded in its secular aspects if we would comprehend even to a slight extent the movements of European policy. The Italians ardently desired independence; and they fancied that the blessing was to be attained through the preponderance of the pope as a temporal prince. Clement was now in alliance with the emperor, as Adrian had been; but the Italian people looked with natural dread upon the alliance. The domination of Spain or of France was equally hateful to them. They hoped for no good to themselves, whatever should be the issue of the war between the emperor and the king of France. Before the summer of 1524 the French were driven out of Italy. They had lost the noble Bayard; their own countryman, the duke of Bourbon, was carrying on the contest with the fierceness which generally marks the conduct of the apostate from his faith or his country. Francis was resolved to make another effort to regain Milan. He turned from the pursuit of the imperial army, which he had followed to the gates of that city, that he might undertake the siege of Pavia. This was in October. For three months the siege was conducted with various success; and Francis, with characteristic rashness, detached a part of his army to invade Naples. The governor of Pavia, in February, 1525, saw famine approaching, and wrote to the general of the imperial army: "Come to us, or we must cut our way to you." They did come. On the 24th of February the French king moved his troops out of their intrenchments. A general battle took place, and Francis, after fighting with the gallantry of the elder chivalry, was taken prisoner. Bourbon, now the commander of the imperial army, came before his captive sovereign, and asked to be permitted to kiss his hand. The French king refused. Bourbon, with tears, said that if his counsel had been followed he would not have sustained this reverse. Francis made no direct reply, but ejaculated, "Patience, since fortune hath failed me."

The fall of Francis called forth no sympathy from Henry of England. A solemn thanksgiving for the victory of Pavia was offered at St. Paul's. The cardinal officiated, and the king was present. The ambition of Henry to be lord of France now revived. He proposed that the emperor and himself should invade France; that the French dominions should be his, as his lawful inheritance; and that Charles should take the Burgundian provinces. But to accomplish these mighty undertakings was difficult with an empty treasury. The last parliament had been troublesome. They refused to give all that the king required. They had asserted the old freedom of the Commons of England to deliberate among themselves, without instruction from the minister of the crown. A subsidy was therefore demanded without the intervention of parliament; and commissioners were appointed to levy the illegal claim of the sixth part of every man's substance. From the clergy more was demanded. The resistance was universal. The temper of the nation may be collected from a letter of the archbishop of Canterbury to Wolsey: "It hath been showed me in a secret manner of my friends, the people sore grudgeth and murmureth, and speaketh cursedly among themselves, as far as they dare, saying that they shall never have rest of payments as long as some liveth, and that they had better die than to be thus continually handled, reckoning themselves, their children, and wives, all despoiled, and not greatly caring what they do, or what becomes of them. . . . They fear not to speak that they be continually beguiled, and no promise is kept unto them; and thereupon some of them suppose that if this gift and grant be once levied, albeit the king's grace go not beyond the sea, yet nothing shall be restored again, albeit they be showed the contrary. . . . I have heard say, moreover, that when the people be commanded to make fires and tokens of joy for the taking of the French king, divers of them have spoken that they have more cause to weep than to rejoice thereat. And divers, as it hath been showed me secretly, have wished openly that the French king were at his liberty again, so as there were a good peace, and the king should not attempt to win France, the winning whereof should be more chargeful to England than profitable, and the keeping thereof much more chargeful than the winning. Also it hath been told me secretly that divers have recounted and repeated what infinite sums of money the king's grace hath spent already in invading of France, once in his royal person, and two other sundry times by his several noble captains, and little or nothing in comparison of his costs hath prevailed; insomuch that the king's grace at this hour hath not one foot of land more in France than his most noble father had, which lacked no riches or wisdom to win the kingdom of France, if he had thought it expedient." But such warning was of little use. The people said, "If men should give their goods by a commission, then it would be worse than the taxes of France, and England should be bond and not free." The clothiers of Suffolk had been frightened into submission by the king's commissioners; but the men who worked for the clothiers now showed the agents of despotism where the burden of oppressive taxation must chiefly fall. The narrative of Hall is deeply interesting, and shows of what solid stuff—the sturdy compound of acute feeling and plain sense—the Anglo-Saxon was composed. The people of Suffolk had begun "to rage and assemble themselves in companies." The duke of Suffolk was for subduing them by the strong hand, and directed that their harness should be taken from them. The people

* Ellis, First Series, vol. i. p. 217. † Hall, p. 671.

now openly rebelled; and the duke called upon the gentlemen to assist him. But they would not fight against their neighbors. More moderate councils prevailed. "The duke of Norfolk, high treasurer and admiral of England, hearing of this, gathered a great power in Norfolk, and came toward the Commons, and of his nobleness he sent to the Commons, to know their intent, which answered, that they would live and die in the king's causes, and to the king to be obedient: when the duke wist that, he came to them, and then all spake at once, so that he wist not what they meant. Then he asked who was their captain, and bade that he should speak; then a well-aged man of fifty years and above, asked license of the duke to speak, which granted with good-will. My lord, said this man, whose name was John Greene, sith you ask who is our captain, forsooth his name is Poverty, for he and his cousin Necessity hath brought us to this doing. For all these persons and many more, which I would were not here, live not of ourselves, but all we live by the substantial occupiers of this country, and yet they give us so little wages for our workmanship that scarcely we be able to live, and thus in penury we pass the time, we, our wives and children; and if they by whom we live be brought in that case that they of their little cannot help us to earn our living, then must we perish and die miserably. I speak this, my lord: the cloth-makers have put all these people, and a far greater number from work; the husbandmen have put away their servants, and given up household; they say the king asketh so much that they be not able to do as they have done before this time, and then of necessity must we die wretchedly: wherefore my lord, now, according to your wisdom, consider our necessity. The duke was sorry to hear their complaint, and well he knew that it was true: then he said, Neighbors, sever yourselves asunder, let every man depart to his home, and choose further four that shall answer for the remnant, and on my honor I will send to the king and make humble intercession for your pardon, which I trust to obtain, so that you will depart. Then all they answered they would, and so they departed home." *

Of this attempt to tax the people without the consent of parliament, Mr. Hallam has said, "In the most remote and irregular times it would be difficult to find a precedent for so universal and enormous an exaction; since tallages, however arbitrary, were never paid by the barons or freeholders, nor by their tenants, and the aids to which they were liable were restricted to particular cases." † The despot now learned that his absolute rule was to have some limit. But for the artisans of Suffolk, England, at this period, would probably have passed into the condition of France, where the abuse of the royal power had long before deprived the people of their rights. "The courage and love of freedom natural to the English commons, speaking in the hoarse voice of tumult, though very ill supported by their superiors, preserved us in so great a peril." Henry, with a meanness equal to his rapacity, affected not to know "that the commissioners were so straight as to demand a sixth of every man's substance." Wolsey took the blame upon himself. Pardons were issued for all the rioters; the commissions were revoked; and the old trick of a voluntary "benevolence" was again resorted to. The rich did not dare to show the spirit of the poor; and they yielded to irregular exactions in the form of gifts and loans, under the terror of such speeches as one which Wolsey made to the mayor and aldermen of London: "It were better that some should suffer indigence than the king at this time should lack; and therefore beware, and resist not, nor ruffle not in this case, for it may fortune to cost some their heads." ‡

CHAPTER L.

Release of the king of France—Spirit of the Italians—The sack of Rome—Character of the armies at Rome—The divorce of Queen Catherine agitated—Difficulties of Wolsey—His embassy to France—He returns to new difficulties—Anne Boleyn at the English court—War declared against the emperor—Commission from the pope on the question of the divorce—Cardinal Campegius in England as legate with Wolsey—Interview of the legates with Catherine—Temper of the people in England — Opening of the legatine commission—Wolsey surrenders the great seal.

After the capture of Francis I. the emperor made no attempt to follow up his success by any bold measures against France. He was without the means of paying an army to invade his rival's territories, and was too prudent, even if he had possessed the necessary finances, to risk an assault upon a brave and proud nation who would maintain the integrity of their own kingdom though their king was a captive. Charles V. told the English envoys that it was best to be quiet. "The deer was in the net, and thought need only to be taken for the division of his skin." * He concluded an armistice with France for six months. He had complaints to make against the English government. His ambassador had been insulted. A secret envoy of France had been in communication with Wolsey in London. He had discovered that the Princess Mary, who had long been contracted to him, had been the object of a matrimonial negotiation both with France and with Scotland. Charles now demanded that the contract should be fulfilled. Henry declined to complete the arrangement, on account of the youth of his daughter; and insisted that the marriage should depend upon the ability of the emperor to give him the crown of France, or his willingness to surrender Francis to his, the king of England's, keeping. Charles, it is said, assumed an arrogant tone in these negotiations; but there was a greater impediment to friendship than his haughty bearing. He had no money to give Henry or his profuse minister. A treaty was entered into with the government of France, under the regency of the queen-mother, in which this essential condition of an alliance was amply provided for. But while the French cabinet made the most lavish engagements with Henry and Wolsey, having the full consent of the parliament of Paris, a protest was solemnly recorded against these conditions, that Francis might at some future time repudiate the contracts made in his absence. The conduct of each of the governments exhibits the low cunning of the most unscrupulous chafferers, instead of the high faith that should belong to all the transactions of great nations. The policy of England now more and more inclined to a league with France, which was completed in August, 1525. Meanwhile Francis remained in captivity—first in Italy and afterward in Spain. Negotiations for his release were at length entered into at Madrid, he having, after repeated refusals, consented to restore Burgundy to the emperor. After being a prisoner for more than a year, the king of France was released; and when his foot touched the French territory, he exclaimed, "Now I am again a king!" French historians say that after his capture he wrote, "All is lost, except honor." When he became free, all was gained at the price of honor. He refused to ratify his engagement for the surrender of Burgundy, to which he had solemnly sworn. The pope dispensed with his oath: and Henry instructed his ambassadors to urge him to violate it. In these dishonorable transactions the apprehension of the power of Charles V. might have influenced the secret conduct of the English government, as the same fear impelled the court of Rome, and other Italian states, to open hostility with the emperor.

The war upon which the pope entered against the emperor, in 1526, has a claim upon our sympathy; for it was a war for the independence of Italy. Clement VII. engaged in this war as a temporal prince; but his position as bishop of Rome had a material influence upon its results. The able historian of the popes shows that a strong feeling of common interest had arisen throughout Italy at this crisis. He says: "I am persuaded that their vast literary and artistical preeminence above all other countries was the main cause of this. The arrogance and rapacity of the Spaniards, as well leaders as common soldiers, was intolerable; and it was with a mixture of scorn and rage that the Italians beheld these half-barbarian strangers, masters in their land." † The passionate aspirations for a national unity—such feelings as have vainly blazed up again and again during three centuries—were expressed by Giberto, the confidential minister of Clement VII.: "This time it is not a question of a petty vengeance, a point of honor, or a single city. This war will decide the deliver-

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* Hall, p. 700.
‡ Hall, p. 696.
† "Constitutional History," vol. i. c. 1.

* Legrand, "Histoire du Divorce," vol. i. p. 41. This curious book furnishes valuable materials for the history of this period; especially in the letters of Jean du Bellay, bishop of Bayonne, who formed one of an embassy from France to England.
† Ranke, "History of the Popes," vol. i. p. 102.

ance or the eternal slavery of Italy." * Had that distracted country possessed a leader in a temporal prince, endowed with qualities such as might have competed with the decision of character that distinguished Charles V., she might have then emancipated herself from foreign sway. She has borne the yoke to this hour; and she probably will continue to bear it as long as the head of the Roman Church is also a secular ruler. The interests of the papacy and the welfare of Italy have been, in too many cases, wholly conflicting.

The doctrines of Luther had made considerable progress in Germany. Many pious and moderate men had adopted them from an earnest principle. The worldly-minded had taken their sides in the contest of opinions, from the hope of political or personal advantage. The turbulent and discontented of the cities, and the fierce adventurers of the mercenary armies, saw in the general hatred of the papal power a coming opportunity for spoliation. Clement VII. had stirred up this spirit into a bitter hostility to himself among the Germans, by his rupture of an alliance with the emperor. George Frundsberg, a German noble of great influence, had raised an army of sixteen thousand men, with small pay and large promises. In November, 1526, his fierce lance-knights crossed the Alps, made more ferocious even than their ordinary temper by hunger and all destitution. "If I get to Rome," said their leader, "I will hang the pope." † Bourbon, now the general of the emperor's armies in Italy—he who had endured the reproach of the dying Bayard, at the battle of Rebec, for being in arms against his prince and his country—had no resources for the supply of a mutinous army of various nations but the plunder of some hostile state. In January, 1527, he marched from Milan at the head of twenty-five thousand men. The winter was one of uncommon severity. The troops were wholly unprovided with necessaries. All the munitions of war were wanting. Spaniards, Italians, Germans, Flemings, starving and blaspheming, marched on for two months with no success but the plunder of the villages on their route. They dared not attack Placentia; for the confederate army hovered about them. They had no artillery to besiege Bologna. Clement, meanwhile, had concluded a separate treaty with Lannoy, one of the imperial generals, for a suspension of arms. Bourbon refused to be a party to the arrangement. He was the commander of men who, if he disappointed their hopes of booty, would turn and rend him. His plans were yet undecided. Florence or Rome were alike capable of furnishing plunder to his soldiers. At last he moved out of Tuscany toward Rome. The pope made no attempt to defend the passes of the Roman territory. He repaired the breaches in the old city walls; he erected a few new works; he armed the artificers. But in this hour of danger he appears to have relied too securely upon his spiritual weapons. He excommunicated Bourbon and his troops, denouncing the Germans as Lutherans and the Spaniards as Moors. On the 5th of May Bourbon and his men were encamped before the magnificent capital; and as they gazed upon its domes and towers, they were told that the treasures which had there been accumulating for centuries would be theirs at the morrow's dawn. On that morrow the eternal city was assaulted in three separate attacks. The morning was misty, and their approach to the suburbs was unperceived. There was a brave resistance of the few who defended the outworks. Bourbon leaped from his horse, and, planting a scaling-ladder against the wall, shouted to his men to follow him. A ball from the ramparts terminated his career. His death produced no relaxation in the ardor of his followers. Their prey was before them; and in a few hours the devoted city was in their hands. The pope and his cardinals shut themselves up in the castle of St. Angelo. The scene that followed has been described by Guicciardini, and by the historian of Charles V. The elaborate description of Robertson is familiar to the majority of readers. There is an incidental narrative of Gibbon which has some remarkable peculiarities. His spirited outline in which the atrocities at the taking of Rome by the troops of Charles V. are compared with those of the Goths in the beginning of the fifth century, offers a brief summary of the lamentable results of the assault of Bourbon. "The ravages of the barbarians whom Alaric had led from the banks of the Danube were less destructive than the hostilities exercised by the troops of Charles V., a Catholic prince, who styled himself Emperor of the Romans. The Goths evacuated the city at the end of six days, but Rome remained above nine months in the possession of the imperialists; and every hour was stained by some atrocious act of cruelty, lust, and rapine. The authority of Alaric preserved some order and moderation among the ferocious multitude which acknowledged him for their leader and king; but the constable of Bourbon had gloriously fallen in the attack of the walls; and the death of the general removed every restraint of discipline from an army which consisted of three independent nations." Robertson has distinguished between the character of these different forces: "Whatever excesses the ferocity of the Germans, the avarice of the Spaniards, or the licentiousness of the Italians could commit, these the wretched inhabitants were obliged to suffer." Gibbon ascribes the same qualities to the Italians and Spaniards; but of the Germans he says, they "were less corrupt than the Italians, less cruel than the Spaniards; and the rustic, or even savage, aspect of these Tramontane warriors often disguised a simple and merciful disposition." What Gibbon adds of the Germans is more important than their national characteristics: "They had imbibed, in the first fervor of the Reformation, the spirit, as well as the principles, of Luther. It was their favorite amusement to insult, or destroy, the consecrated objects of Catholic superstition; they indulged, without pity or remorse, a devout hatred against the clergy of every denomination or degree, who form so considerable a part of the inhabitants of modern Rome; and their fanatic zeal might aspire to subvert the throne of Antichrist—to purify, with blood and fire, the abominations of the spiritual Babylon." * Gibbon is impartial in his hatred of religious fanaticism: "Many of the Castilians who pillaged Rome were familiars of the Holy Inquisition." A recent writer, of great ability, has endeavored to associate the persecuting and ribald spirit of some of the early reformers with the terrible lessons that were learned at the sack of Rome: "There is said to have been among the followers of the duke of Bourbon (whether he was among the mock cardinals who rode in procession on asses, I do not know) an Englishman, of low birth, vicious habits, and infidel principles, who afterward became of terrific importance to the Church of England." † The "ruffian," so conjectured to have been at Rome in 1527, was Thomas Cromwell. The connection which Gibbon desires to show between the spirit of Luther—"the furious spirit," as he expresses it in a note—is not more a proof of the ferocity of the reforming temper of Germany than of the provocation which the impostures and mummeries, the greediness and luxury, of the Roman Church, had offered to rough and ignorant men, with strong understandings and not wholly without "merciful dispositions." The enormities against which Luther fought were of a character to make the people hate and despise them, when they could do so without the dread of the gibbet and the stake. That they should have been handled delicately by the multitude is somewhat too much to expect from human nature. If Thomas Cromwell learned his statesmanship in the plunder of Rome, as is inferred, the lessons derived from the exhibition of Luther's spirit must have been somewhat neutralized, if, as we are told, at the time when this event happened, "he had no preference and no respect for either Popery or Protestantism, and acted under no principle but that which taught him to do the best he could for himself." ‡ Instead of ascribing the outrages of 1527 to the fanatic zeal of the young Reformation, it might therefore be safer to assign such effects of unbridled wickedness chiefly to individual selfishness, and to believe that the fanaticism in such case is only the cloak under which the rapacious man does the best he can for his own dirty profit. At any rate we may believe that fanaticism was the weed that grew up among the corn in a prolific soil; not confounding the abuse of a great principle with the principle itself.

The intelligence of the triumph of his arms, and of the excesses which disgraced it, produced in the emperor a singular attempt of policy to discriminate between the spiritual and the temporal power of the pope. By his command the people were called upon to mourn in his dominions, and to offer up prayers for the deliverance of the pontiff. This has been called "hypocrisy." § It was an attempt to refine upon an occurrence which in the eyes of the multitude was a victory over the papal power, desecrated by wielding the carnal

* Ranke, vol. i. p. 104.

† Ibid., p. 107.

* "Decline and Fall," vol. iv. p. 109, Dr. Smith's edit.

† Dr. Maitland, "Essays on the Reformation," p. 228.

‡ Ibid.

§ Mackintosh, "History," vol. ii. p. 130.

weapon. The people of England took this broad view of the question. Our English chronicler, who is a tolerably faithful expositor of the popular feeling, says: "The king was sorry, and so were many prelates; but the commonalty little mourned for it. . . . The pope was a ruffian. . . . He began the mischief and was well served." * Wolsey, according to the same authority, called upon the king to show himself a defender of the Church; and Hall puts this answer into Henry's mouth: "I more lament this evil chance than my tongue can tell; but when you say that I am Defender of the Faith, I assure you that this war between the emperor and the pope is not for the faith, but for temporal possessions and dominions." We may take such formal speeches in the old historians for what they are worth—the setting forth of current opinion. The policy of the English government resolved itself into sending Wolsey as ambassador to France.

There is a passage in the chronicler which is as "the straw thrown up to show which way the wind blows." Hall, with reference to the projected embassy, says, "This season began a fame in London that the king's confessor, being bishop of Lincoln, called Doctor Longland, and divers other great clerks, had told the king that the marriage between him and the Lady Catherine, late wife to his brother, Prince Arthur, was not good, but damnable; and the king hereupon should marry the duchess of Alençon, sister to the French king, at the town of Calais this summer; and that the Viscount Rochfort had brought with him the picture of the said lady; and that at his return out of France the cardinal should pass the sea to go into France to fetch her. This rumor sprang so much that the king sent for Sir Thomas Seymour, mayor of London, and strictly charged him to see that the people should cease of this communication, upon pain of the king's high displeasure." † There can be no doubt that the question of the divorce had been agitated at this period; and it having been made matter of close discussion, "a fame in London" might have spread out of those secret counsels. Wolsey left the court on his embassy on the 3d of July, 1527. On the 1st of July he had sent a dispatch to the king, in which he declares his trouble that, in consequence of a message which he had sent to his highness, it has been supposed that he, Wolsey, doubted "of your secret matter." He adds, "For I take God to record that there is nothing earthly I covet so much as the advancing thereof." ‡ On the 5th of July the cardinal writes a most elaborate dispatch to Henry, in which he describes an interview which he had with the archbishop of Canterbury, Warham, at Sir John Wiltshire's house, near Dartford, where he lodged on the first night of his journey. The subject of their conversation was "of your secret matter, and such other things as have been done therein." Wolsey showed the archbishop "how the knowledge thereof is come to the queen's grace, and how displeasantly she taketh it." It was the business of Wolsey to make the primate an instrument for advancing the king's great object: "I have sufficiently instructed him how he shall order himself, in case the queen do demand his counsel in the said matter." Henry's zealous minister had also an interview with Bishop Fisher, which he relates with great minuteness. The bishop was reserved; but Wolsey thus attacked him, to obtain from him a knowledge of the point upon which the queen had desired his advice, but of which the bishop affirmed that he knew nothing: "I replied and said, 'My lord, ye and I have been of an old acquaintance, and the one hath loved and trusted the other, wherefore postponing all doubt and fear ye may be frank and plain with me, like as I, for my party, will be with you.'" The bishop still maintaining that he only conjectured what the matter was, Wolsey communicated to him the king's desire for a divorce, "taking an oath of him to keep it close and secret." Having explained to the prelate that the king's doubts of the legality of his marriage had been first raised by the bishop of Tarbes, when he came to negotiate a matrimonial alliance between Francis and the Princess Mary, Wolsey induced Fisher to impute "great blame unto the queen, as well for giving so light credence in so weighty a matter; as also, when she heard it, to handle the same in such fashion as rumor and bruit should spread thereof." The unhappy queen was to remain impassive while "the great and secret affair" was maturing for her destruction. The pliant bishop doubted not but that if he might speak with her, and disclose unto her all the circumstances of the matter, "he should cause her greatly to repent, humble, and submit herself to your highness." The spirit of this injured woman was not understood by those who were thus laboring to render her a meek instrument of her own degradation.

The difficulties with which Wolsey was surrounded in this affair of the divorce appear to have been constantly in his mind during this journey to France. He was suspected by Catherine; for the queen, as he told Fisher, had said that it was by his "procurement and setting-forth a divorce was purposed." He dreaded the knowledge of the scheme being disclosed to the emperor; and therefore informs the king that according to his desire that Francis Philip's going into Spain "should be letted," he would endeavor so to order it that the traveller might be "stopped in some convenient place, without suspecting that the same proceedeth either of your highness or of me." * On the 29th of July he thus expresses his deep solicitude for the accomplishment of the king's purpose: "Daily and hourly musing and thinking on your grace's great and secret affair, and how the same may come to good effect and desired end, as well for the deliverance of your grace out of the enthralled, pensive, and dolorous life that the same is in, as for the continuance of your health, and the surety of your realm and succession, I consider how the pope's holiness' consent must concur," etc.† Of that consent Wolsey had no doubt, if the pope could be delivered from his imprisonment at Rome. "In case the said peace cannot be by these means brought to effect, whereupon might ensue the pope's deliverance, by whose authority and consent your grace's affair should take most sure, honorable, effectual, and substantial end." He adds, as to the disposition of the pope, "who, I doubt not, considering your grace's gratitude, would facily [easily] be induced to do all things therein that might be to your grace's satisfaction and purpose." Here was one of the sunken shoals upon which Wolsey's policy was wrecked. Another shifting sand, equally dangerous, was the secret passion of the king for a lady of his court, which the cardinal appears to have considered as one of those capricious intrigues in which Henry, during even the happiest hours of his married life, indulged. The queen was now upward of forty years of age; the king was in his thirty-sixth year. "The surety of your realm and succession," as expressed in Wolsey's letter to the king, of the 29th July, was the panacea which the statesmen of Henry's time applied to their consciences, when they were called upon to sanction any outrageous act of the royal will. In the case of the divorce of Queen Catherine there was greater peril to the succession in the agitation of the question, than in the peaceful continuance to the end, of that marriage which had given a female heir to the throne; and which the virtues of the queen, during eighteen years, had reconciled to the scrupulous doubters of the dispensing power which had first sanctioned the union. The Princess Mary was born in 1516. Her education was carefully attended to, her accomplishments were various. In 1525 she was regarded as the future queen of England, if we may judge from the circumstance that a vice-regal court was assigned her "to reside and remain in the marches of Wales." In the spring of 1527, when the bishop of Tarbes came upon an embassy to England, to demand her hand in marriage for Francis or one of his sons, the princess was at Greenwich. It was at this time that the doubt of the validity of the royal marriage with Catherine of Arragon was first raised. Within three months the divorce was the subject of the anxious thoughts of Henry's minister. On the 18th June, though Henry had thrown many obstacles in the way of Princess Mary's marriage when the ambassadors were in England, Wolsey received a commission to settle the alliance with the king of France. It was one of the objects of his embassy. The succor of the pope in his misfortunes, in concert with Francis, was another object. Why Henry and his minister so ardently desired that the pope should be free had a more imperative motive than the defence of the Church. During the imprisonment of Clement in the castle of St. Angelo, Henry was the only person who displayed any sympathy, by sending him supplies for his urgent necessities. Wolsey saw the means by which the pope might "facily be induced" to give Henry "satisfaction." Wolsey was mistaken in the final issue of his complicated schemes; but his

* Hall, p. 728. † Ibid.
‡ "State Papers," published by the Record Commissioners, vol. i.

* "State Papers," vol. i. 19th July. † Ibid., 29th July

sagacity was not at fault in his first movements. The pope made no absolute promises to Henry, but he allowed him to think a divorce possible, "as soon as ever the Germans and the Spaniards were driven out of Italy."* To conclude a league with France against the emperor was the mode in which this possibility was to be realized.

The pageantry of Wolsey's embassy, in 1527, has been described with great minuteness by Cavendish, one of his gentlemen-ushers. His mode of travelling, riding "like a cardinal, very sumptuously, on a mule trapped with crimson velvet," was not favorable to rapid progress. He rested at Canterbury; and at the feast of St. Thomas, when the monks sang in the litany "Holy Mary, pray for our father Clement," he wept very tenderly. He landed at Calais, and before setting forward addressed all his suite, on the deportment they should observe, and on "the nature of the Frenchmen." He told them that it was their habit to commune with Englishmen in the French tongue as though they understood every word: "therefore, in like manner, be ye as familiar with them again as they be with you. If they speak to you in the French tongue, speak you to them in the English tongue, for if you understand not them, they shall no more understand you." The cardinal, with that *bonhommie* which evidently made him beloved amid all his haughtiness, turning to one of his gentlemen, a Welshman, said, "Rice, speak thou Welsh to him, and I am well assured that thy Welsh shall be more diffuse [obscure] to him than his French shall be to thee." Francis, with the queen-mother and a gorgeous court, came to meet the cardinal near Amiens. They remained at Amiens for more than two weeks, "consulting and feasting each other divers times." At Compiègne, to which the king and the cardinal travelled together, the chancellor of France and Wolsey had a violent dispute about the terms of the treaty; and the English minister hastily left the king of France's council, "wondrously offended." He was entreated to be reconciled, even by the queen-mother herself. He at length yielded, and accomplished more than he could attain before the quarrel. "He had the heads of all the council so under his girdle that he might rule them all there as well as he might the council of England."

Wolsey, having fulfilled his mission, returned to England in the autumn of 1527. His magnificent reception by Francis—his banquetings and his boar-hunts—were not without some drawbacks of personal discomfort. A libellous book was published in France, about his embassy, of which the cardinal complained, saying, "that if the like had been attempted within the realm of England, he doubted not but to see it punished according to the traitorous demeanor and deserts."† There was no redress after the complaint. Wolsey, with all his sagacity, had not learned that the new power of the press was least dangerous when least controlled by despotic authority. The French did not look kindly upon the politic cardinal. "Some lewd person," says Cavendish, "whosoever it was, had engraved in the great chamber window where my lord lay, upon the leaning-stone there, a cardinal's hat with a pair of gallows over it, in derision of my lord." But he had greater inquietudes when he arrived home. He had risen at Compiègne at four o'clock in the morning, to write letters to the king, and had continued writing with only his nightcap and keverchief on his head till four o'clock in the afternoon. The cardinal had not only made a favorable treaty with France, and had added new strength to his own legatine authority in England, but was so confident in the matter of the divorce that he had promised the mother of Francis that a princess of her house should wear the English crown within a year. Henry, at that time, was looking nearer home for a mistress or a wife.

In an old manor-house at Hever, near the river Eden, in Kent—which under a license of Edward III. had assumed the character of a castle—dwelt Sir Thomas Boleyn, the grandson of a rich citizen of London, who was descended from an honorable Norfolk family. Here was born to him a daughter Anne. In that sequestered place was her childhood passed—happy had she never gone beyond the moated walls of her father's house, to see more of the living world than she knew when she knelt in her village church, amid the tenants of the manor. When Mary, the sister of Henry VIII., married Louis XII., in 1514, Anne Boleyn, then only seven years of age, was taken with her. Upon the widow of the French king returning to England as wife of Charles Brandon, the little Kentish girl remained in the household of the daughter of Louis, who afterward became the wife of Francis I. This queen died in 1524, and Anne remained in France with the duchess of Alençon, the sister of Francis, till after the battle of Pavia, when she returned to England. Cavendish speaks of her influence at the court of Henry, before the embassy of Wolsey in 1527. She was one of the maids of honor to Queen Catherine. It is clear that before the death of the earl of Northumberland, in 1526, the king had interfered to prevent her marriage with his son, "and even as my Lord Percy was commanded to avoid her company, even so she was commanded to avoid the court, and sent home again to her father's for a season."* Wolsey interfered in this matter between the two lovers, saying that the king intended to have preferred the lady unto another person, with whom he had opened the matter. Percy married a daughter of the earl of Shrewsbury; "wherewith Mistress Anne Boleyn was greatly offended, saying that if it ever lay in her power she would work the cardinal as much displeasure."† The lines of Sir Thomas Wyatt were considered by his grandson, who wrote a memoir of the unfortunate lady, to express the character of her charms:

> "A face that should content me wondrous well,
> Should not be fair, but lovely to behold;
> Of lively look, all grief for to repel
> With right good grace; so would I that it should
> Speak, without words, such words as none can tell."‡

Her beauty was that of expression. The court of Francis I. was not the purest for an attractive girl to be brought up in; but the scandal of a scandalous age was unable to fix any charge upon her but that of her "lively look," before the period when she had the misfortune to captivate a royal voluptuary. The passion of Henry has influenced the destinies of England to this hour.

In October, 1527, a splendid embassy from France arrived in London, comprising the Marshal de Montmorenci, the bishop of Bayonne, and two other eminent persons. They came to invest Henry with the order of St. Michael. The cardinal vied with the king in giving them the most splendid entertainments. Wolsey feasted them at Hampton Court, which he still occupied, although he had presented it to Henry in 1525 to propitiate his good-will, or to avert his passing wrath. Some of Wolsey's buildings still remain, whose spacious courts and broad oriel windows show something of its palatial magnificence; and whose ornamental brick chimneys, and gateways decorated with carvings and terra-cottas, exhibit the foreign taste that was beginning to prevail in English architecture. Wolsey was in high spirits at this season. He was late in his arrival at a sumptuous banquet to the strangers. The trumpets had warned them to supper. But the host had not come. "Before the second course, my lord cardinal came in among them, booted and spurred, all suddenly." Without shifting his riding apparel, he "sat himself down in the midst of the table, laughing and being as merry as ever I saw him in all my life." The days of trouble were at hand. "The long-hid and secret love between the king and Mistress Anne Boleyn began to break out into every man's ears. The matter was then by the king disclosed to my lord cardinal; whose persuasion to the contrary, made to the king upon his knees, could not effect. The king was so amorously affectionate, that will bare place, and high discretion banished for the time."§

At the beginning of 1528 war was formally declared against the emperor by France and England. "Guyon, herald for the French king, and Clarencieux for the king of England, the 14th day of January, in the city of Burgos, in Castile, came before the emperor, being nobly accompanied with dukes, marquises, earls, and barons, in his great hall, and there made their defiance." . . . The nobles and gentlemen present "drew out their swords and swore that the defiances then made should be revenged."‖ This war against Charles was most unpopular in England. The clothiers could not sell their broadcloths; the bulk of the people, who were suffering from a great dearth of corn, could not obtain their wonted supplies

* See Ranke, vol. i. p. 125.

† Cavendish, p. 183.

* Cavendish, p. 129.

† Ibid.

‡ "Songs and Sonnets."

§ Cavendish, p. 204.

‖ Hall, p. 741–2. It is singular that Mr. Froude (Note in vol. i. p. 130) should have overlooked this most explicit statement. He says, referring to Hall, p. 744: "Hall says it [war] was declared. I do not find, however, that there was a positive declaration."

ut of Flanders. The conduct of the emperor toward England was harked by extreme moderation. He had thrown the blame of the uarrel upon Wolsey; alleging that he had provoked the war because the emperor would not satisfy his rapacity, or place him by orce in the chair of St. Peter. Of the members of the French commission for the investment of Henry with the order of St. Michael, ean du Bellay, bishop of Bayonne, remained as ambassador. His orrespondence with the French government during the eventful ears of 1528–9 presents us with incidental views of the state of England—the politics of the court and the feelings of the people—more recise and lifelike than we can derive from any other source. This ear-sighted bystander saw more of the game than the players. On he 16th of February, 1528, Bellay writes, "I think that he (the cardinal) is the only one in England who desires the war in Flanders." He describes how the London merchants had refused to go upon Change, so that the manufacturers being unable to sell their cloth, here might be revolt in the provinces. On the 23d he says that those who would gladly see Wolsey come to ruin rejoice when everything oes wrong, and say, "These are the works of the legate." The overnment did not wholly set itself against the popular voice. An rmistice was concluded between England and the Netherlands, hile hostilities went on as between England and Spain. Meanhile, the pope having been released from his confinement in December, 1527, it was the great object of Wolsey to obtain that favorable dgment of the king's "secret affair" which he had so confidently eld out. In February, 1528, upon the urgent representations of Dr. tephen Gardiner and Dr. Edward Fox, who had been sent to Rome, lement granted a commission authorizing Wolsey, as legate, with he aid of one of the English prelates, to inquire into the sufficiency f the dispensation for Henry's marriage with his brother's widow, nd to pronounce accordingly upon the validity or invalidity of that arriage. Wolsey shrank from this fearful responsibility, the more o that the king expressed himself satisfied. He had to encounter chnical objections which in the ardor of his political views he had verlooked. When Henry knew of his honest doubts he chafed with dignation. Wolsey obtained a new commission from the pope, ated in June, 1528, in which Cardinal Campegius was associated ith him to try this great question of the legality of the marriage. he bishop of Bayonne, before the arrival of Campegius in England, ys that Wolsey had to endure much anxiety in this matter, upon hich Henry had set his heart. To the cardinal "the king uses the ost terrible terms, because he fancies he is cooling." The great inister is talking of retiring from the affairs of the world. He alks with the French ambassador, and tells him "of the progress of s life to this hour, and by what means he had risen to such honor." Volsey added that "if God should give him grace to behold the atred of the two peoples [the French and English] removed; a firm nd perpetual peace accomplished between the sovereigns, as he oped speedily to establish; and the laws and customs of the county reformed, as he would do if peace should come; moreover, the uccession of the kingdom assured, principally where this marriage concerned and a heir male be born—then immediately he would tire and serve God for the remainder of his life."* What the forms were that Wolsey pointed at in this remarkable exposition of is political aspirations is not clear. It has been objected to him at he desired to supersede the common law of England by the civil w. That he even hinted at a reform of the Church may be greatly oubted. Of his express mention of such a purpose there is not a ord in the ambassador's letter. He had suppressed some of the ost insignificant of the monasteries by a special authority as legate, nd he had devoted their revenues to his noble foundation of Christurch at Oxford and his college at Ipswich. But that he contemlated any change approaching in the least degree to carrying out the rinciples of the Reformation is a theory which his devotion to the e of Rome will scarcely warrant us in believing.

The alliance with France did not proceed satisfactorily in its influce upon secular politics, any more than it did in forwarding the great object of Henry's desire in the submission of the pope to his will in the matter of the divorce. If the emperor had been controlled by the armies of France in Italy, and by the dread of more active hostility from England, Clement would probably have been subservient to the English king, and Wolsey's policy would have triumphed. But at the moment when the forces of Francis, under Lautrec, the French general, had been successful at every point over the Imperialists, and were besieging Naples with every prospect of success, the malaria fever and the plague swept off his men with a rapidity far more fatal than the most sanguinary battle; and the miserable remnant of his army capitulated to the forces of Charles in September, 1528. The emperor was now predominant. The Germans and the Spaniards were not driven out of Italy, as Clement had thought probable. The aunt of Charles was the queen against whom the ungracious measure of the divorce was directed. He was naturally and honestly opposed to the project. The pope was obliged to resort to equivocation and half-measures. Wolsey was left to do his best with an imperious master and a discontented people.

Cardinal Campegius arrived in England on the 9th of October. He was to be received triumphantly; but he declined all solemnities, "being sore vexed with the gout." The chronicler says that "on the coming of this legate, the common people, being ignorant of the truth, and in especial women and other that favored the queen, talked largely, and said that the king would for his own pleasure have another wife, and had sent for the legate to be divorced from his queen."* On the 8th of November Henry summoned an assembly to his palace of Bridewell, and set before them the danger of the realm should he die without a true heir to the throne; the doubts that had been raised about the legitimacy of his daughter; and the care with which he had sought counsel of the greatest clerks in Christendom, having sent for the legate, as a man indifferent, to know the truth and to settle his conscience.† The king had set forth his own opinion in a treatise upon the question of his divorce, which, as he expressed himself in one of his letters to Anne Boleyn, "maketh substantially for my matter, in writing whereof I have spent above eleven hours this day, which causeth me now to write the shorter letter to you now at this time, because of some pain in my head."‡ After the king had expounded his "matter" to the assembly in his palace, the two legates waited upon the queen, who was also there lodged; and "declared to her how they were deputed judges indifferent between the king and her." Hall, in his magniloquent style, puts a long and violent oration into the mouth of the queen. Cavendish also relates an interview between the queen and the legates, in his own graphic manner, so full of natural touches that we may willingly put aside any doubts of its authenticity:

"With that she came out of her privy chamber with a skein of white thread about her neck, into the chamber of presence, where the cardinals were giving of attendance upon her coming. At whose coming, quoth she, 'Alack, my lords, I am very sorry to cause you to attend upon me; what is your pleasure with me?' 'If it please you,' quoth my lord cardinal, 'to go into your privy chamber, we will show you the cause of our coming.' 'My lord,' quoth she, 'if you have anything to say, speak it openly, before all these folks; for I fear nothing that ye can say or allege against me, but that I would all the world should both hear and see it; therefore I pray you speak your minds openly.' Then began my lord to speak to her in Latin. 'Nay, good my lord,' quoth she, 'speak to me in English, I beseech you; although I understand Latin.' 'Forsooth, then,' quoth my lord, 'madam, if it please your grace, we come both to know your mind, how ye be disposed to do in this matter between the king and you; and also to declare secretly our opinions and our counsel unto you, which we have intended of very zeal and obedience that we bear to your grace.' 'My lords, I thank you then,' quoth she, 'of your good wills, but to make answer to your request I cannot so suddenly, for I was set among my maidens at work, thinking full little of any such matter, wherein there needeth a longer deliberation, and a better head than mine, to make answer to so noble wise men as ye be; I had need of good counsel in this case, which toucheth me so near; and for any counsel or friendship that I can find in

* Legrand, vol. iii. Letter of 20th August, pp. 157–168. Mr. froude renders this declaration thus: "If he could only see the ivorce arranged, the king remarried, the succession settled, and the aws *and the Church reformed*, he would retire," etc. The words of he original are, with reference to the purposed reform, "*les Loix et Coûtumes du pays reformées.*"

* Hall, p. 754. † Ibid.

‡ Henry's letters to Anne are printed in Grove's "Life of Wolsey." Also in the "Harleian Miscellany," where the *eleven* hours of the above quotation appear as *four*. Vol. i. p. 198, ed. 1808, 8vo.

England, (they) are nothing to my purpose or profit. Think you, I pray you, my lords, will any Englishman counsel or be friendly unto me against the king's pleasure, they being his subjects? Nay, forsooth, my lords! and for my counsel, in whom I do intend to put my trust be not here; they be in Spain, in my native country. Alas, my lords! I am a poor woman lacking both wit and understanding sufficiently to answer such approved wise men as ye be both, in so weighty a matter. I pray you to extend your good and indifferent minds in your authority unto me, for I am a simple woman, destitute and barren of friendship and counsel here in a foreign region; and as for your counsel I will not refuse but be glad to hear." It would appear that Cavendish, waiting upon the cardinal, heard what passed in "the chamber of presence." He adds, "And with that she took my lord by the hand and led him into her privy chamber, with the other cardinal, where they were in long communication. We, in the other chamber, might sometime hear the queen speak very loud; but what it was we could not understand." *

The winter of 1528–29 was, in London, a season of great excitement. The court and the people were at issue. The sycophantic and unscrupulous of the higher classes were crowding to win the smiles of the triumphant lady whom the king did not hesitate to proclaim as the object of his affections. On the 9th of December the bishop of Bayonne gave a minute account of the state of affairs in London: "Mistress Boleyn [Mademoiselle de Boulan] has at last come here; and the king has placed her in a beautiful lodging, which he has finely decorated, close to his own; and every day there is a greater court about her than, for a long time, has been about the queen." † Of the popular feeling he thus speaks: "I think that, little by little, they would accustom this people to endure her, that when the time comes to give the last blow it should not produce much surprise. . . . An order has been issued that only ten shopkeepers of each nation shall reside in London." This banishment of strangers of three nations from the capital applied, we may suppose, to Flemings, Spaniards, and Germans. Its effect must have produced the most extensive derangement of commercial affairs, if, as is here said, "more than fifteen thousand Flemings would in consequence be removed." The people were suspected of a disposition to revolt. "There has been a search for firearms and crossbows; and wherever they are found in the city they are taken away, so that they are left with no worse weapon than the tongue." With the great there was less indignation: "As to the nobles, the king has made them so understand his fantasy that they speak more soberly than they were wont to do." Amid all this open and suppressed dislike of the proceedings of the court, the national spirit was surging up at the notion of foreign dictation. The emperor, knowing his popularity in England, had threatened that he would expel Henry from his kingdom by his own subjects. Wolsey repeated this before an assembly of a hundred gentlemen. They were silent; but one at last said, "By those words the emperor has lost a hundred thousand hearts in England." Wolsey labored hard to make Charles hated and Francis beloved in England; "but," says the French ambassador, "it is a hard thing to strive against nature." ‡

Seven months elapsed between the arrival of Cardinal Campegius in London and the opening of the legatine court, which he and Wolsey were authorized to hold. That these delays were the consequence of the pope's indecision—his dread of offending the emperor, and his fear of England and France—there can be small doubt. It was a time of anxiety for Wolsey that might make him well desire to escape from this position of danger to his own diocese—to do his duty as a churchman, instead of piloting the vessel of the state in these stormy waters. At length, on the 18th of June, 1529, the court of the legates was solemnly opened, by reading the commission of the pope to the judges of the cause. "That done, the crier called the king, by the name of 'King Henry of England, come into the court, etc.' With that the king answered, 'Here, my lords.' Then he called also the queen, by the name of 'Catherine, queen of England, come into the court, etc.' who made no answer to the same." This is the account which Cavendish gives. Burnet denies that the king appeared, except by proxy, and says that the queen withdrew after reading a protest against the competency of the judges. The historian of the Reformation is clearly in error. There are many collateral proofs that the king was present. Cavendish makes the queen, kneeling, thus address the king, "in broken English:" "Sir, I beseech you for all the loves that hath been between us, and for the love of God, let me have justice and right, take of me some pity and compassion, for I am a poor woman and a stranger born out of your dominions. I have here no assured friend, and much less indifferent counsel; I flee to you as to the head of justice within this realm. Alas! sir, wherein have I offended you, or what occasion of displeasure have I designed against your will and pleasure; intending (as I perceive) to put me from you? I take God and all the world to witness, that I have been to you a true, humble, and obedient wife, ever conformable to your will and pleasure, that never said or did anything to the contrary thereof, being always well pleased and contented with all things wherein you had any delight or dalliance, whether it were in little or much, I never grudged in word or countenance, or showed a visage or spark of discontentation. I loved all those whom ye loved only for your sake, whether I had cause or no; and whether they were my friends or my enemies. This twenty years I have been your true wife or more, and by me ye have had divers children, although it hath pleased God to call them all out of this world, which hath been no default in me." The remainder of Catherine's speech dwells upon the circumstances of her second marriage—the wisdom of Henry VII. and of Ferdinand, who would not have promoted it had it not been good and lawful. The queen then rose, and "took her way strait out of the house." Henry commanded the crier to call her again, of which she was informed by her receiver, Master Griffith, who supported her with his arm. "On, on," quoth she, "it maketh no matter; for it is no indifferent court for me, therefore I will not tarry. Go on your ways." * Henry, according to the same authority, made a speech, touching his griefs and necessities, and Catherine's goodness.

The queen not again appearing, she was declared contumacious. The legates continued to sit till the 30th of July, having examined witnesses and received documentary evidence touching the marriage of Prince Arthur. They then adjourned without coming to any decision. During the sittings of the court Wolsey had to endure the anger of him whose passion was as uncontrollable as it was dangerous. At the breaking up of the court one day he was sent for by the king. "And to accomplish his commandment he went unto him, and being there with him in communication in his grace's privy chamber from eleven until twelve of the clock and past at noon, my lord came out and departed from the king and took his barge at the Black Friars, and so went to his house at Westminster. The bishop of Carlisle being with him in his barge, said unto him (wiping the sweat from his face), 'Sir,' quoth he, 'it is a very hot day.' 'Yea,' quoth my lord cardinal, 'if ye had been as well chafed as I have been within this hour, ye would say it were hot.'" †

The expected fall of the great cardinal was the political revolution which might now be accomplished at any moment. The queen was removed from the court, and Anne accompanied the king in his pleasure-progress during the hunting season. Campegius having made suit to return to Rome, he and Wolsey set out to meet the king at Grafton; "before whose coming there rose in the court divers opinions that the king would not speak with my lord cardinal." But when Wolsey came into the presence of Henry and knelt before him "he took my lord up by both arms and caused him to stand up; whom the king, with as amiable a cheer as ever he did, called him aside and led him by the hand to a great window, where he talked with him and caused him to be covered." ‡ Henry "dined that day with Mistress Anne Boleyn, in her chamber, who kept there an estate more like a queen than a simple maid." The picture which Cavendish then presents is a curious illustration of the manners of the period, as well as of its politics:

"As I heard it reported by them that waited upon the king at dinner, that Mistress Anne Boleyn was much offended with the king, as far as she durst, that he so gently entertained my lord, saying, as she sat with the king at dinner, in communication of him, 'Sir,' quoth she, 'is it not a marvellous thing to consider what debt and danger the cardinal hath brought you in with all your subjects?' 'How so, sweetheart?' quoth the king. 'Forsooth,' quoth she, 'there is not a man within all your realm worth five pounds, but he hath indebted

* Cavendish, p. 227. † Legrand, tom. iii. p. 231. ‡ Ibid., p. 233.

* Cavendish, p. 213–17. † Ibid., p. 225. ‡ Ibid., p. 239.

you unto him,' (meaning by a loan that the king had but late of his subjects). 'Well, well,' quoth the king, 'as for that there is in him no blame; for I know that matter better than you or any other.' 'Nay, sir,' quoth she, 'besides all that, what things hath he wrought within this realm, to your great slander and dishonor. There is never a nobleman within this realm, that if he had done but half so much as he hath done, but he were well worthy to lose his head. If my lord of Norfolk, my lord of Suffolk, my lord my father, or any other noble person within your realm, had done much less than he, but they should have lost their heads or this.' 'Why, then, I perceive,' quoth the king, 'ye are not the cardinal's friend?' 'For sooth, sir,' then quoth she, 'I have no cause, no any other that loveth your grace, no more have your grace, if ye consider well his doings.' At this time the waiters had taken up the table, and so they ended their communication."

Wolsey never again saw King Henry. When Michaelmas term commenced on the 9th of October, he went with his usual state to the Court of Chancery: it was the last time that he there sat as chancellor. On the 17th of October he surrendered the great seal, not without some contest with the dukes of Suffolk and Norfolk, and retired from his noble palace of York Place to that humbler dwelling of Esher, whose tower still recalls the memory of the most influential man of his time.

CHAPTER LI.

Wolsey quits York Place—His progress to Esher—Thomas Cromwell—He defends Wolsey in Parliament—Sir Thomas More, Chancellor—Statutes against ecclesiastical abuses—Resistance of the Clergy—Heresy—The king discharged of his debts by statute—Christmas at Greenwich—Embassy to the pope—Cranmer—Opinions of the universities on the divorce—Wolsey in his see of York—His popularity—Is arrested on a charge of treason—His death, and the king's lament.

Wolsey has left, and forever, his palace of York Place. In its gallery hung with cloth of gold, in its gilt chamber and its council chamber, his cupboards are thrown open, and give to view his astonishing hoards of gold and silver plate, "whereof some was set with pearl and rich stones." His velvet, satin, and damask stuffs, his richest suits of copes, his thousand pieces of fine holland cloth—these visible riches are placed upon divers tables, with an inventory upon every table. All these effects—everything that he possessed—were take from him, under the sentence of the Court of King's Bench, that his lands, goods, and chattels were forfeited, and that his person was at the mercy of the king. The charge against him was that as legate he had violated the statutes of præmunire, by exercising his powers under a foreign authority. To this charge Wolsey answered, "I have the king's license in my coffers, under his hand and broad seal, for exercising and using the authority thereof [of the legatine prerogative] in the largest wise, the which now remaineth in the hands of my enemies."* In departing from the scene of his magnificence, the minister, thus abandoned by his treacherous master, says, "It hath pleased the king to take my house ready furnished for his pleasure at this time."† His barge waits at those stairs where poor Buckingham landed and sought him in vain. "At the taking of his barge," says Cavendish, "there was no less than a thousand boats full of men and women of the city of London, wafting up and down in Thames, expecting my lord's departing, supposing that he should have gone directly from thence to the Tower, whereat they rejoiced. He adds: "I dare be bold to say that the most part never received damage at his hands." Who can wonder at the curiosity of this multitude to witness the ejectment of the great statesman who had governed them for twenty years! All the harshness of a harsh time would be attributed to him. His ecclesiastical magnificence had been paraded too long before them to amaze and subdue as of old. Wolsey was the representative of a church that was becoming more proud and insolent as its true greatness was fast perishing. "The authority of this cardinal," writes the contemporary chronicler, "set the clergy in such a pride that they disdained all men."‡ In his temporal office of chancellor the fallen judge had been a protector of the poor. But every man in high office was to some extent an oppressor: "the people be ever pilled and polled by hungry dogs."* And so Wolsey went on amid the thousand boats to Putney, pitied by the few, scorned by the many who "watch the sign to hate." There was one in his train to whom in that hour all the changes of his own adventurous life must have been rendered doubly vivid by local associations. Thomas Cromwell, the son of a fuller of Putney, the agent of a factory at Antwerp, the trooper in the duke of Bourbon's army at the sack of Rome, the rough tool of Wolsey in the suppression of some of the smaller monasteries—he, through the fall of his great master, is once more likely to be cast upon a frowning world, and have to fight some new battle for preferment, perhaps even for safety. The cavalcade passes through Putney town. The cardinal has knelt in the dirt when a messenger from the king has brought him a ring in token of the royal favor. He has parted with his poor fool upon Putney heath—the faithful fool, "who took on and fired so in such a rage when he saw that he must needs depart," even though he was sent to make sport for a jovial king instead of abiding with a humiliated priest. Wolsey has reached his desolate house of Esher, wholly unprovided with common necessaries, with "beds, sheets, tablecloths, cups, or dishes." It is ten years since he was wont to say to the Venetian ambassador, "I shall do so and so."† He now writes to Dr. Stephen Gardiner, praying him to extend his benevolence toward him, and begging for pecuniary help from the sovereign who has stripped him of everything. These are his abject words: "Remember, good Mr. Secretary, my poor degree, and what service I have done, and how now, approaching to death, I must begin the world again."‡ Well might the French ambassador write of one who had gone through such a terrible trial to a proud spirit, that Wolsey could say nothing so expressive of his pitiable condition, as what was spoken in his face, "reduced to half its usual size."§

It is All-hallown-tide, the 1st of November, when a strange scene occurs in the Great Chamber at Esher. Cavendish, the gentleman-usher, sees Thomas Cromwell leaning on the window, with a primer in his hand, repeating his matins. But "he prayed not more earnestly than the tears distilled from his eyes." Cavendish asks, "Why, Master Cromwell, what meaneth all this your sorrow?" Cromwell answers, "It is my unhappy adventure, which am like to lose all that I have travailed for all the days of my life, for doing of my master true and diligent service." He is in disdain, he says, with most men for his master's sake; and then he imparts something to Cavendish, in confidence: "Thus much will I say to you, that I intend, God willing, this afternoon, when my lord hath dined, to ride to London, and so to the court, where I will either make or mar, or I come again." The bold man accomplished the purpose upon which he had mused amid his prayers and tears. He returned from London, and told Cavendish "that he had once adventured to put in his foot, where he trusted shortly to be better regarded, or [ere] all were done." He had whispered some words of magical import into the ears of the king, which saved Wolsey for a season, and made himself, in due time, the most powerful of Henry's servants. The parliament met on the 3d of November. Thomas Cromwell, through some sudden influence, became a member. Sir Thomas More, as chancellor, in his opening speech, had thus harshly spoken of his predecessor. The people, he said, were the sheep, and the king the shepherd: "And as you see that among a great flock of sheep some be rotten and faulty, which the good shepherd sendeth from the good sheep, so the great wether which has of late fallen, as you all know, so craftily, so scabbedly, yea, and so untruly juggled with the kin, that all men must needs guess and think that he thought in himself that he had no wit to perceive his crafty doing."‖ But Cromwell was in the Commons'-house, there to save the great wether from the knife. "There could nothing be spoken against my lord in the parliament-house," says Cavendish, "but he would answer it incontinent, or else take until the next day; against which time he would resort to my lord to know what answer he should make in his behalf." The articles exhibited by the lords against Wolsey—such as his writing to Rome, "Ego et Rex meus"—his putting the cardi-

* Cavendish, p. 276. † Ibid., pp. 348-50. ‡ Hall, p. 774.

* Cavendish, p. 252.
† Dispatches of Giustiniani, translated by R. Brown.
‡ Ellis, First Series, vol. ii. p. 9.
§ Legrand, tom. iii. p. 370. ‖ Hall, p. 764.

nal's hat on his York groat—his sending large sums to Rome—and similar charges of ecclesiastical assumption, were evidently held insufficient to sustain any accusation of offence "to the prince's person or to the state," as Wolsey himself alleged. It was not Henry's purpose then to crush Wolsey. We may be sure that Cromwell would not have dared to defend him if the king had willed his condemnation. The future was too doubtful to allow the king utterly to destroy a cardinal of the Roman see, while there was anything to hope in the matter of the divorce from the decision of the pope. Among the charges against Wolsey was one which was probably introduced to make the spiritual lords his severe judges: "He hath slandered the Church of England in the court of Rome, for his suggestion to be legate was to reform the Church of England." It was an offence to suppose that the Church needed reformation. The reforms of Wolsey had touched only "small monasteries," as he wrote to the king, "wherein neither God is served ne religion kept." The endowments of Ipswich and Oxford were his alleged purpose in the appropriation of these monastic revenues. The abbot of York, offering the cardinal three hundred marks to save the priory of Romburgh, in Suffolk, from being united to St. Peter's of Ipswich, desires that his grace would "accept my poor mind toward your most noble acts."* It is related of Cromwell that, in speaking of what might come after the fall of his master, he said, 'New statesmen, like fresh flies, bite deeper than those which were chased away before them."† When Cromwell uttered this aphorism the time was not come when the churchmen would have interpreted the saying as prophetic of his own career.

There had not been a parliament called since 1523. During the legatine rule of Wolsey, the pecuniary exactions of the church had become oppressive to all ranks of the people. The spiritualty had grown essentially worldly-minded; and any attempt to resist their encroachments was stigmatized with the terrible name of heresy. In the six weeks of their session the Commons asserted their determination to set some bounds to a power which was more obnoxious, because more systematic in its pecuniary inflictions, than the illegal subsidies and compulsory loans of the crown. That acute observer, the bishop of Bayonne, saw the storm brewing when the protecting shield of Wolsey was removed from the clergy. On the 22d of October he writes, "It is not yet known who will have the great seal; but I firmly believe that the priests will not touch it again, and that they will have terrible alarms at this parliament."‡ Sir Thomas More, as we have seen, received the seal. There was a certain point of reform to which More would go; but not a step beyond. The reformers of doctrine were as obnoxious to him as to Wolsey, who in his dying hours sent a request to the king, "in God's name, that he have a vigilant eye to depress this new pernicious sect of Lutherans."§ More had the reputation of leaning "much to the spiritual men's part in all causes."‖ But, though a rigid Catholic in doctrine and discipline, he was too wise and honest not to see that the rapacity of the officials of the Church, and the general laxity as to pluralities and non-residence, were shaking the foundations of ecclesiastical authority, even more than the covert hostility of the dreaded Lutherans. We cannot doubt that it was with his sanction that three important statutes were passed in this parliament of the 21st year of Henry. The statutes themselves furnish a sufficient evidence of their necessity. "An Act concerning fines and sums of money to be taken by the ministers of bishops and other ordinaries of the Holy Church for the probate of testament," recites a statute of Edward III., made "upon the complaint of his people for the outrageous and grievous fines" so taken; and a further statute of Henry V. It then proceeds to declare "that the said unlawful exactions of the said ordinaries and their ministers be nothing reformed nor amended, but greatly augmented and increased, against right and justice, and to the great impoverishment of the king's subjects."¶ This was a grievance which touched every owner of property. Sir Henry Guildford declared in parliament that as executor to Sir William Compton he had paid for the probate of his will, to the cardinal and the archbishop of Canterbury, a thousand marks. But there was another species of exaction which fastened upon the dead with the rapacity of the vulture, and reached even the humblest in the land. This was the taking of mortuaries, or corpse presents which the statute describes as "over excessive to the poor people, and other persons of this realm."* The chronicler, reciting this grievance, says, "for the children of the defunct should all die for hunger, and go a-begging, rather than they would of charity give to them the sely cow which the dead man ought [owned], if he had only one."† By these two statutes the fees upon probates, and the demand for mortuaries, were brought within reasonable limits. There were other causes of complaint against the ecclesiastics. It was objected that spiritual persons occupied farms; bought and sold at profit various kinds of produce; kept tan-houses and breweries—all which practices were declared unlawful, and were prohibited under heavy penalties. The dissatisfaction they provoked is indicated in the recital of the benefits to be expected from their abolition—"the increase of devotion, and good opinion of the lay fee toward the spiritual persons."‡ The same statute regulates the holding of pluralities, and enforces residence; but the exceptions are so numerous that we may readily believe that there was a wide door open for the evasion of its penalties. In spite of the reforming act there would be still too many churchmen "living in the court in lords' houses, who took all of the parishioners, and nothing spent on them at all;" and to many "well-learned scholars in the universities, which were able to preach and teach, having neither benefice nor exhibition."§

That the ecclesiastics would stoutly resist such attacks upon long-continued abuses, which in their minds had assumed the shape of rights, was a necessary result of their extensive power. No vital blow had as yet touched the strong fabric of their prosperity; but this assault upon its outworks portended danger close at hand. Their resistance was as unwise as it was useless. Fisher, the aged bishop of Rochester, in defending the churchmen in parliament, denounced the petitions of the Commons upon the subject of probates, mortuaries, non-residence, and other causes of complaint, as intending "to bring the clergy in contempt with the laity that they might seize their patrimony;" and he said, "see what a realm the kingdom of Bohemia was, and when the Church went down, then fell the glory of the kingdom; now with the Commons is nothing but 'down with the Church, and all this, me seemeth, is for lack of faith only."‖ At this speech the Commons were indignant, and complained to the king through their speaker, that in the bishop's saying about "lack of faith," they were held as infidels and not as Christians. The bishop made what the chronicler calls "a blind excuse;" he declared that he applied the words to the Bohemians. During the progress of the discussions in parliament on these bills there was much railing on both sides. The spiritual persons regarded the promoters of these measures as heretics and schismatics, and defended their own practices by prescription and usage. The laity retorted in the words of a barrister of Gray's Inn, "The usage hath ever been of thieves to rob on Shooter's hill—ergo, it is lawful." In this first great quarrel of the Church and the Commons there were wounds inflicted which never healed.

At a time when ancient habits of implicit obedience to authority were in some degree passing away, and men began to think and talk of the principles of government, whether in Church or State, we can easily imagine that the exactions of the clergy, thus repressed, had produced a far deeper hostility from their meanness and injustice than from their pecuniary amount. On every side there were the evidences of the vast endowments of the English Church—splendid cathedrals, rich abbeys, shrines of inestimable value, bishops and abbots surrounded with baronial splendor, ample provision for the working clergy. And yet all the wealth of this Church, acknowledged to be greater than that of any other church in Christendom, could not protect the people from the irritating demands which were generally made at the season of family affliction, and pressed too often upon the widow and the fatherless. These oppressions were more keenly felt because, however the Commons might disavow the accusation, there was a doubt, very widely spread, of the infallibility of the Church, which doubt bishop Fisher denominated "lack

* "Letters relating to the Suppression of the Monasteries," p. 3.
† Lloyd's "State Worthies," ed. 1670, p. 59.
‡ Legrand, tom. iii. p. 377.
§ Cavendish, p. 389.
‖ Hall, p. 771.
¶ 21 Hen. VIII. c. 5.

* 21 Hen. VIII. c. 6.
† Hall, p. 765.
‡ 21 Hen. VIII. c. 13.
§ Hall, p. 765.
‖ Ibid., p. 766.

faith." It was not only the dislike of proctors, and summoners, d apparitors—a dislike as old as the days of Chaucer—which in- ienced many sober and religious persons; but the craving for some gher teaching than that which led to the burning of the English estament in St. Paul's Churchyard. Many copies of Tyndale's anslation had been brought into the country, "which books the mmon people used and daily read privily; which the clergy would t admit, for they punished such persons as had read, studied, or ught the same, with great extremity."* Wolsey made strenuous forts to restrain the printing of the Scripture in the people's tongue, we learn from a most interesting letter of Anne Boleyn to Crom- ll, after she became queen: "Whereas we be credibly informed at the bearer hereof, Richard Herman, merchant and citizen of ntwerp, in Brabant, was in the time of the late lord cardinal put d expelled from his freedom and fellowship of and in the English use there, for nothing else, as he affirmeth, but only for this—that did both with his goods and policy, to his great hurt and hin- ance in this world, help to the setting forth of the New Testa- nt in English." The queen, therefore, prays the powerful secre- y to restore "this good and honest merchant" to his liberty and lowship.† It is painful to think that while this toleration sprang t of the kind heart and clear understanding of "Mistress Anne," e equally kind nature of Sir Thomas More was so crusted over by s rigid habits of submission to the discipline of the Church that for e use and study of Tyndale's and Joy's Testaments, "he im- isoned and punished a great number, so that for this cause a great nor and controversy rose daily among the people."‡ These per- cutions against the possessors of the Testament were a part of that stem of accusations for heresy which had rendered England a ter- le country for earnest men and women to live in, who sought a gher guide to duty than the absolute direction of the priest. Con- ry to the statute of Henry IV., which, however to be condemned sanctioning the persecution of the Lollards, required that they ould be openly proceeded against, accused persons were now sub- cted to secret examination; were detained in custody for unlimited riods; were discharged without amends · or consigned to the stake condemned of heresy, or to make purgation and bear a fagot to eir shame and undoing. These examinations were conducted in e mode invariably pursued by spiritual authorities committing the st frightful wickedness in the assured belief that they were thus ving souls: "Upon the examination of the said accusation, if her- be ordinarily laid unto the charge of the parties so accused, then e said ordinaries or their ministers are to put to them such subtle errogatories concerning the high mysteries of our faith as are able ickly to trap a simple unlearned, or yet a well-witted layman thout learning, and bring them by such sinister introductions soon their own confusion."§ Under "such subtle interrogatories" may believe that many a person was set upon the scaffold at ul's Cross, to bear the fagot and to be preached at, like James ynham, in 1531. Lucky were those who thus escaped upon their mission. Those of the heroic mould, who could look death in e face for conscience sake—as this lawyer did, who refused to ac- se his friends in the temple, or to show where his books were, re- nting his former abjuration—such had to abide the fires of Smith- d, and find an honorable place in the Protestant martyrology.

Wolsey was a bold financier, and his projects, as we have seen, re not always successful when he attempted to raise money with- t the instrumentality of parliament. But when Wolsey was gone re appeared less scrupulous managers of the royal revenues than e unhesitating cardinal. The king had obtained very large sums, way of loan, from public bodies and from individuals, in 1525, en the insurrections of Suffolk compelled him to withdraw the mand for a sixth of every man's substance. Those who had lent e money—and Wolsey had used his rhetoric most unsparingly to ell the number—"reckoned surely of the payment of the same, and refore some made their wills of the same, and some other did set over to other for debt."‖ The Lords and Commons had the audacity to renounce all claims to these loans, not only for themselves, but for every man to whom the king was indebted, in consideration of his highness's constant labors to defend his kingdom, to uphold the Church, and to establish peace among his subjects. For, say they, his highness "hath been fain to employ, not only such sums of money as hath risen and grown by any man's contribution made unto his grace by his said loving subjects, but also, over and above the same, sundry other and excellent sums of his own treasure and yearly revenues, which else his grace might have kept and reserved for his own use."* After this avowal we may understand better how hard a struggle it has been to attain the principle and practice of a constitutional monarchy, the leading idea of which is, that the high place and prerogative of the crown is a trust for the benefit of the people; and that its hereditary revenues, after setting aside a fitting portion for the royal dignity, are for maintaining the safety and peace of the realm. It required all the insolent despotism of a Tudor to humiliate the parliament to an assertion that the enormous revenues which the Plantagenets had never hesitated to spend for public objects, were to be deemed as private funds, "which his grace might have kept and reserved to his own use."

The parliament, which had accomplished such salutary reforms, and also perpetrated such gross injustice, was prorogued on the 17th of December. "After the parliament was thus ended the king removed to Greenwich, and there kept his Christmas with the queen, in great triumph; with great plenty of viands, and divers disguisings and interludes, to the great rejoicing of his people."† In quoting this passage from the chronicler, Mr. Froude attributes this great rejoicing to a feeling of exultation at the church reforms effected by the parliament: "Lay England celebrated its exploits as a national victory."‡ We fear that "lay England" was moved to its rejoicing by more vulgar considerations than the historian ascribes to this festive season. The statement of the chronicler must be compared with his previous notices of occasions of popular enthusiasm. We will take one of the third year of Henry: "The king this year kept the feast of Christmas at Greenwich, where was such abundance of viands served, to all comers of any honest behavior, as hath been few times seen." The "all comers" would shout over "the great plenty of viands," though "when the release of the loan was known to the Commons of the realm, Lord! so they grudged, and spoke ill of the whole parliament."§ Some simple people probably rejoiced that the king "kept his Christmas with the queen." Those who saw the inside of the palace would not have hastily judged that the affair of the divorce was at an end because the great cardinal had fallen, and no mention was made of this unhappy matter in the parliament. On the 31st of December there is this record in the king's "Privy Purse Expenses:" "Item, the last day delivered by the king's commandment to my lady Anne, Cx li." At the end of November there is paid the enormous sum of 217*l.* 9*s.* 8*d.* "to Walter Walsh, for certain stuff by him prepared for Mistress Anne, of divers persons, as appeareth by a bill." During this holiday-time we find, in the same book of expenses, evidence that one of Henry's early follies had not been extinguished by politics and polemics. In the second year of his reign Hall has this remark: "The king this time was much enticed to play at tennis and at dice, which appetite certain crafty persons about him perceiving, brought in Frenchmen and Lombards to make wagers with him."‖ In his twenty-first year the privy purse keeper "delivered to the king's own hands for to game therewith, now at this time of Christmas," 100*l.*; and on Twelfth night, 112*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.* In January there are four entries of payments for moneys lost by the king "at game:" To Domingo, 400*l.*; to Sir Thomas Palmer, 338*l.* 10*s.* 9*d.*; to Master Seymour, 376*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*; to my lord of Suffolk, 102*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.*¶ The royal custom has survived among us in many a notorious example. The loans advanced by honest creditors are repudiated; the gambling debts to "crafty persons" are scrupulously discharged. He who said that "kings are fond of low company," must have had Henry, among others, in his mind. Domingo and Palmer were two hangers-on of the court, who made the king thus pay for their powers of amusement—far

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* Hall, p. 771.
: Hall, p. 771.
§ Petition of the Commons, 1529, given at length in Mr. Froude's "History," as transcribed by him from the MS. in the Rolls' use.
† Ellis, First Series, vol. ii. p. 46.
‖ Hall, p. 767.

* 21 Hen. VIII. c. 24.
† Hall, p. 768.
‡ "History," vol. i. p. 233.
§ Hall, p. 767.
‖ Ibid., p. 520.
¶ Sir N. H. Nicolas, "Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII.," pp. 4–17.

more ignoble servants than his fools, Somers, Sexton, and Williams. Skelton, seven years before the king lost 400*l.* to Domingo, had celebrated the court doings of this worthy, who was a Lombard :

"Domingo Lomelyn,
That was wont to win
Much money of the king
At the cards and hazarding." *

But after these Christmas revelries, Henry's intimate sharpers walking off with their plunder, he has serious business on his hand. The disguisings and interludes of Greenwich, with Mistress Anne ever the gayest of the throng, while the queen sits in her solitary chamber, make the king more and more impatient on the subject of the divorce. The emperor is to be crowned by the pope at Bologna, in February, 1530. On the 23d of January we find that the sum of 1743*l.* 8*s.* 0*d.* is paid "by the king's commandment for the depechement of my lord Wiltshire and others, in their journey toward the emperor." "My lord of Wiltshire" was Anne Boleyn's father. The "others" were Doctor Stokesley, elected bishop of London, and Dr. Henry Lee, the king's almoner. With them were also "divers doctors both of law and divinity" Among these was Thomas Cranmer, who was an inmate of the house of the earl of Wiltshire. This divine, who occupies so prominent a part in the history of the Reformation, had now reached the discreet age of forty. He had obtained at the university of Cambridge a reputation for talent and learning ; and Wolsey had offered him a fellowship in his new college at Oxford. This Cranmer declined. An accidental circumstance led to his passing from his quiet studies to the dangerous intrigues of the court. While the sweating-sickness prevailed at Cambridge, in 1528, Cranmer resided with a friend at Waltham Abbey. Gardiner and Fox, afterward bishops, met him at the table of his friend, and the conversation turning upon the agitated matter of the divorce, he expressed his opinion that the question, whether a man might marry his brother's widow, might be settled upon scriptural authority, expounded by learned divines, which opinions could be obtained as well in England as from Rome. The notion was communicated to the king ; and Cranmer had to work out his lucky idea in a book which he was desired to write. He maintained that the marriage of Henry was condemned by the authority of the Scriptures, and that of councils and fathers of the Church ; and that the pope had no power to give a dispensation opposed to those sources of belief. In the embassy to the emperor, which was truly an embassy to Clement VII., Cranmer was associated to defend his own propositions.

The pope was at Bologna, an unwilling agent in the humiliation of Italy. The war with the imperialists had desolated the fairest spots of Lombardy. Famine and pestilence had completed the misery which war had begun. There is a letter from Sir Nic. Carew to Henry, dated from Bologna, the 12th of December, which presents as striking a picture as was ever drawn of the wide-spreading misery produced by the contests of ambition. In travelling fifty miles they saw no creature stirring in rural industry, except three women gathering grapes rotting upon the vines. In Pavia the children were crying about the streets for bread. There was neither horse-meat nor man's meat to be found. "There is no hope many years that Italia shall be restored, for want of people." † Clement, the weak and vacillating bishop of Rome, but the patriotic Italian prince, had, amid this misery, to place the crown on the head of Charles, as king of Lombardy and emperor of the Romans. The ceremony took place at Bologna on the 24th of February. One who was present at the coronation, and stood between the throne of the emperor and the pope, says that Clement "endeavored to put on the most cheerful countenance in giving the emperor the sword, and placing the first crown on his head ;" but he adds, "I believe that he never in his life performed a ceremony which so nearly touched his heart. For several times, when he thought that no one was observing him, he breathed such heavy sighs that his robe [chape], heavy as it was, was heaved up, as might well be seen." ‡ Before the emperor departed from Bologna the earl of Wiltshire had arrived. He had a difficult office to perform—that of moving the pope to a decided course, in the presence of Charles, who had very sufficient reasons for strenuously resisting the demands of Henry. He had to conciliate the emperor, by offering the restitution of Queen Catherine's original dowry. He had to work upon the pope's fears, by intimating that "the Defender of the Faith" would pursue his own career, if the holy see was inimical, without bending to its authority. To the father of Anne Boleyn the emperor objected that he was an interested party in the case ; and although the earl replied with spirit that he was there only as the subject and servant of his master, and to express the scruples of his conscience and his firm intention no longer to live in sin, Charles maintained a resolute attitude of hostility to the whole proceeding.* The unhappy pope was in a fearful perplexity. He said to the bishop of Tarbes, several times, that he cared not how the marriage of Henry should be accomplished, by dispensation of the legate in England, or otherwise. All that he desired was to shift his personal responsibility. † The embassy returned home, having effected nothing. Cranmer remained, with the desire to contend the matter in a public disputation ; but he was not permitted thus to support the opinions of his treatise, or to set forth the favorable decisions of some foreign universities which had been already obtained.

The declarations which were gathered from the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and from universities and ecclesiastical bodies in France and Italy, were favorable to the desires of the king of England, as they pronounced against the lawfulness of his marriage with his brother's widow. It has been a subject of historical contention whether these opinions were given with perfect fairness or whether intimidation and bribery were not resorted to. Into this discussion it is scarcely necessary for us to enter. There are some characteristic letters of Henry, which clearly enough show that the younger members of the university of Oxford were frightened into a submission which the seniors readily yielded. When such a sovereign sent to the convocation his command that they should not lean "to wiful and sinister opinions of your own several minds ;" and desired the heads of houses to conduce and frame the young persons into order and conformity ; for "if the youth of the university will play masteries as they begin to do, we doubt not but they shall well perceive that non est bonum irritare crabrones" [it is not good to disturb a hornet's nest], then, we may be sure, it was quite unnecessary surreptitiously to affix to the decision the university seal gotten ou "by strange subtil means," as Queen Catherine intimated. Cambridge also admitted the unlawfulness of the marriage, according to the divine law ; but gave no answer upon the question whether the pope had power to grant a dispensation. In March, 1531, these opinions were laid before the House of Commons ; and More, as chancellor, said, "Now you of this Commons House may report in your countries what you have seen and heard ; and then all men shall openly perceive that the king has not attempted this matter of will or pleasure, as some strangers report, but only for the discharge of his conscience, and surety of the succession of the realm." More, in his inmost heart, disliked the whole measure, and these official words must have come very hesitatingly from his lips. The religious plea, "for the discharge of his conscience ;" and the political plea of the "surety of the succession of the realm," were the self-deceptions with which Henry covered the impulses of his own passions, prompting him to the grossest cruelty and injustice. The able historian who sets up the state necessity as an excuse for many of the enormities of this reign, considers that this question was one "vitally affecting the interests of a great nation," and avers that "the laity, with the alternative before them of civil war, and the returning miseries of the preceding century, could brook no judgment which did not answer to their wishes." § Is it to be believed that the remote possibility of a disputed succession had thus interested the laity—by which term we understand the body of the people—to become enthusiastic supporters of the king's personal desire to put away the companion of more than half his life, the mother of a daughter to whom their allegiance would have been readily transferred on the event of the king's death, without the slightest chance of civil

* Skelton's Works, Mr. Dyce's edit., vol. i. p. 63.
† "State Papers," vol. vii. p. 226.
‡ Letter of the bishop of Tarbes, dated February 24th. Legrand, tom. iii. p. 386.

* In a second letter of the bishop of Tarbes. Legrand, iii. p. 400.
† Legrand, iii. p. 400.
‡ Hall, p. 780.
§ Froude, "History," vol. i. p. 250.

? The English people were not then, nor have they been at any e, so ready to encounter a great present difficulty for a contingent ger. The general opinion is pretty clearly set forth by the conporary chronicler: "When these determinations were published, wise men in the realm much abhorred this marriage; but men, and such as were more wilful than wise or learned, spake inst the determination, and said that the universities were corrupt, enticed so to do—which is not to be thought" The voice of ire spoke by the mouths of "women and such as were more wilthan wise or learned." They understood not the subtleties by ch the so-called "wise men" justified oppression. Those who red the reform of the Church did not see that this harsh measure a step toward purity of doctrine. The foreign Protestants were idedly hostile to what was held, by friend and by foe, not as a reous question or a national question, but was denominated "the g's cause."

While the earl of Wiltshire is vainly exercising his diplomatic l upon the pope and the emperor, and Cranmer is as vainly enroring to convince the Italian priests and the German Lutherans a papal dispensation was of no avail, Wolsey has passed out of tical life, and is doing his duty with a heartiness deserving of all pect. In the first prostration of his powerful mind, when he saw hing before him but poverty and disgrace, he wrote to Cromwell n Esher, "Mine only comfort. At the reverence of God leave not now, for if ye do, I shall not longer live in this wretched ld."* But Cromwell writes comfortable letters to his fallen ter; who, next to the means of his future subsistence, has the pest anxiety about the maintenance of his colleges, of which he nded the dissolution. He urges with a warmth that does him or, that "great pity it is that for my commission in the præmu-, these poor scholars should suffer, either by dissolution of their y corporate, or by taking away any notable portion of their ls." Early in February Wolsey received a general pardon; and ing been assured of the temporalities of the see of York, he took is residence in the archiepiscopal city. The council had agreed dvance him a sum for the expenses of his journey, to which the had added a thousand pounds. A circular letter was also sent the royal signet, calling upon the nobles and gentlemen of the ntry to show themselves as regarded him, "of toward and benevt mind, using, entreating, and accepting him as to his dignity appertain."† The archbishop had now confidence in the kindof Henry. He told Cavendish that in the matter of the præmuhe thought it better to take all blame upon himself "than to d in trial with the king;" and he added, "There was a continual entine enemy about the king that would, I am well assured, if I been found stiff-necked, have called continually upon the king in ear (I mean the night-crow) with such a vehemency that I should. the help of her assistance, have obtained sooner the king's indigon than his lawful favor; and his favor once lost (which I trust is present I have) would never have been by me recovered."‡ sey was deceived in his reliance upon his sovereign's "lawful r." Upon the gratitude or generosity of that man no friend could . "The king," says Hall, "all this year dissembled the matter, e what he [Wolsey] would do at length." What he did was in highest degree commendable. He lived with rational hospitality ead of ostentatious grandeur. "He kept a noble house, and ty of both meat and drink for all comers, both for rich and poor, much alms given at his gates. . . . He used much charity pity among his poor tenants and other. . . . He was much familiar among all persons than he was accustomed, and most dest when he had an occasion to do them good."§ This is the ute of an affectionate follower. After he was dead a book was ished, bearing an official character, in which it was said that gave bishops a right good example how they might win men's ts." There is a most interesting letter from Cromwell to Wol- dated from London the 18th of August, in which the tone is that ncerity and affection, mixed with some familiar advice, which iciently shows the altered positions of the proud cardinal and his humble retainer. The magnificence which the great minister practised for twenty years, had become too much a part of his nature to be wholly changed for true simplicity of life in his altered fortunes: "Sir, I assure your grace that ye be much bound to our Lord God, that in such wise hath suffered you so to behave and order yourself, in those parts, to attain the good minds and hearts of the people there; the report whereof in the court and elsewhere in these parts, is and hath been to the acquiring and augmenting the good opinions of many persons toward your grace; beseeching your grace, therefore, to continue in the same, after such a sort and fashion as ye may daily increase, not only in the favor of the people there, but also here and elsewhere, to the pleasure of God, and the prince. And notwithstanding your good, virtuous, and charitable demeaning and using yourself, in those parts, is not by your enemies interpreted after the best fashion, yet always follow and persevere ye attemperately in such things as, your worldly affections set apart, shall seem to stand best with the pleasure of God, and the king. Sir, some there be that doth allege that your grace doth keep too great a house and family, and that ye are continually building; for the love of God, therefore, leftsoons, as I oftentimes have done, most heartily beseech your grace to have respect to everything, and, considering the time, to refrain yourself, for a season, from all manner buildings, more than mere necessity requireth; which I assure your grace shall cease, and put to silence, some persons that much speaketh of the same."*

Within little more than two months after this warning of Cromwell, the enemies of Wolsey prevailed for the accomplishment of his complete ruin. Whether the influence of "the night crow" operated upon the royal mind, so as to render the complaints of an impulsive and frank-speaking woman the chief incentive to a dire malignity, can only be conjectured. Wolsey had offended Anne Boleyn in 1528, by appointing a prioress to be an abbess of Wilton, when Henry had promised her that such appointment should not be made.† He perhaps had more seriously offended her by his hesitating conduct in the matter of the divorce. But no new cause of offence, to the king or to herself, is revealed by any authentic historical documents. On the 4th of November, the time approaching for his installation at York as archbishop, Wolsey was sitting at dinner at Cawood Castle, when he was told that the earl of Northumberland was come into his hall, with a great company. Wolsey went to receive him, and proffered him the hospitality of his house. He led the earl into his bedchamber, "where," as the courteous host said, "is a good fire," and there "ye may shift your apparel until your chamber be made ready." Cavendish kept the door as gentleman-usher. "These two lords standing at a window by the chimney, in my lord's bed-chamber, the earl trembling said, with a very faint and soft voice unto my lord (laying his hand upon his arm), 'My lord, I arrest you of high treason.'" Wolsey was committed to the custody of the earl's people, Cavendish having been chosen to attend upon him as the chief person, and taking an oath that was prescribed to him. In a few days they departed, amid the tears and prayers of the archbishop's household. As he passed out of the gates of Cawood Castle, three thousand people surrounded him, exclaiming, "God save your grace, God save your grace! The foul evil take all them that hath thus taken you from us." The unhappy man must have had some cheering thoughts in that ominous hour. He was not wholly deserted. He had earned the blessings of the poor. He remained at Sheffield Park for a fortnight, under the charge of the earl of Shrewsbury. Here he became ill. Thither came Master Kingston, the constable of the Tower. Wolsey knew well what the presence of that officer implied. Kingston said some soothing words to him, such as jailers were sometimes wont to speak to state prisoners. He replied, "Master Kingston, all these comfortable words which ye have spoken be but for a purpose to bring me into a fool's paradise; I know what is provided for me." After three days' riding, the sick man and his guards reached Leicester Abbey; and he was received by torch-light, with great reverence, on a Saturday night. "Father abbot, I am come hither to leave my bones among you," were his memorable words. On the following Tuesday he was at the point of death: when he uttered these more memorable words to Master Kingston: "If I had served God as diligently as I have done the king, he would not have given me over in my gray hairs." He died on the 29th of November, aged 59. Cavendish, after the funeral, repaired to Lon-

"State Papers," vol. i. p. 359.
Ellis, First Series, vol. ii. p. 17.
Ibid., p. 318.
‡ Cavendish, p. 316.
* "State Papers," vol. i. p. 366.
† Ibid., p. 314.

don, and was sent for by the king to come to Hampton Court. Henry was shooting at the rounds in the park. The gentleman-usher leaned against a tree, when Henry came suddenly behind him, and slapped him on the shoulder, telling him to wait till he had made an end of his game. Cavendish then discoursed with him for more than an hour. One rankling grief was upon the sovereign's mind, with reference to the friend and adviser of twenty years. A sum of fifteen hundred pounds had been entered in Wolsey's accounts, which entry the earl of Northumberland had seen. Kingston had pressed the dying man to account for the money, who said that he had borrowed it to distribute among his servants, and for his own burial, and had placed it in the hands of an honest man. The chief business of this magnanimous king with Cavendish was to obtain the knowledge where this treasure was hidden ; and Cavendish told him. "Well, then," quoth the king, "let me alone, and keep this gear secret between yourself and me, and let no man be privy thereof ; for if I hear any more of it, then I know by whom it is come to knowledge." * He had broken the great heart of his too faithful servant ; but he thought only of the contents of the money-bags, to be appropriated to jewels for my lady Anne, and to wagers with Domingo.

CHAPTER LII.

A great field of English history now to be entered upon—The clergy visited with heavy penalties for submitting to Wolsey as legate—The pope's sentence on the divorce still protracted—The pope threatened—Frith and Tyndale, the reformers—Act regulating payment of Annates to Rome—Retirement of More—His official character—Severe laws—The poisoner's caldron—Laws against gypsies—Laws against vagabonds—Infamous severity of the statute against vagabonds of 1536—Henry and Anne Boleyn in France—Marriage of Henry with Anne—Cranmer elevated to the primacy—He pronounces the marriage of Henry with Catherine unlawful—Coronation of Queen Anne—Catherine's refusal to accept the title of Princess Dowager.

We are entering upon a great field of our history, in which, amid the most crooked and uncertain paths, we have to feel our way at every step. Those who have set forward on this difficult journey with the most determined resolution to see nothing but good in the wide prospect before them, have obliterated many of the traces of the dangerous and thorny roads by which a desirable end was to be reached. Those who have shut their eyes to this good have been ever looking back upon the level plains out of which they have emerged into this rugged and in many respects desolate region. More than three hundred years have passed since the greatest revolution in our country—the reform of religion—was commenced in England. More than a hundred and fifty years have passed since it was thoroughly accomplished. The passions and prejudices which belonged to such a mighty change still survive among us, in a modified shape. They still give a color to our political feelings and to our religious life. Let us endeavor to tell this wondrous story with a strict regard to the evidences upon which a true narration must be founded ; and, above all things, let us, in every statement, never attempt to compromise our natural hatred of oppression and cruelty, by regarding them other than as the means by which the "Divinity that shapes our ends" saw fit to accomplish a paramount good by the strong hand of evil instruments.

In January, 1531, the parliament met after a long prorogation. The manifest abuses of the Church had been restrained by the statutes of 1529 ; and the failure of its feeble resistance had shown how weak it was to stand up against any new attack, however unjust. Wolsey was ruined for having violated, with the king's consent, the statutes of præmunire. The clergy were now subjected to prosecution in the King's Bench for having obeyed the power of Wolsey as legate, which obedience was held to bring them within the charge of being his "fautors and abettors." The Church felt its danger ; and in convocation it was resolved to avoid the forfeiture of the movable property of the offending bishops and others, by offering the king a large sum of money. To effect this compromise an act was passed by which the king grants, "out of his high goodness and great benignity," a pardon to his spiritual subjects, they having "given a granted to him a subsidy of one hundred thousand pounds." * Th act extended to the province of Canterbury. That of York had pay a smaller sum in the following year. But there was a great p liminary difficulty in effecting this compromise. It was required the grant that the king should be styled "the protector and or supreme head of the Church and clergy of England." The acknow edgment, after much contention, was made, with the addition of t words, "as far as the law of Christ will allow." Dr. Lingard hol that the introduction of these words served to invalidate the recog tion. The acknowledgment, whether conditional or otherwise, w probably intended to intimate to the pope that little regard would paid to his authority if the procrastination of the divorce we longer continued. This measure had now been more than three yea in agitation, and it appeared as far as ever from a conclusion und the papal authority. Henry was in dread of being cited to Rom and in April, 1531, desires his ambassador, Dr. Benet, to use eve means "to put over the process, as long as ye may ;" and yet, " of yourself privily to say to the pope, that ye be advertised fro your friends out of England, such as be learned in the laws and our council, that it were the plainest entry the pope might make the destruction of his whole authority, to strike upon this point call us to Rome." † The king desired that the cause should be d cided in an indifferent place, by indifferent judges. The emper was wholly opposed to the process being removed from Rome ; a urged the pope to make no more delays in the matter.‡ The e peror had with the pope "a voice potential." We cannot trace t course of these tedious negotiations, which all tended to one end the destruction of the papal power in England. Henry saw th clearly enough ; and told his ambassador to say to the once honor pontiff, "Here lieth a great number in wait to hear of open disse sion between the pope and us ; and as soon as that trumpet blowet they will think a most propice [propitious] occasion to strike at h power, which is in all points abhorred, as he and other his predec sors hath used it." § Yet at this period was the king so far fro connecting his impatience of the papal power with any favor to t doctrines of the reformers that he has instructed Vaughan, his a bassador in the Netherlands, "to advise a young man named Frith leave his wilful opinions and errors, and to return into his nati country ;" and, through Cromwell, has also desired that good a wholesome exhortations for his conversion and amendment should given to Tyndale. Frith did return ; and, as Cranmer very unfe ingly wrote in 1533, was "to go unto the fire." Tyndale remain in the Netherlands, to be first imprisoned, and then strangled, by t persecutors of the reformers there, in 1536, after having published admirable translations of the Scriptures, which the "Defender of t Faith" proscribed. We cannot forbear extracting a passage fro the letter of Vaughan to Henry VIII., describing the noble answer this eminent man to the ambassador's offer of Henry's pity and co passion :" "I assure you," said he, "if it would stand with t king's most gracious pleasure to grant only a bare text of the Scri ture to be put forth among his people, like as is put forth among t subjects of the emperor in these parts, and of other Christi princes, be it of the translation of what person soever shall please h majesty, I shall immediately make faithful promise never to wr more, nor abide two days in these parts after the same, but imme ately to repair into his realm, and there most humbly submit mys at the feet of his royal majesty ; offering my body to suffer wh pain or torture, yea, what death, his grace will, so this be obtaine and till that time I will abide the asperity of all chances, whatsoev shall come, and endure my life in as many pains as it is able to be and suffer. And as concerning any reconciliation, his grace may assured that, whatsoever I have said or written in all my life again the honor of God's word, and so proved, the same shall I, before h majesty and all the world, utterly renounce and forsake, and wi most humble and meek mind embrace the truth, abhorring all erro sooner at the most gracious and benign request of his royal majest of whose wisdom, prudence and learning, I hear so great praise a commendation, than of any other creature living. But if the things which I have written be true, and stand with God's wor

* Cavendish, p. 398.

* 22 Hen. VIII. c. 15.
‡ Ibid., p. 317.
† "State Papers," vol. vii. p. 297.
§ "Ibid., p. 298.

hy should his majesty, having so excellent a gift of knowledge in ie Scriptures, move me to do anything against my conscience?" *

That a great crisis was approaching in the papal relations of the nglish Church, must have been sufficiently apparent to the ecclesi- stics and statesmen of 1532, in the passing of "An Act concerning ie payment of annates to the court of Rome." The statute recites iat the annates, or first-fruits of archbishoprics and bishoprics, were first suffered to be taken within the realm for the only de- ence of Christian people against the infidels, and now they be laimed and demanded as mere duty, only for lucre, against all right nd conscience." † This statute limits the payment upon the papal ulls for consecration to five pounds for each hundred of yearly alue; and in the case of the denial of such bulls provides for conse- ration in England without the papal authority. But the king's uarrel with Rome not yet having come to a final rupture, Henry as empowered to give or withhold his assent to the act by letters atent. The statute, to use the familiar language of modern times, ave the king power to put on the screw. How this qualifying ower was to be used may be seen in a letter from the duke of Nor- olk to Benet, of the 22d of February, 1532: "Notwithstanding the nfinite clamors of the temporalty here, in parliament, against the isusing of the spiritual jurisdiction; yet in his highness doth re- ain to stop all such effects; and will do so, unless ill and unkind andling enforce him to consent to the same." ‡ The king did not onfirm the act of January, 1532, till July, 1533, when he had finally roken with Rome. It was not in the interest of his people, who ere injured by the papal exactions, that he put an end to them. lenry had entered upon a bold course, not without very serious dan- er. If his strength of will had been supported by any higher princi- e than that of the most intense self-love, we might go a great way ith his admirers in giving due praise to his constancy and courage "this great argument." Those who were in his confidence made o resistance to the papal domination except with reference to the ing's personal griefs. "You may surely affirm to his holiness," rites Norfolk to Benet, "that notwithstanding the Church hath in is realm many wringers at their high authorities, yet nothing hurt- l shall be done, unless the fault be in him in proceeding wrong- lly and ungrately against the king." § In this we see none of the shackled action of a representative government—none of the just fluences of a people long nurtured in habits of freedom. We see at if the one despot were propitiated, the Church might abuse "its gh authorities," how many soever were complaining under them.

As we proceed in the history of this reign we shall have to relate e enactment of tyrannical laws, and the unlicensed perpetration of uel and sanguinary deeds, which sufficiently indicate the unbridled ill of the head of the government. During the administration of olsey, with the exception of the execution of Buckingham, we ve no record of legal slaughters, and little encroachment upon pular liberty. The change is supposed to have been produced hen the ascendency of Wolsey, through his able administration of ublic affairs, and his adroitness in making his sovereign believe that was the real pilot of the state vessel, was removed. Sir Thomas ore, who succeeded Wolsey as chancellor, was a thoroughly con- ientious minister; but he was in a false position. He held the eat seal only about two years and a half, and then resigned his fice. Retiring, with small provision of fortune, but richly endowed ith a contented and happy nature, he wrote to Erasmus that "he d obtained what, from a child, he had continually wished—that, ing freed from business and public affairs, he might live for a time ly to God and himself." During his tenure of high place the rsecution of heretics was not violent. Erasmus has said that it as a sufficient proof of his clemency that while he was chancellor man was put to death "for these pestilent dogmas." But he ok part in the examination of heretics before the council, sanc- ned their imprisonment, and caused a boy and a bedlamite to be hipped for "ungracious heresy," according to his own statement. hat More, at this period, should have manifested a devoted attach- ent to the doctrines of the Church without entertaining some of its rsecuting spirit, was scarcely to be expected, even from his beau- ful nature. But there is nothing, even in the statements of the zeal- ous and credulous historian of the Protestant martyrs, to warrant a modern writer in saying of More, "No sooner had the seals changed hands than the Smithfield fires recommenced." * We have already mentioned the case of William Baynham, sometimes called Baynard. He suffered death by burning at Smithfield, according to Fox, on the 30th of April, 1532. There is a "Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London," in which such events are minutely recorded; and the only entry of this nature, from the removal of Wolsey from the chancellorship to the appointment of More's successor, is this, of the 23d year of Henry, 1532: "And also this year was William Barnard, a man of law, and two more with him, burned in Smithfield for heresy, *in May.*" More surrendered the great seal on the 16th of May. We ought to pause upon this contradiction to the date given by Fox, before we decide that Erasmus stated what was untrue.

While More was chancellor, and in that capacity the framer of new laws, it may be worth inquiring whether, in matters unconnected with ecclesiastical affairs, we can trace an equally savage spirit as that which is subsequently forced upon our notice. We are asked by the historian of this period to regard a statute of 1531 with especial attention, "because the temper which this act exhibits is the key to all which has seemed most dark and cruel in the rough years which followed; a temper which would keep no terms with evil, or with anything which, rightly or wrongly, was believed to be evil, but dreadfully and inexorably hurried out the penalties of it." † The statute thus prominently put forward as indicating the temper of the nation and of the parliament—"the English were a stern people"—was one which arose out of the attempt of one Richard Rouse to poison the family of the bishop of Rochester; and it was enacted that poisoning should be deemed high treason, without having any advantage of clergy, and that Richard Rouse, and all future poisoners should be "boiled to death." We are told by the historian that "the poisoner's cauldron was the fresh expression of the thought of the parliament of the reformation." ‡ And yet the crime of poisoning was so punished, ten years before Henry VIII., "considering that man's life, above all things, is chiefly to be favored," caused the statute to be passed. We have the following undoubted record under the 13th year of Henry: "This year was a man sodden in a cauldron in Smithfield; and let up and down divers times till he was dead, for because he would have poisoned divers persons." § In the same chronicle we have a record of the fate of Richard Rouse, in which the same horrible barbarities, probably relics of an earlier period, were practised as in 1522 "This year [1532] was a cook boiled in a cauldron in Smithfield, for he would have poisoned the bishop of Rochester, Fisher, with divers of his servants; and he was locked in a chain, and pulled up and down with a gibbet at divers times till he was dead." ‖ Certainly this punishment was not "the fresh expression of the thought of the parliament." Was it any peculiar result of the energetic and reforming spirit in the parliament, as the historian holds, that a statute was passed "concerning Egyptians?" The act says, without any covert meaning, that "many outlandish people, calling themselves Egyptians, using no craft nor faict [practice] of merchandize, have come into this realm, and gone from shire to shire and place to place in great company; and used great subtle and crafty means to deceive the people; bearing them in hand that they by palmistry could tell men's and women's fortunes, and so, many times, by craft and subtilty have deceived the people of their money, and also have committed many and heinous felonies and robberies." ¶ This description of the gypsies might apply to the times of George III., and even later, as well as to the times of Henry VIII. The historian regards these fortune-telling impostors as "ready-made missionaries of sedition," who, "in telling fortunes, might readily dictate policy." ** They were to depart out of the country, upon pain of imprisonment and forfeiture of goods, under the statute of 1531. There is a letter of Cromwell, six years later than this statute, in which he desires the president of the marches of Wales to cause the "Gipcyans" to depart beyond the sea, or to execute them, in default of obedience, without hesitation.†† The statute dealt with them mildly. When Cromwell wrote this let-

* "State Papers," vol. vii. p. 303.
† 23 Hen. VIII. c. 20.
‡ "State Papers," vol. vii. p. 349.
§ Ibid., p. 349.

* Froude, History, vol. ii. p. 83.
† Ibid., vol. i. p. 289.
‡ Ibid.
§ "Grey Friars' Chronicle," Camden Society, p. 30.
‖ Ibid., p. 35.
¶ 22 Hen. VIII. c. 10.
** Froude, vol. i. p. 293.
†† Ellis, First Series, vol. ii. p. 100.

ter, England was under the reign of terror. But that they were regarded as political agents cannot be inferred from the charge against them, expressed in that letter, of "falsehoods, felonies, and treasons." Treason, in 1538, was a word of very wide signification. There is another statute of 1531, which is regarded by the same writer as pointing, as well as the statute for the Egyptians, "to the growth of a disturbed and restless disposition, the interruption of industry, and other symptoms of approaching social confusion; and at the same time they show us the government conscious of the momentous nature of the struggle into which it was launched." This other statute is "An Act concerning punishment of beggars and vagabonds." We might believe from this talk about "interruption of industry"—"social confusion"—"momentous struggle"—taken alone, that the parliament of the 22d year of Henry VIII. was the first that had attempted to deal with that great question of vagabondage, which had arisen out of the transition from feudal service to free labor. On the contrary, the same writer, in another part of his work, has very fully traced the course of legislation as to beggars and vagabonds.* Nearly a century and a half had passed since, by the 7th of Richard II., it was enacted that vagabonds should be put in the stocks, or sent to jail, there to remain "till the coming of the justices for deliverance of jails," who would do with them what "best shall seem by the law." The statute of the 11th of Henry VII. "against vagabonds and beggars," retained the stocks, but dispensed with the prison, as too expensive.† The statute of the 22d of Henry VIII. authorizes justices to give a license to impotent persons to beg, within certain limits; but those who solicited alms without such letter under seal, were to be whipped and set in the stocks. But if any person, "being whole in body, and able to labor, was found begging, every such idle person was to be whipped at the end of a cart, and enjoined to return to the place where he was born, or where he last dwelt for three years, and there put himself to labor like as a true man oweth to do." He was to beg his way home; but if he wandered from the prescribed way, or exceeded the prescribed time, in his perilous journey, he was "in every place to be taken and whipped." One who has spent a long, thoughtful, and active life in laboring for the cure of pauperism with the truest regard for the poor, has justly said of this statute, "No provision is made for sustaining the weak, or for helping the strong to find employment; and therefore, notwithstanding the severity of the punishments awarded, the statute was sure to fail of accomplishing the object for which it was designed."‡ The legislators were wholly unprovided with any resource for those able-bodied persons who desired to work, but could find no employer. It was not the fault of the legislators. There was no surplus capital to stimulate employment. The labor-market was full. But in five years more there was a fiercer temper to be displayed toward the unhappy wanderer; and we know well to whom to ascribe its origin. There is a letter from Thomas Dorset, curate of St. Margaret's, Lothbury, to the mayor of Plymouth, in which he informs the mayor that "the king's grace came in among the burgesses of the parliament, and delivered them a bill, and bade them look upon it and weigh it in conscience; for he would not, he said, have them pass on it, nor on any other thing, because his grace giveth in the bill." The writer then goes on to state the contents of this bill: "There shall be a provision made for poor people. The jails shall be rid, the faulty shall die, and the other shall be acquit by proclamation or by jury, and shall be set at liberty, and pay no fees; and sturdy beggars and such prisoners as cannot be set a work, shall be set a work at the king's charges, some at Dover, and some at the place where the water hath broken in on the land, and other more places. Then if they fall to idleness, the idler shall be had before a justice of peace and his fault written. Then if he be taken idle again in another place, he shall be known where his dwelling is, and so at the second mention he shall be burned in the hand; and if he fail the third time *he shall die for it.*"§ The date of this letter is uncertain. It must have been written before the passing of the statute of 1536, which materially varies from this account of Henry's bill, as derived from "a burgess of the parliament." The particular clauses of the act of 1536, which contain some salutary regulations as to "a provision made for poor people," will be noticed in a future chapter. But one clause sufficiently shows that "he shall die for it" was looked upon as the great cure for the evil of "rufflers, sturdy vagabonds, and valiant beggars." Whipping for the first offence. If after having been once taken and whipped, and a second time apprehended, to be whipped again, and "the upper part of the gristle of the right ear clean cut off." If taken a third time, so mutilated, he shall be committed to jail, and at the next quarter sessions, if indicted of wandering, loitering, and idleness, and found guilty, "he shall have judgment to suffer pains and execution of death as a felon, and as an enemy of the commonwealth."*

> "The blind mole casts
> Copp'd hills toward heaven, to tell the earth is throng'd
> By man's oppression; and *the poor worm doth die for it.*"†

The evil was beyond the cure of legislation, for it was an economical evil. The wickedness was in proposing so awful and yet so futile a corrective of an almost unavoidable condition of society.

The letters of the bishop of Bayonne present us a vivid picture of the court of Henry in the summer of 1532. In July he writes from Ampthill to "the Great Master" in France—de Montmorency—to show him how confidential and familiar is his intercourse with the king and Mistress Anne. It is intended that there shall be a meeting in the autumn between Henry and Francis; and the ambassador writes that he well knows that the greatest pleasure which the king of France could offer to his brother of England, was, that he should invite him to bring the Lady Anne in his company to Calais; and that in the same way Francis should bring the queen of Navarre with him to Boulogne. "I cannot tell you," says the subtle minister, "whence this advice comes, for I have made oath not to do so." Let not the queen come, he adds—the queen was the sister of the emperor—for Henry so hates the Spaniards that he would as soon see the devil; and above all, "keep away all imperialists; and all those who are reported to be mockers and jeerers, for such are hated of this nation more than anything in the world." The bishop is in high good-humor. The king rides with him every day to the chase; and Mistress Anne, and the bishop in a hunting-jacket and cap which she has given him, stand together to shoot the deer as they pass in the green alleys of Ampthill Park.‡ At this season the king was in progress; and we find that the hounds were carried in a cart from hunting-ground to hunting-ground; and that the smith of the household went about with locks and bolts from place to place, to make the king's chambers secure: "Paid to the smith that carryeth the locks about with the king, in reward, 7*s.* 6*d.*"§ On the 11th of October, Henry, with the Lady Anne, who had been created marchioness of Pembroke, landed at Calais, where they remained with a most numerous attendance till the 13th of November. The two kings met in a valley between Calais and Boulogne, on the 20th of October; and Francis brought his two sons, who had been redeemed from their captivity as hostages after the battle of Pavia. But he did not bring the queen of Navarre. He danced with the Lady Anne, who, after supper, at a feast at Calais, came in "with seven ladies in masking apparel;" and "the lady marchioness took the French king, and the countess of Derby took the king of Navarre, and every lady took a lord," and "the French king talked with the marchioness of Pembroke a space." The chronicler, who devotes many pages to the account of these festivities, disposes of the great event which follows, in a few words: "The king, after his return, married privily the Lady Anne Boleyn, on Saint Erkenwald's day, which marriage was kept so secret that very few knew it."‖ We have better evidence than Hall's, as to the time of this marriage. Saint Erkenwald's day was the 14th of November, the day on which the king returned to Dover. Cranmer, in a letter of the 17th of

* Froude, vol. i. p. 66 to 78. † See *ante*, pp. 150 and 225.
‡ "History of the English Poor Law," by Sir George Nicholls, vol. i. p. 120.
§ This letter was first published in "Excerpta Historica," p. 289. It is also printed in "Suppression of the Monasteries," p. 36.

* 27 Hen. VIII. c. 25. Mr. Froude has fallen into an error in stating that "the sturdy vagabond" was, by the earlier statute, condemned, on his second offence, to lose the whole or part of his right ear (p. 77). That punishment was distinctly limited to persons "using crafty and unlawful games and plays, and some of them feigning themselves to have knowledge in physic, physiognomy, palmistry, and other crafty science."
† Pericles, act i. scene 1. ‡ Legrand, tom. iii. p. 555–557.
§ "Privy Purse Expenses," p. 238. ‖ Hall, p. 793.

ne, 1533, writes to Hawkins, the English ambassador at the em-
or's court, after describing Queen Anne's coronation on the 1st of
ne, "But now, sir, you may not imagine that this coronation was
ore her marriage, for she was married much about St. Paul's day
t, as the condition thereof doth well appear by reason she is now
newhat big with child. Notwithstanding it has been reported
oughout a great part of the realm that I married her; which was
inly false, for I myself knew not thereof a fortnight after it was
ne." * St. Paul's day—the day on which the old monkish rhymes
us if it "be fair and clear, it doth forbode a fruitful year"—is
25th of January.

At this season, then, was the union of Henry and Anne completed
the forms of the Church, without waiting for the divorce of
ueen Catherine by the papal court or otherwise. The rumor of
s extraordinary event travelled abroad, how few soever might
ow of it. It was known at Brussels on the 22d of April; when
e queen asked Hackett, the ambassador, if he had any news out of
gland, "I told her grace, as it is true, that I had none. She
ve me a look, as though she should marvel thereof, and said to me,
'ai des nouvelles qui ne me semblent point trop bonnes,' and told
e touching the king's marriage." † Cranmer, having been long
sent on his mission, returned to England in November, 1532, with
reputation for "prudent and gentle demeanor." ‡ The aged arch-
shop of Canterbury, Warham, who preceded Wolsey as chancellor
the friend of Erasmus—the prelate who presented a remarkable
ntrast to Wolsey in his simple habits and his contempt of riches—
ed in August, 1532. Cranmer was offered the primacy. He for
me time steadily refused, alleging his own unworthiness for so
eat a charge. There was an obstacle which must have weighed
on his conscience, though he eventually broke through it—he was
arried. At last, however, he consented. He was too necessary
r the policy of the king to allow his own scruples to have any force
ainst the royal will. He was appointed by papal bull, in February,
33—the last bishop of the English Church who received the pall
om Rome. He was consecrated on the 30th of March; and in tak-
g the oath, still in force, of obedience to the pope, he publicly pro-
sted that by this oath he did not intend to restrain himself from
ything he was bound to, either by his duty to God, or the king, or
e country.§

The great object of Cranmer's promotion to the highest ecclesiasti-
l office in the realm was soon apparent. Cranmer himself writes
at in the matter of the divorce, "the convocation had determined
d agreed according to the former consent of the universities."
he course of proceeding for the archbishop was resolved on "by
e king and his learned council." ‖ On the 11th of April Cranmer
rites a letter to Henry, in which he states that "the rude and igno-
nt common people" are not a little offended about the "uncer-
inty of succession;" and are angry that the clergy do not provide
remedy for "such inconveniences, perils, and dangers as the said
de and ignorant people do speak and talk to be imminent." He
erefore implores his highness, "for the exoneration of my con-
ience toward Almighty God, to license me, according to mine office
d duty, to proceed to the examination, final determination, and
dgment on the said great cause." ¶ The king graciously grants
ch license. Cranmer repaired to Dunstable. Queen Catherine
as summoned to an ecclesiastical court held there on the 8th of
lay; she refused to come; and being declared contumacious, the
nal sentence, that the marriage of Henry was null and void, was
ronounced on the 23d of May.

In the proceedings at Dunstable Queen Catherine resolutely
efused to take any part. Cranmer went through the forms of his
ffice with a show of impartiality. Bedyll, the clerk of the council,
rites to Cromwell, "My lord of Canterbury handleth himself very
ell, and very uprightly, without any evident cause of suspicion to
e noted in him by the counsel of the said Lady Catherine, if she
ad any present here." ** But there was a necessity for the final dis-
atch of the divorce which would brook no delay. Henry, with an
impatience that circumstances had rendered natural, had issued his orders for the coronation of Queen Anne on the 1st of June. On the 23d of May Cranmer writes to the king, "I have given sentence in your grace's great and weighty cause;" and he adds that he had sent a procuration "concerning the second matrimony;" on which subject he desires to know the king's further pleasure, "for the time of the coronation is so instant, and so near at hand, that the matter requireth good expedition to be had in the same." *

Cranmer has himself fully described the grand ceremonial of Queen Anne's coronation: "The Thursday next before the feast of Pentecost, the king and the queen being at Greenwich, all the crafts of London thereunto well appointed, in several barges decked after the most gorgeous and sumptuous manner, with divers pageants thereunto belonging, repaired and waited altogether upon the mayor of London, and so, well furnished, came all unto Greenwich, where they tarried and waited for the queen's coming to her barge. Which so done, they brought her unto the Tower, trumpets, shaums, and other divers instruments, all the ways playing and making great melody, which, as is reported, was as comely done as never was like in any time nigh to our remembrance. And so her grace came to the Tower on Thursday at night, about five of the clock, where also was such a peal of guns as hath not been heard like a great while before. And the same night and Friday all day, the king and queen tarried there; and on Friday at night the king's grace made seventeen knights of the bath, whose creation was not only so strange to hear of, as also their garments stranger to behold or look on; which said knights the next day, which was Saturday, rode before the queen's grace throughout the city of London toward Westminster Palace, over and beside the most part of the nobles of the realm, which like accompanied her grace throughout the said city; she sitting in her hair upon a horse litter, richly apparelled, and four knights of the five ports bearing a canopy over her head. And after her came four rich charettes, one of them empty, and three other furnished with divers ancient old ladies; and after them came a great train of other ladies and gentlewomen: which said progress, from the beginning to the ending, extended half a mile in length by estimation or thereabout. To whom, also, as she came alongside the city, was shewed many costly pageants, with divers other encomiums spoken of children to her; wine also running at certain conduits plenteously. And so proceeding throughout the streets, passed forth unto Westminster Hall, where was a certain banquet prepared for her, which done she was conveyed out of the back side of the palace into a barge and so unto York Place, where the king's grace was before her coming, for this you must ever presuppose that his grace came always before her secretly in a barge, as well from Greenwich to the Tower as from the Tower to York Place.

"Now then on Sunday was the coronation, which also was of such a manner.

"In the morning there assembled with me at Westminster Church the bishop of York, the bishop of London, the bishop of Winchester, the bishop of Lincoln, the bishop of Bath, and the bishop of Saint Asaph, the abbot of Westminster with ten or twelve more abbots, which all revested ourselves in our pontificalibus, and so furnished, with our crosses and crosiers, proceeded out of the abbey in a procession unto Westminster Hall, where we received the queen apparelled in a robe of purple velvet, and all the ladies and gentlewomen in robes and gowns of scarlet, according to the manner used before time in such business. And so her grace, sustained of each side with two bishops, the bishop of London and the bishop of Winchester, came forth in procession unto the church of Westminster, she in her hair, my lord of Suffolk bearing before her the crown, and two other lords bearing also before her a sceptre and a white rod, and so entered up into the high altar, where, divers ceremonies used about her, I did set the crown on her head, and then was sung *Te Deum*, etc. And after that was sung a solemn mass, all which while her grace sat crowned upon a scaffold which was made between the high altar and the quire in Westminster church; which mass and ceremonies done and finished, all the assembly of noble men brought her into Westminster Hall again, where was kept a great solemn feast all that day; the good order thereof were too long to write at this time to you." †

* Ellis, First Series, vol. ii. p. 89.
† "State Papers," vol. vii. p. 451. ‡ Ibid., p. 391.
§ The ancient guard-room of Lambeth Palace is now hung with portraits of archbishops, among which the earliest is that of Warham, by Holbein. ‖ Ellis, First Series, vol. ii. p. 35.
¶ "State Papers," vol. i. p. 390. ** Ibid., p. 395.

* "State Papers," vol. i. p. 396.
† Letter to Hawkins, ambassador to the emperor; Ellis, First Series, vol. i. p. 36.

Having this authentic description of a pageant so gorgeous at the moment, so typical of worldly vanities to look back upon, we may spare to translate the marvellous relations of Hall, essentially the court chronicler, into modern imagery. We pass over his banners and streamers, his tapestry and escutcheons, noting only one or two passages that the archbishop, not so familiar with what touched the people, has forborne to notice. When the queen landed at the Tower the king "received her with loving countenance at the postern by the water-side and kissed her; and then she turned back again, and thanked the mayor and citizens with many goodly words." The expression of Cranmer, "she sitting in her hair," is explained by the chronicler: "Her hair hanged down, but on her head she had a coif with a circlet about it, full of rich stones." At the banquet the queen was served with great variety of dishes; and by way of contrast to modern manners, we may mention that two countesses stood, one on each side, during all the dinner, "which divers times in the dinner-time did hold a fine cloth before the queen's face when she list to spit." While Westminster saw these festive solemnities, there was another queen at Ampthill, solitary, sick at heart, yet sustained by her unconquerable will to defy the oppression with which she was pursued. There is no more touching picture than the report of lord Mountjoy, her chamberlain, of the demeanor of this resolved princess, when, on the 3d of July, persons from the council waited on her to deliver certain articles on the king's behalf. She called her chamberlain and all her servants into her privy chamber, for, she said, she thought it a long season since she saw them. She was lying upon a pallet, having "pricked her foot with a pin, so that she might not well stand nor go, and also sore annoyed with a cough." The commissioners began to read their charge. "But as soon as we began to declare and read that these articles were for our instructions to move unto the Princess Dowager, at the first she made exception to that name, saying that she was not Princess Dowager, but the queen, and the king's true wife."* No entreaties, no threats, could ever move her from this declaration. The divorce was founded upon the implication that her maiden white was not truly worn at her marriage.† She persisted to the end in contradicting that material averment in the process against her. In the very tenderest point in which she could be touched, that of her love for her daughter, she was immovable. When it was urged that her resolve to bear the name of queen should be "an occasion that the king should withdraw his fatherly love from her honorable and most dearest daughter, the Lady Princess," she answered, as to the princess, "that she was the king's true begotten child, and as God had given her unto them, so for her part, she would render her again unto the king, as his daughter, to do with her as shall stand with his pleasure; trusting to God that she would prove an honest woman. And that neither for her daughter, family, possessions, or any worldly adversity or displeasure that might ensue, she would yield in this cause, to put her soul in danger."‡

CHAPTER LIII.

Birth of the Princess Elizabeth—Preparations for throwing off the papal power—Statute of Appeals—Cranmer's judgment declared illegal by brief of the pope—Statute for punishment of heresy—Burning of Frith—Act of Succession—Elizabeth Barton, the Holy Maid of Kent—Her execution with others—Fisher and More implicated in her proceedings—Oath to be taken according to the Act of Succession—Fisher and More, declining to swear to the preamble, sent to the Tower—Act of Supremacy—First Fruits and Tenths given to the king—New definitions of treason—The monks of the Charterhouse refuse to acknowledge Henry the Head of the Church—Their execution—Burning of Hollanders for heresy—Fisher and More decline to make answer to questions as to the Supremacy—Their condemnation—Their deaths.

At the beginning of September, 1533, Queen Anne Boleyn is at Greenwich awaiting the event which would determine the succession to the throne. In anticipation of this event, learned clerks had to prepare formal letters purporting to come from the queen herself; and a letter to Lord Cobham, which has been preserved, was ready for the signet of the queen to be affixed. On the 7th of Septembe certain blanks are to be filled up: "Whereas it has pleased the good ness of Almighty God, of his infinite mercy and grace, to send unt us, at this time, good speed in the deliverance and bringing forth o a princes." In two passages of this letter the final *s* has been adde to the first written word "prince."* The birth of a daughter was disappointment to the king. It would probably have been more so could he have looked into futurity, and have seen that under th reign of this princess the religion of the country would be firml placed upon a much broader basis than his own narrow views of ec clesiastical reform; and the honor of the country far more nobly sus tained against foreign enemies than in his petty wars of personal am bition. The christening of Elizabeth was performed at Greenwich with extraordinary magnificence. Cranmer was a prosaic god father. Poetry has made him an eloquent prophet.† It is unneces sary for us here to trace the political intrigues on the part of the pope the emperor, and the king of France, through which the final seps ration of England from the control or interference of the Holy Se was so long protracted. There had been various movements early i 1533, toward this end. The parliament had passed the Statute o Appeals, the title of which sufficiently shows its general object "An Act that the appeals in such cases as have been used to be pur sued to the See of Rome, shall not be from henceforth had nor use but within this realm."‡ The opening of this statute, setting fort the independence of the sovereignty of England, presents a fine ex ample of the strength of the English language—its grand organ swell—as it was written in Tyndale's Bible, and some other works o this period: "Where, by divers sundry old authentic histories an chronicles it is manifestly declared and expressed that this realm o England is an empire, and so hath been accepted in the world, gov erned by one supreme head and king, having the dignity and roya estate of the imperial crown of the same; unto whom a body politic compact of all sorts and degrees of people, divided in terms and b names of spiritualty and temporalty, be bounded and owing to bear next to God, a natural and humble obedience; he being also insti tute and furnished by the goodness and sufferance of Almighty God with plenary, whole, and entire power, pre-eminence, authority, pre rogative, and jurisdiction, to render and yield justice and final deter mination to all manner of folk, residents or subjects within this hi realm, in all causes, matters, debates, and contentions happening t occur, insurge, or begin within the limits thereof, without restrain or provocation to any foreign prince or potentate of the world." This statute was a declaration of war, and the pope received it a such. But he still hesitated. Strong influences were brought to bea upon him; but he still forbore to declare England out of the boson of the Church. In July, by a brief, Cranmer's judgment was de clared illegal, and the king was held to have incurred the penaltie of excommunication. But the final thunderbolt was yet in the up lifted hand. Meanwhile the government proceeded boldly in prepar ing the people for the great impending change. There is a very curi ous minute of council of the 2d of December, 1533, in which it i ordered that such as shall preach at Paul's Cross shall, from Sunday to Sunday, teach and declare to the people that he that now calleth himself pope is only bishop of Rome, "and hath no more authority and jurisdiction, by God's law, within this realm, than any othe foreign bishop hath, which is nothing at all; and that such authority as he hath claimed heretofore, hath been only by usurpation."§ The mode in which opinion was to be influenced, in a time before newspapers and reviews, is curiously shown in a duplicate, with va riations, of this minute, by which a strict commandment was to be given to the mayor, aldermen, and common council of London "that every of them in their houses shall liberally speak at their boards, and also teach their servants to declare that he that calleth himself the pope is but the bishop of Rome." The same principle was ordered to be declared to their families by the nobility of th realm; "and to command their said families to bruit the same in al places where they shall come."‖ It was little matter now whethe the king were excommunicated and England placed under an inter

* "State Papers," vol. i. p. 397.
† See *ante*, p. 226.
‡ "State Papers," vol. i. p. 400.

* "State Papers," vol. i. p. 407.
† Shakespeare, "Henry VIII." act v. scene 4.
‡ 24 Henry VIII. c. 12.
§ "State Papers," vol. i. p. 411.
‖ Ibid.

lict. There could be no effectual reconciliation now with Rome. Practically, the final separation was accomplished. The people were appealed to; and the appeal touched them in one of the most sensitive parts of their nationality. They forgot the origin of the contest, and looked only to its results as their deliverance from a thraldom.

The time was come for renouncing the authority of the bishop of Rome; but true religious freedom appeared as distant as in the reign of Henry IV., when the Lollards were regarded as public enemies. The statute of the 25th of Henry VIII., "for punishment of heresy," declares that speaking against the pope or his decrees is not heresy; but that heretics, upon lawful conviction and refusal to abjure, or after abjuration shall relapse, "shall be committed to lay power to be burned in open places, for example of other, as hath been accustomed." In the same letter in which Cranmer describes the coronation of Queen Anne, he relates, with an indifference which makes us shudder, the fate of two victims of persecution:

"Other news have we none notable, but that one Fryth, which was in the Tower in prison, was appointed by the king's grace to be examined before me, my lord of London, my lord of Winchester, my lord of Suffolk, my lord-chancellor, and my lord of Wiltshire, whose opinion was so notably erroneous that we could not dispatch him, but was fain to leave him to the determination of his ordinary, which is the bishop of London. His said opinion is of such nature that he thought it not necessary to be believed as an article of our faith, that there is the very corporal presence of Christ within the host and sacrament of the altar; and holdeth of this point most after the opinion of Œcolampadius. And surely I myself sent for him three or four times to persuade him to leave that his imagination, but for all that we could do therein he would not apply to any counsel; notwithstanding now he is at a final end with all examinations, for my lord of London hath given sentence and delivered him to the secular power, where he looketh every day to go unto the fire. And here is also condemned with him one Andrew, a tailor of London, for the said self-same opinion."*

If those who were thus groping their way in the dark morning of the Reformation did not hesitate to punish for opinions which they secretly cherished, we can comprehend how they would show little mercy to those who were inciters of opposition to the political and religious attitude of the government. The "Act for the establishment of the king's succession"† brought within the penalties of treason all the covert hostility of many of the people to the divorce and the second marriage. This statute declared the first marriage unlawful and void; the second marriage "undoubtful, true, sincere, and perfect." The king's issue by the Lady Anne were pronounced to be the inheritors of the imperial crown, and every manifest deed by writing or printing, to the prejudice of this marriage, or this succession, was to be taken as high treason; and if by spoken words, as misprision of treason. The attainder and execution of Elizabeth Barton, the Nun of Kent, and of some who believed in her; and the charges against bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More, in connection with this delusion, furnish a remarkable illustration of the spirit that prevailed in this dangerous crisis.

In the parish of Aldington there dwelt a servant-girl, afterward a nun of the priory of St. Sepulchre's in Canterbury, named Elizabeth Barton. In the words of the statute for her attainder, she "happened to be visited with sickness, and by occasion thereof brought in such debility and weakness of her brain, because she could not eat nor drink by a long space, that in the violence of her infirmity she seemed to be in trances, and spake and uttered many foolish and idle words."‡ In this parish where Elizabeth Barton dwelt there was a chapel dedicated to the Virgin, called Court-a-Street; and it was pretended that there she was miraculously restored to health. At a season of less public excitement, her "foolish and idle words" would have taken some ordinary course. But the feeble mind of this woman was impressed by the talk of those around her; and her fantastic dreams took the perilous shape of revelations about the divorce then impending. The pretensions of this "holy maid of Kent," as she was called, were not suddenly developed under the popular irritation about the king's marriage. In a letter written in 1533, to Cromwell, by the prior of Christ's Church in Canterbury, it is shown that "trances and revelations" of Elizabeth Barton commenced seven or eight years before that time—that is, four years before the fall of Wolsey; and that archbishop Warham took an interest in these matters, and appointed Doctor Bockyng, the cellarer of Christ's Church, to be her "holy father." The prior, who writes this letter, had known her only about two years; and she showed him, at such times, that she had revelations and special knowledge, "concerning my lord of Canterbury that was (my lord cardinal), and also the king's highness, concerning his marriage; so that she said if he did marry another woman his grace should not reign king past one month afterward; and also she said that she had been with the king's grace, and showed him thereof two times at the least; and also she said then she had showed the same unto my lord of Canterbury, that was my Lord Warham."* Out of the ravings of this poor servant-girl, who afterward, at the instance of Warham, became a professed nun, was got up a mighty charge of conspiracy, in which bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More were implicated. The ravings of this woman were of the most extravagant nature. She saw the king, Anne Boleyn, and the earl of Wiltshire, walking in a garden, and a little devil whispering in the lady's ear to send her father with a great bribe to the emperor. She saw evil spirits struggling for Wolsey's soul after his decease. She saw persons whom the angel of God had appointed to be at her death, when she should receive the crown of martyrdom.† The act of attainder of Elizabeth Barton, and others, enters into a most minute history of what are deemed their treasonable practices; and Richard Maister, the parson of Aldington, and Edward Bockyng, are stated to have written books to persuade the people that she was a holy person, and then to have suggested to her that she should have a revelation that if the king were divorced and married again he should no longer be king, "and that he should die a villain's death." Of this alleged conspiracy, as principal traitors, the nun, the parson of Aldington, the cellarer of Christ's Church, and five other persons, were tried in the Star Chamber, and suffered the penalties of treason, on the 21st of April, 1534. One of these, Henry Gould is declared in the act of attainder, to have related the pretended revelations "to the Lady Catherine, the princess dowager, to animate her to make commotions in this realm against our said sovereign lord." He is accused of saying that she should prosper and do well, and that the Lady Mary, the king's daughter, should prosper and reign. Of misprision of treason, others were arraigned; for that, believing in the revelation of the king's death, they had concealed it from him. Among these, the most eminent person was Fisher, bishop of Rochester. He was the only prelate who had the courage to refuse to sign a declaration, in 1527, that the king's marriage was unlawful. He stood alone in the convocation in resisting the denial of the pope's supremacy. That he should have provoked the bitter hostility of Henry and his ministers was an inevitable result of this firmness. If we doubt his judgment we must admire his conscientiousness. In a very elaborate letter of Cromwell to the bishop, he is reproached for having "conceived a great opinion of the holiness of this woman;" but that he attempted no means for the discovery of her falsehood. Cromwell adds, with great severity, but with an intimate knowledge of human nature, "Here I appeal your conscience, and instantly desire you to answer, whether if she had shewed you as many revelations for the confirmation of the king's grace's marriage, which he now enjoyeth, as she did to the contrary, ye would have given as much credence to her as ye have done, and would have let the trial of her and of her revelations to overpass these many years, where ye dwelt not from her but twenty miles, in the same shire, where her trances, and disfigurances, and prophecies in her trances were surmised and counterfeited."‡ Cromwell entreats the bishop to make submission to the king for having kept these revelations from his grace's knowledge. Fisher's excuse was that the nun had declared that she had told them to the king himself. She said the same to the priest of Christ's Church. It is clear that no excuse would avail; and least of all, one which the bishop incautiously set up, as we learn from Cromwell's reply: "Ye lay unto the charge of our sovereign, that he hath unkindly entreated you with grievous words and terrible letters, for

* Ellis, First Series, vol. ii. p. 40. † 25 Hen. VIII. c. 22.
‡ Ibid., c. 12.

* "Suppression of the Monasteries," p. 20.
† Letter to Cromwell, ibid., p. 14. ‡ Ibid., p. 30.

showing his grace truth in this great matter [the divorce], whereby ye were disaffected to show unto him the nun's revelations." The opportunity was come to punish the bishop with something beyond "grievous words and terrible letters." By the statute concerning Elizabeth Barton, he was attainted, with five others, "of misprision and concealment of treason."* Sir Thomas More narrowly escaped. He had conversed with the nun of Kent in the convent of Sion. He was examined before the Council. It is said that his name was originally introduced into the bill of attainder. But if as brave as Fisher the ex-chancellor was more wary. He was released. When his daughter had obtained information that his name was put out of the bill he replied to her joyful congratulations, "In faith, Meg, *quod differtur non aufertur*—what is postponed is not abandoned." The whole story of the holy maid of Kent affords as much evidence of the delusions that, in all ages, have influenced the enthusiastic votaries of the Roman Church, as of the systematic impostures which have been as frequently attributed to them. The act of attainder states that "the false, feigned, and dissimulated hypocrisy, cloaked sanctity, revelations, and feigned miracles of the said Elizabeth, are plainly confessed before the king's most honorable council by the said offenders"—the nun, Master, Bockyng, and others. Of the mode of this trial we have no record. A contemporary foreigner, bitterly adverse to the old religion, states that the king "racked them with intolerable tortures, and brought to light the mummery contrived by them."† This traveller relates that one of the modes in which the priests managed to spread abroad the report of Elizabeth Barton's miraculous knowledge, was to obtain the secrets of those who made their confessions to them, and then to reveal them to the nun, who astonished them by her knowledge of their most hidden acts and thoughts. That Warham and Fisher—perhaps even More—were among the deluded, may be attributed to that superstition from which the learned and the enlightened were not wholly free, in an age when the true and the false of religious belief were not clearly to be seen through the cloud of ceremonial observances; when the pretensions to miraculous powers, which still lingered round the shrines of a thousand saints and martyrs, imposed to some extent upon the clearest understandings. The concluding clause of the statute itself justifies us in attributing the widely-spread credence in this pretended revelation to a spirit of fanaticism rather than to a settled purpose of overthrowing the government. It states that a great multitude of the king's subjects, "inclined to new fangleness," have heard these false revelations, and have concealed the same, and not like true liegemen informed the king or his council; through which they deserve to suffer the penalties of treason. But all persons not attainted by this act are acquitted and pardoned, of the king's most gracious benignity, "at the humble suit and contemplation of his most dear, entire, and well-beloved wife, Queen Anne."

The "Act for the establishment of the king's succession" contained a final clause that all the nobles of the realm, spiritual and temporal, and all other subjects of full age, should take an oath to maintain and defend this act; and, upon their refusal so to do, should be held guilty of misprision of treason. The oath, which was taken by some Lords and Commoners in parliament before its prorogation on the last day of March, 1534, was to be taken by all who were called upon to appear before the commissioners appointed by the king. On the 13th of April Sir Thomas More was summoned to attend before the archbishop of Canterbury and the other commissioners at Lambeth. As he left his house at Chelsea—that house which Erasmus described as something more noble than the academy of Plato, "a school and exercise of the Christian religion"—he had a presentiment that he should never return to it. He could not trust himself to kiss and bid farewell to those he loved, as he was wont to do when he entered his boat. He passed out of his garden to the river-side, suffering none of his household to follow, "but pulled the wicket after him, and shut them all from him." The strength of his love might have triumphed over his resolve to dare the worst rather than to affirm what he did not honestly believe. His soul triumphed in that hour of struggle; and he whispered to his son-in-law, "I thank our Lord, the field is won!" The result of his examinations at Lambeth was his committal to the Tower, after being kept in ward four days. The difficulty in which More and his friend, the aged bishop of Rochester, were placed, may be best understood through an extract of a letter from Cromwell to Cranmer. The archbishop, with that disposition to compromise which he was as ready to employ for the benefit of others as of himself, had expressed his opinion "that it were good the bishop of Rochester and Master More should be sworn to the act of the king's succession and not to the preamble of the same." In that preamble was contained a declaration of the unlawfulness of the king's first marriage, and of the legality of his second; and a disclaimer of foreign authority in the realm, by which was meant the spiritual authority of the see of Rome. Henry was indignant at Cranmer's merciful suggestion, and desired Cromwell to say that "the king's highness in no wise willeth but that they shall be sworn as well to the preamble as to the act. Wherefore his grace specially trusteth that ye will in no wise attempt or move him to the contrary; for, as his grace supposeth, that manner of swearing, if it shall be suffered, may be an utter destruction of his whole cause, and also to the effect of the law made for the same."* More and Fisher would not swear to the preamble, although they would swear to defend the succession. They were committed to the Tower, under a despotic authority which was subsequently introduced into a statute, that the certificate of the commissioners setting forth a refusal to take the oath "should be taken as strong and as available in the law as an indictment of twelve men lawfully found of the same refusal."† In prison they remained till the summer of 1535, till the time was ripe for that final deliverance which has no terrors for the just. Meanwhile they were attainted by the parliament that assembled on the 3d of November, 1534, of misprision of treason; and were convicted "to all intents and purposes" as if they had been "lawfully attainted by the order of the common law."‡

The parliament thus assembled in November, 1534, had some root-and-branch work to perform, at the bidding of their imperious master. The first law which they passed was "An Act concerning the king's highness to be Supreme Head of the Church of England, and to have authority to reform and redress all errors, heresies, and abuses in the same."§ This is a short statute, but of high significance. There was no power now to stand between the people of England and the exercise of unbridled despotism. The most arbitrary man that had ever wielded the large prerogatives of sovereignty had now united in his own person the temporal and spiritual supremacy. The ecclesiastical authority which had regulated the English Church for eight hundred years was gone. The feudal organization which had held the sovereign in some submission to ancient laws and usages of freedom was gone. The crown had become all in all. The whole system of human intercourse in England was to be subordinated to one supreme head—king and pope in one. The most enslaving terror was to uphold this system throughout the land. The sheriff in every county was to be a spy upon the clergy, and to report if they truly spoke of the king as supreme head of the Church, without any cloak or color. No Amurath of the Turks could write more insolently to his provincial slaves than Henry of England wrote to his sheriffs, that if they failed in this service, "Be ye assured that we, like a prince of justice, will so extremely punish you for the same, that all the world beside shall take by you example, and beware, contrary to their allegiance to disobey the lawful commandment of their sovereign lord and prince."‖ The higher clergy were terrified into the most abject prostration before this spiritual lord. The bishop of Bath and Wells writes to Cromwell, on the 21st of February, 1535, informing him of a circumstance of which he thought it fit to advertise him, "by my fidelity to God and to the king." Doctor Carsley, a canon of Wells, in "bidding of the beads," called upon the congregation to pray for the king, "for the Lady Catherine the queen, and also, by express name, for the Lady Elizabeth their daughter." The poor old man of eighty was terrified when his mistake was shown him, and protested that he knew no queen but the Lady Anne. "The word scaped him unawares," says the bishop. And yet such is the fear of the o'er-passing tyranny, that the bishop

* 25 Hen. VIII. c. 12.
† "Travels of Nicander Nucius," Camden Society, p. 62.

* Letter in the Rolls House, quoted by Mr. Froude, vol. ii. p. 227.
† 26 Henry VIII. c. 2. ‡ Ibid., cc. 22 & 23. § Ibid., c. 1.
‖ Circular, printed in Fox.

writes a long dispatch to tell "the whole and plain truth," about so insignificant a matter as the "*lapsus linguæ*," as he calls it, of one who had mumbled a form of bidding prayer for a quarter of a century, and forgot that he was now, by statute, to banish such trivial fond records from the the table of his memory.*

The new dignity of the king was to conduce as much to his profit as his honor. The Lords and Commons crawl at his feet in this parliament of 1534–35, and humbly request that he will be pleased, as their "most gracious sovereign lord, upon whom and in whom dependeth all their joy and wealth," to receive the first fruits of all spiritual dignities and promotions; and also an annual pension of one tenth part of all the possessions of the Church. † A subsidy granted in the same parliament followed the accustomed precedent. But the dangers of every man's position were multiplied in new definitions of treason. It was now enacted, not only that those who desired or practised any bodily harm to the king or queen should be deemed traitors, but that whoever, by writing or words, published that the king was a heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel, or usurper of the crown, should be subject to the penalties of high treason. There was one further little sentence in this statute which was far more dangerous than that which made it treason to call the king ill-names. Whoever sought to deprive the king, the queen, or their heirs apparent "of the dignity, title, or name of their royal estates," was now declared to be a traitor. To deny the king the title of Supreme Head of the Church was, therefore, treason. ‡ To refuse to swear to the succession was only misprision of treason. The Act for the supremacy had no such terrible penalty. This one line of the statute of new treasons, thus brought in so gently and covertly, would have brought half England to the block, if conscience had prevailed over panic-stricken lip-service. Strong as our convictions may be, at this day, that such rough and cruel handling of long-cherished opinions was to be ultimately productive of inestimable blessings, we cannot shut our eyes to the certainty that these enactments must have produced a temporary misery and political degradation, never equalled by any action of the government, from the days of the Conquest. Had such measures been tried upon a less sturdy race, instead of a race that never, in the worst times, lost the instinct of freedom, and in this passing evil saw a great future good, the civil and ecclesiastical tyranny of this stage of the Reformation might have driven us into that intellectual servitude, upon which the true liberty of the Book of Life might have beamed in vain, when that Book was at length permitted to be opened.

We learn from a letter of Audley, the lord chancellor, to Cromwell, at what time the statute which so fearfully extended the definition of treason came into operation. In answer to a question touching a monk of Worcester, Audley gave his opinion that words spoken by the monk "had been treason, without doubt, if they had been spoken since the first day of February;" but that words spoken of the king or the queen before that time were only misprision of treason. § The act, no doubt, sealed up the lips of the people, and bitter thoughts were left to smoulder in their bosoms. But the clause which made it treason to deprive the king of any name or dignity was so administered as to render silence itself treasonable. If under examination a satisfactory answer was not given as to the king's title of Supreme Head of the Church, the gibbet or the block were ready for the offender. On the 3d of May the first grand experiment was made of the working of this statute. Let us take the most literal record we can find of an event which must have struck terror throughout the land. "Also the same year, the 3d day of May was Holyrood day, and then was drawn from the Tower unto Tyburn the three priors of the Charterhouses, and there hanged, headed, and quartered; and one of the prior's arms was set up at the gate into Aldersgate Street." ‖ Within those quiet walls, where now exists one of the few retreats which our country provides for the reduced and deserving of the middle classes; where a sound and liberal education of the young now goes forward in peace and security—there, some three centuries ago, a body of religious men, set apart from the world, of exemplary conduct, of zealous piety, were suddenly startled, as if a falcon had come to flutter their dove-cot. Bedyll, the clerk of the council, wrote to Cromwell, in August, 1534, that some of these brethren "be minded to offer themselves in sacrifice to the great idol of Rome." He described them "as careless men, and willing to die." He thinks, "if it were not for the opinion which men had, and some yet have in their apparent holiness, which is and was, for the most part, covert hypocrisy, it made no great matter what became of them, so their souls were saved." * This is the language of a worldly-minded man, who was incapable of understanding why men should prefer to die in an earnest belief than to live to make a profession which they abominated in their hearts. He cared nothing what became of them; yet he dreaded the odium that might fall upon those who hunted them to the death. He wishes "they were dead indeed, by God's hand, that no man should run wrongfully into obloquy for their just punishment." The prior of the London Charterhouse, John Haughton, after a short imprisonment in 1534, had sworn to the Act of Succession, and so had his brethren. But they were with difficulty brought "to good conformity." It was not the policy of the government to let them alone. They were respected by the people of London. They were hospitable and charitable. The new statute of treasons was to be tested upon them. If they yielded and acknowledged the supremacy, their example would reconcile others of lower reputation. If they refused, their punishment would terrify the boldest into submission. They had committed no outward offence. They were to be slaughtered for an opinion. There were two houses connected with the London priory; and their priors came to Cromwell, and with Haughton entreated to be excused answering the questions which they expected to be addressed to them. They were sent to the Tower. They refused to accept the Act of Supremacy when brought before Cromwell and others. They were tried by a jury upon this refusal, of course found guilty, and condemned on the 29th of April. From the Tower to Tyburn was a wearisome and foul road for these poor men to travel on hurdles, in their ecclesiastical robes, on a May morning. It was the first time that clergymen had suffered in England without the previous ceremony of degradation. In that dreary procession through busy streets, and through highways by whose sides pitying and wondering multitudes stood to behold this strange and portentous sight, these earnest men quailed not. In the presence of the executioner they quailed not. To the last they refused to submit to a law of the king and the parliament which they held to be contrary to the superior law of their church. They were not the last of these Carthusians who fell in this conflict. Other monks were hanged and headed. But there were ways of killing, slower but as sure, not unknown to the agents of tyranny. Thirteen months after these executions, the loyal Thomas Bedyll writes to Cromwell, "that the monks of the Charterhouse here at London, which were committed to Newgate for their traitorous behavior long time continued against the king's grace, be almost dispatched by the hand of God, as it may appear to you by this bill inclosed, whereof, considering their behavior and the whole matter, I am not sorry." † After the execution of Haughton and his brethren the monks who had submitted remained in their desolated house. But there were supernatural terrors around them, in which we may see the prevailing thoughts of their lonely watchings. John Darley relates that Father Raby, a very old man, had died in 1534; and that he had said to the dying monk, "Good Father Raby, if the dead man come to the quick I beseech you to come to me," and he answered, "Yea." The story thus continues: "And since that I never did think upon him till Saint John day, Baptist, last past. Item, the same day at five of the clock at afternoon, I being in contemplation in our entry in our cell, suddenly he appeared to me in a monk's habit, and said to me, 'Why do ye not follow our father?' [the late prior] And I said, 'Wherefore?' He said, 'For he is a martyr in heaven, next unto angels.' And I said, 'Where be all our other fathers which died as well as he?' He answered and said, 'They be well, but not so well as he.'" ‡ Such were the imaginations that lingered round the cells and cloisters of the stricken house, more consolatory, in their tender glimpses of the world of spirits, than the thoughts of those scoffers and time-servers, who were as yet unprepared to give any safer anchorage for earnest minds than in the old havens which they were destroying—dilapidated and unsafe harbors

* "State Papers," vol. i. p. 427. † 26 Hen. VIII. c. 3.
‡ Ibid., c. 13. § "State Papers," vol. i. p. 442.
‖ "Grey Friars' Chronicle," p. 37.

* "State Papers," vol. i. p. 422.
† "Suppression of the Monasteries," p. 162. ‡ Ibid., p. 34.

of refuge, but better than the stormy seas upon which men were driven out, without compass or beacon.

This was not a time when the execution of men for denying the king's right to be head of the Church implied that there would be any relaxation of the old system of persecution for doctrinal opinions. One of the spies who denounced the poor brethren of the Charterhouse, a certain Jasper Fyloll, writes to Cromwell, "It is no great marvel though many of these monks have heretofore offended God and the king by their foul errors, for I have found in the prior's and proctor's cells three or four sundry printed books from beyond the sea, of as foul heresies and errors as may be; and not one or two books be now printed alone, but hundreds of them." The act "for the punishment of heresy," passed in 1534, is immediately followed in the statute-book by "An Act for Printers and Binders of Books." * By this act the statute of Richard III., which allowed the free importation of printed and written books, is repealed. There is nothing said about the suppression of dangerous opinions; but it is merely stated that, as there are enough of printers and binders in England, no foreign books are to be sold by retail. The Dutch printing-offices, then in full activity, were unpleasant neighbors to a government which undertook to regulate every man's opinion. It was a time of fear; for the Lutheran doctrines had been carried to an excess by religious and political fanatics; and the political tenets which bore any resemblance to those of the Anabaptists, might be spread to the danger of all civil society. Within three weeks of the execution of the Carthusians, nineteen men and six women, born in Holland, were examined in St. Paul's Church as to their opinions. Stow, who records this in his Chronicle, speaks only of their confessions as to the more abstruse points of doctrine, especially of infant and adult baptism; nothing of those principles as to society and government which led to the excesses of 1532, when the baker of Haarlem and the tailor of Leyden made themselves masters of the city of Munster, and there preached and practised the wildest extravagances. Of the nineteen men and six women who were apprehended in London, fourteen were condemned and were burned. Latimer, who had known what perecution for heresy was, when he was examined in 1532 before six bishops, and "heard a pen walking behind the arras"—the pen of one appointed to write his answers—even he dismisses the Hollanders with these words: "The Anabaptists that were burnt here in divers towns in England (as I heard of credible men, I saw them not myself) went to their death, even *intrepide*, as ye will say, without any fear in the world, cheerfully. Well, let them go." He argues, and justly, that it was not to be inferred that he who so dies "dieth in a just cause." † He omitted to say that such fortitude is a proof that the men believed their cause to be just, and that the stake was no test of its error.

The parliament is prorogued. The king is moving from palace to palace in that midsummer of 1535. There are two prisoners in the Tower under attainder for misprision of treason. John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, would have soon ceased from troubling the government, for he had seen eighty summers. It was mercy, however, to remove him from his hard fare and scant clothing—"only some old rags were left to cover him." ‡ Under the roof of the same prison was Sir Thomas More. He was of a more vigorous age; but long confinement had bent his body and weakened his emaciated limbs. There came into the Tower, on the 14th of June, certain commissioners, deputed to interrogate these two prisoners; and to the question whether he had received or written any letters during his imprisonment, More gave one answer which sufficiently indicates the sympathy between these doomed men: "Since he came to the Tower he wrote divers scrolls or letters to Mr. Doctor Fisher, and received from him some other again; whereof the most part contained nothing else but comforting words from either to other; and declaration of the state that they were in, in their bodies; and giving of thanks for such meat or drink that the one had sent to the other." § But More had been subjected to previous interrogatories, to which he alluded in another answer on the 14th of June: "Also saith that since the last examination of him, this examinant did send Mr. Fisher word, by a letter that Mr. Solicitor had shewed him, that it was all one not to answer, and to say against the statute what a man would, as all the learned men of England would justify, as he [Mr. Solicitor] said then. And therefore he said he could reckon upon nothing else but the uttermost." * He had written, he said, to his daughter, Mr. Roper's wife, that what the end should be, he could not tell; "but whatsoever it were, better or worse, he desired her to take it patiently, and take no thought therefor, but only pray for him." Margaret, the best beloved of his children, did not take it patiently, but "used great vehemence and obseeration, to persuade him to incline to the king's desire." And thus, More, upon hearing the interrogatories of the commissioners touching the king's supremacy, incurred the peril which Mr. Solicitor had pointed out—"he sayeth that he can make no answer."

At this crisis of their fate an incident occurred which hurried Fisher to the scaffold, and, as a natural consequence, More followed. Clement VII. died on the 25th of September, 1534. He was no more to be troubled with the threats of Charles or Francis; no more to hesitate about excommunicating Henry, and placing England under interdict. His successor, Paul III., probably thought that the government of the stubborn islanders might be won back by courtesy; and in this desire, as he protested, he sent a cardinal's hat to bishop Fisher. "He shall have no head to wear it," exclaimed the indignant king. Fisher declared that he would not accept the honor which he had never sought. On the 17th of June he was taken before a special commission at Westminster Hall. The official record of this trial is a brief one: "Pleads not guilty. Venire awarded. Verdict, guilty. Judgment as usual in cases of treason." He died, by simple beheading, on the 22d of June. On the 1st of July the special commission again sat. More tottered into the hall, leaning upon his staff—into that hall which he had often entered, in the pomp of chancellor, with mace and seal borne before him. The axe now marshalled him on his certain road. His robes of office were now exchanged for a coarse woollen gown. He stood at the bar before his successor, Audley, as his judge. He was charged not only with refusing to acknowledge the king's supremacy, but that he had positively denied it. We have seen that "Mr. Solicitor" had been with him in the Tower. By "Mr. Solicitor" was the charge to be proved, in the betrayal of a confidential communication, and the distortion of the prisoner's words into a meaning beyond his intention. That man, Robert Rich, had played the same infamous part in the trial of Fisher. One who fills the office of Chief Justice of England, with the honesty that is an attribute of the judges of our time, speaks of Rich as "one who has brought a greater stain upon the bar of England than any member of the profession to which I am proud to belong." † No inquisitor of the Holy Office ever abused the frankness of a prisoner more than this base fellow, Rich, who was afterward lord chancellor. He went to the Tower with another person to remove More's books. The great scholar, seeing his daily solace thus taken from him, preserves his equanimity while the cherished volumes are being packed up. Rich, with the apparent friendliness that has always marked the intercourse of lawyers, however different their opinions, begins to talk about the great cause of dispute for which More was a prisoner. "Suppose there were an act of parliament that all men should take me for king," said Rich, "would not you take me for king?" More, who knew something of the history of the English monarchy, replied, "Yes, sir, that I would. A parliament may make a king and depose him." ‡ Rich then said, "Suppose there were an act of parliament that all the realm should take me for pope, would not you then take me for pope?" More answered, "Your first question applied to temporal government; but suppose the parliament should make a law that God should not be God, would you then, Mr. Rich, say so?" It was this conversation that "Mr. Solicitor" betrayed and exaggerated. More was moved to anger against this treachery, and told Rich, in the course of his defence, that he "always lay under the odium of a lying tongue;" and that he had trusted no secret of his conscience respecting the king's supremacy to one of whom he had so mean an opinion. The verdict of guilty was pronounced. He returned in a

* 25 Hen. VIII. c. 15.
† Sermons. Fourth Sermon before King Edward VI.
‡ Burnet's "Reformation." § "State Papers," vol. i. p. 433.

* "State Papers," vol. i. p. 434.
† Lord Campbell's "Lives of the Chancellors," vol. i. p. 570.
‡ Mr. Froude says, "If this was the constitutional theory, divine right was a Stuart fiction." It was. In another place he holds, from this, that More had "republican opinions." That does not follow.

boat to the Tower; and there, when he landed, his daughter Margaret fell upon his neck, and lovingly kissed him, again and again. On the 6th of July he was beheaded. His composure and his harmless pleasantries, even when his head was on the block, have been held by some as indicating a levity incompatible with true piety. One who himself knew how a Christian should die, has thus spoken of More's demeanor: "That innocent mirth which had been so conspicuous in his life, did not forsake him to the last. He maintained the same cheerfulness of heart upon the scaffold which he used to show at his table. His death was of a piece with his life. There was nothing in it new, forced, or affected. He did not look upon the severing of his head from his body as a circumstance that ought to produce any change in the disposition of his mind; and as he died under a fixed and settled hope of immortality, he thought any unusual degree of sorrow or concern improper on such an occasion as had nothing in it which could deject or terrify him."* That Henry would show any mercy to Fisher, the friend of his infancy, or to More, his able minister in many high offices, was not to be expected from his nature. He felt toward his ex-chancellor as he felt toward the old soldier whom the earl of Sussex desired to spare, after his condemnation for having been engaged in the Lancashire insurrection. Thus Henry decided in 1537: "Concerning the old man, whom you wrote to have respited, upon the lamentation he made at the bar, and the allegation of his service, thrice heretofore against the Scots, and otherwise, done unto Us: Albeit we cannot but take your stay [respite] of him in good part, yet, considering he hath so often received our wages, and would nevertheless at the last be corrupted against Us, we think him for an example more worthy to suffer than the rest, that before had none experience of our princely puissance, nor had received any benefit of Us; and so remit him unto you to be executed, according to his judgment given for his offences committed against Us."† We desire no truer illustration of the character of this king. We must seek for its parallel in Dante's "stream of blood,"

"Where tyrants their appointed doom receive."‡

CHAPTER LIV.

Cromwell vicegerent—Visitation of the monasteries—Delinquencies of monastic inmates, in some cases—Official corruption—Examples of duty performed by male and female heads of houses—Dissolution of the smaller monasteries—Parliamentary attempts to regulate prices and the quality of manufactures—Such endeavors futile or injurious—Death of Queen Catherine—May-day at Greenwich—Previous summoning of a special Commission—Arrests—Queen Anne imprisoned in the Tower—Her deportment—Her letter to the King—Cranmer's letter to him—True bills found against Anne, her brother, and four others—Trial of the four commoners—Trial of Anne Boleyn and lord Rochfort—Execution of the five men pronounced guilty—Account of the execution of Anne by an eye-witness—Marriage of Henry to Jane Seymour—General remarks on the question of Anne Boleyn's guilt or innocence—Parliament and a new law of succession—The Princess Mary.

Thomas Cromwell has not suffered the grass to grow under his feet since he went to the king, in 1529, to "make or mar it." During seven years of momentous change, from the position of the servant of a fallen master—very likely himself to be hanged, as some men said—he has been raised through a succession of offices—master of the jewels, chancellor of the exchequer, secretary of state—to wield the most potent ecclesiastical authority as the king's vicegerent. The archbishops and bishops may direct the consciences of the clergy. Cromwell will look after their revenues. It has been truly observed that "Cromwell, after the fall of his master, Wolsey, gained on the affections of Henry VIII. till he acquired as great an ascendency, and nearly as much power, as the cardinal had possessed during the preceding part of the reign; and, whatever office he happened to hold, he was looked up to as the mover of the entire machine of the state." This observation is founded upon the whole tone of official correspondence from 1531 to 1540, when this powerful minister fell from his slippery elevation.§

In that department of the British Museum called "the Cottonian Library"—a most valuable collection of MSS. made by Sir Robert Cotton early in the seventeenth century—there is a volume of letters and documents which furnish the most minute information as to the Visitation of the Monasteries—the measure which preceded their dissolution. In the Chapter-house at Westminster were formerly many bundles of documents known as the Cromwell Papers;* from which the volume in the British Museum was probably a selection. At various times some of these most curious papers have been published. They exhibit, not only the means of forming a correct estimate of many of the real bearings of the great ecclesiastical revolution, but furnish many incidental views of a condition of society which was soon to be swept away, and leave no traces but ruined walls and sculptured columns, where the ivy creeps and the bat hides. The first statute for the dissolution of the smaller monasteries, which immediately follows the visitation of 1535-6, says, of "the small abbeys, priories, and other religious houses of monks, canons, and nuns," that "many continual visitations have been heretofore had, by the space of two hundred years and more."† Wolsey, as we have seen, suppressed some of these houses; and his servant Cromwell had experience of the mode of conducting such operations. But Wolsey applied their revenues to noble uses. How Cromwell applied them we feel to this hour—every time that a church is to be built, or a school founded, by voluntary aid.

In the height of summer in 1535, three learned doctors set forth upon excursions into various parts of England, each having in his pocket a commission from the "vicegerent of the king in all his ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the realm." Dr. Layton is a most amusing correspondent of the vicegerent; and many a hearty laugh must there have been between the minister and "sundry divers fresh and quick wits, pertaining to his family; by whose industry and ingenious labors divers excellent ballads and books were contrived and set abroad concerning the suppression of the pope and all popish idolatry."‡ Dr. Layton has capital stories to tell of the prior of Maiden Bradley, in Wilts, about his relics; and of his less ancient realities, namely, six children, of whom his sons "be tall men waiting upon him."§ The worthy commissioner sent some of the curiosities to Cromwell, such as "Mary Magdalene's girdle." Articles of more intrinsic value were in his keeping: "I have crosses of silver and gold, some which I send you not now, because I have more that shall be delivered me this night by the prior of Maiden Bradley himself." The visitors anticipated that clause of the Act for the Suppression, which gave the king "all the ornaments, jewels, goods, and chattels" of the heads of the monastic houses, from the 1st of March, 1535. This was a large power to be intrusted to the visitors, and they never neglected to exercise it. They had rougher work to perform, which Dr. Layton, at any rate, appears to have set about with hearty good-will, however odious that work may seem to our more fastidious notions of the office of a gentleman. At Langdon, in Kent, was a small abbey, founded in 1192. It had several doors besides the front gate—"starting-holes" as the commissioner calls them. Dr. Layton comes suddenly upon Langdon, with his retinue; and descending from his horse orders his servants "surely to keep all back-doors and starting-holes." The abbot's lodging joined upon the fields and wood; and there the commissioner knocked and knocked, but heard nothing, "saving the abbot's little dog that, within his door fast locked, bayed and barked." The valiant doctor of law seized a pole-axe, and dashed the abbot's door in pieces; "and about house I go with the pole-axe in my hand, for the abbot is a dangerous desperate knave, and a hardy." Out of one of the starting-holes "rushed a tender demoiselle," who was conveyed to prison at Dover; "and I brought holy father abbot to Canterbury, and here in Christchurch I will leave him in prison."‖ There are too many such stories in these letters. But we have one painful feeling in reading them—even more painful than the exposure of hypocrisy and licentiousness—the tone in which these matters are spoken of. We heartily agree in the opinion of one who, in common with all ear-

* Addison, "Spectator," No. 349. † "State Papers," vol. i. p. 541.
‡ "Inferno," canto xii. Wright's translation.
§ Introduction to "State Papers," vol. i. part ii.

* These are now in the Record Office, and the State Paper Office.
† 27 Hen. VIII. c. 28.
‡ Fox, "Martyrs," quoted in Dr. Maitland's "Essays on the Reformation," p. 237.
§ "Suppression of the Monasteries," p. 58. ‖ Ibid., p. 75.

nest men, hates scoffers: "One would think that the sight of such an abomination of desolation as they professed to see, must have filled all who had anything like the love of God in their hearts, or even the fear of God before their eyes, with grief and consternation." *

Dr. Layton and Dr. Legh have gone together to Fountains Abbey. They write that the abbot is defamed by the whole people for his profligate life, and for his dilapidation of the house and wasting of the woods. Before the commissioners came he possessed himself of a jewel, and a cross of gold; and sold them, with plate of the house, to a goldsmith of Cheap. The commissioners properly compelled the abbot to resign. He joined the Yorkshire insurrection in 1536, and was hanged. A writer who derives this relation from the same source as ourselves, says that "tourists, who in their day-dreams among these fair ruins are inclined to complain of the sacrilege which wasted the houses of prayer," may study with advantage the account of the "moral ruin," of which "the outward beautiful ruin was but a symbol and a consequence." † May we not add that the historian, who presents this account of the low morality of the ancient clergy, might have also given us the following glimpse of the noble aims of the new statesmen? To Cromwell, the learned commissioners wrote, in the same letter which describes the frauds of the abbot, these significant words: "There is a monk of the house, called Marmaduke, to whom Mr. Timms left a prebend in Ripon church, now abiding upon the same prebend, the wisest monk within England of that coat, and well learned—twenty years officer and ruler of all that house—a wealthy fellow, which will give you six hundred marks to make him abbot there, and pay you immediately after the election." ‡ That this mode of propitiating favor was perfectly understood before the final destruction of the monastic houses was resolved upon, may be inferred from a letter of Latimer, of all men; who does not hesitate to write to Cromwell to avert the suppression of the priory of Great Malvern, by saying, "If five hundred marks to the king's highness, with two hundred marks to yourself, for your good-will, might occasion the promotion of his intent, at least way for the time of his life, he doubteth not to make his friends for the same." §

But however Latimer, in common with other honest men, might have compromised with the political corruption of the time, he appears at this stage of the Reformation, and indeed at a later period, not to have thought that an unmixed good was to be attained by the total annihilation of the religious houses. Pleading for this prior of Great Malvern, he says, "He would be an humble suitor to your lordship, and by the same to the king's good grace, for the upstanding of his foresaid house, and continuance of the same to many good purposes; not in monkery, he meaneth not so, God forbid; but any other ways as should be thought and seem good to the king's majesty, as to maintain teaching, preaching, study with praying, and, to the which he is much given, good housekeeping, for to the virtue of hospitality he hath been greatly inclined from his beginning." ‖ In a sermon before Edward VI. Latimer says, "Abbeys were ordained for the comfort of the poor." ¶ That the monastic establishments might have been retained, or their revenues applied, for purposes of Christian education, was the opinion of the more conscientious reformers. That retreats for females, set apart from the world to do offices of piety and charity, would be institutions compatible with the most enlarged freedom of religious opinion, is not disproved by any allegations of the laxity of some nunneries, when thousands of helpless beings were turned forth, under vows of chastity, into a world for the struggles of which they were so unfitted. The abbot of Faversham, who had been in his office from the time of Henry VII., was threatened with removal on account of his advanced age. The old man had some ideas of what his duties were, when he wrote, "If the chief office and profession of an abbot be, as I have ever taken it, to live chaste and solitarily, to be separate from the intromeddling of worldly things, to serve God quietly, to distribute his faculties in refreshing of poor indigent persons, to have a vigilant eye to the good order and rule of his house and the flock to him committed in God, I trust, your favor and benevolence obtained (whereof I might right humbly require you), I myself may and am as well able yet now to supply and continue these parts as ever I was in all my life." * Let us not, in charity, believe that all these men wer of lying tongues and evil lives. Let us not imagine that all nun were sensual and ignorant. The very commissioners themselves spea of many nunneries as above all suspicion. The prioress of Cate by is represented as a wise, discreet, and very religious woman; he nuns devout and of good obedience. "The said house standeth i such a quarter, much to the relief of the king's people, and his grace' poor subjects there likewise more relieved." †

If we may form an opinion from the preamble of the statute of 153 by which religious houses not above the yearly value of two hundre pounds were given to the king, the framers of the act, and the parli ment which assented to it, intended the suppression of the monast ries there to stop. The statute proposes that the members of th smaller houses shall be removed to "divers great and solemn mona teries of this realm, wherein, thanks be to God, religion is right we kept and observed." This was deliberately asserted, after the visit tion had been proceeding for more than six months. The statute 1539, simply entitled, "An Act for dissolution of Abbeys," swept th whole monastic system away, without assigning any reason beyon the flagrant untruth, that the abbots, abbesses, and other governo of the houses, "of their own free and voluntary minds, goodwill and assents, without constraint, coaction, or compulsion," had sinc the 4th of February, 1536, assigned their possessions to the king, an renounced all title to the same. We merely notice this final act c confiscation here, and pass on to the general course of our narrative

The act for the dissolution of the smaller religious houses wa passed in March. The parliament was dissolved on the 4th of Apri It had existed for seven years, during which it had assisted in som of the greatest changes of internal policy which England had eve witnessed. It had labored, too, as previous parliaments had labored in devising remedies for social evils, after the prescriptive fashion o believing that laws could regulate prices, and that industry was to b benefited by enacting how manufacturers should tan leather or dy cloth, and what trade should be carried on in particular towns. It i held to be evidence of the calmness with which the statesmen of thi parliament proceeded in their great work of ecclesiastical reform that they passed "acts to protect the public against the frauds o money-making tradesmen; to provide that shoes and boots should b made of honest leather; that food should be sold at fair prices; tha merchants should part with their goods at fair profits." Such bat tles against "those besetting basenesses of human nature, now hel to be so invincible that the influences of them are assumed as th fundamental axioms of economic science," are declared to be mor glorious "than even the English constitution or the English lit urgy." ‡ Without looking further than the records of this parlia ment, we may venture to suggest that these victories had no perma nent influence in making any product cheaper or better, but were th greatest obstacles to improvement, and therefore prevented a wide diffusion of things convenient for man. Was the manufacture o cloth likely to be improved, when the various dyeing-woods tha were brought to Europe after the discovery of America—"Brazil and such other subtleties"—were forbidden to be used? § Could th yeoman and the laborer obtain a better or a cheaper coat, when gra ziers and husbandmen were prohibited from weaving, fulling, o shearing cloth in their houses? ‖ The statutes for regulating th prices of land confess the utter fruitlessness of such enactments "Forasmuch as dearth, scarcity, good cheap and plenty of cheese butter, capons, hens, chickens, and other victuals necessary of man' sustenance, happeneth, riseth, and chanceth of so many and diver occasions, that it is very hard and difficult to put any certain price to any such things"—yet, upon any complaint of the enhancing o prices "without reasonable cause," proclamation shall be made a what rate they shall be sold. ¶ One more glimpse at these notable ex pedients "to compel all classes of persons to be true men" in spite o "the fundamental axioms of economic science." The regulating parliament decrees that flesh is to be sold by weight; that beef and pork are to be sold at a halfpenny a pound; and mutton and veal a three farthings.** But there are some others to be consulted in thi matter besides the butchers. What if the graziers will not sell fa

* Maitland, p. 225. † Froude, vol. ii. p. 423.
‡ "Suppression of the Monasteries," p. 101. § Ibid., p. 149.
‖ Ibid., p. 149. ¶ First Sermon before Edward VI.

* "Suppression," etc., p. 104. † Ellis, First Series, vol. ii. p. 72.
‡ Froude, "History," vol. i. p. 405. § 24 Hen. VIII. c. 2.
‖ 25 Hen. VIII. c. 18. ¶ Ibid., c. 2. ** 24 Hen. VIII. c. 3.

cattle to the butchers at a proportionate rate? The next session an act is passed to compel them.* But one inevitable consequence ensues—it is not remunerative to the graziers to breed and fatten cattle; so in two years more a scarcity ensues, the direct result of the legislation. And then, "the king's highness, well considering the great dearth of all manner of victuals which be now, and since the making of the said statutes," suspends their operations for four years, and leaves graziers and butchers to settle the prices of meat "without pain, imprisonment, forfeiture, or penalty." †

In the last days of December, 1535, "the Lady Dowager" lies on her death-bed at Kimbolton. Her physician "moved her to take more counsel of physic; whereunto she answered she would in no wise have any other physician, but only commit herself to the pleasure of God." ‡ In her last hours she wrote a brief letter to Henry, chiefly to commend her daughter and her maids to his respect. Its opening sentence was one of solemn warning: "The hour of my death now approaching, I cannot choose but, out of the love I bear you, advise you of your soul's health, which you ought to prefer before all considerations of the world or flesh whatsoever; for which yet you have cast me into many calamities, and yourself into many troubles. But I forgive you all, and pray God to do so likewise." The world and the flesh were to bring that man into other troubles, and produce even more terrible calamities. Catherine died on the 7th of January, 1536.

In the February following, Anne Boleyn had a premature delivery of a dead son. There was again disappointment to the king. His desire for an heir had become a passion—more dangerous in mingling with his inconstancy and caprice, and his sensual estimate of the female character. There is a beautiful passage in the "Memoir of Anne Boleyn," by George Wyatt, written at the close of the 16th century, but unpublished till our own times, in which, speaking of this February of 1536, he says of the queen: "Being thus a woman full of sorrow, it was reported that the king came to her, and bewailing and complaining unto her of the loss of his boy, some words were heard break out of the inward feeling of her heart's dolours, laying the fault upon unkindness." He adds, "Wise men in those days judged that her virtues were here her defaults; and that if her too much love could as well as the other queen have borne with his defect of love, she might have fallen into less danger." Catherine bore her fate patiently, as long as she was queen. Anne could not bear to hold the dignity as a neglected wife. However justly we may blame the weakness of Anne in permitting the royal lover to be for years at her feet, while the question of the divorce was depending, we see, after the marriage, a frank and affectionate helpmate—cheerful, gay ("the lark is gay, the innocent are gay"); kind to her dependants; earnest in looking at the Scriptures as the rule of life; of unbounded charity. "She had distributed, in the last nine months of her life, between fourteen and fifteen thousand pounds to the poor." § But she had bitter enemies. She was regarded as a heretic; and no suspicion could more insure her the king's hatred than this, nor the hatred of her uncle, the duke of Norfolk. The moment it was perceived that the king was cooling upon his "most entirely beloved wife," as he had so often proclaimed her to be, there were agents ready to procure her ruin. A poet—and poets sometimes see as clearly as historians into the secret passages of the past—has connected the fall of Anne Boleyn with the machinations which were prompted by "that awful spirit of fanaticism—the more awful because strictly conscientious—which was arrayed against our early reformers." ‖ The Society of which Loyola was the founder was not regularly organized till 1540; but his most energetic proselytes were earlier in full activity. With such secret agents about Henry, to hint that the want of an heir was an intimation of Heaven's displeasure at his second marriage, as of the first; with Gardiner abroad, to suggest that the emperor would never acknowledge the awfulness of the issue of Queen Anne; with one in the court, young and fair, with whom the king had evidently a perfect understanding; and with Anne herself, having habitually an unconstrained demeanor to those about her, which might be construed into levity and even guilt—there could be no great difficulty in setting "the sordid slave" Audley, and "the base and profligate" Rich—(we use lord Campbell's designations of these men)—to manufacture evidence, and to ground indictments for treason upon a statute that admitted of no such construction. There were secret investigations going on in April. Henry, according to his rule and habit, was smiling upon his victim while the axe was sharpening. He had long practised the art of hiding his thoughts under the mask of familiarity and kindness. "Three may keep counsel," he said to Cavendish, "if two be away; and if I thought that my cap knew my counsel, I would cast it into the fire and burn it." * And so, after a special commission was ordered to assemble, notice having been issued on the 24th of April, the usual festivities took place at Greenwich on the 1st of May; and Henry sate by the side of Anne as they gazed upon the tournament. In the lists was her brother, lord Rochfort—one of that band of courtly poets who ingrafted the smoothness of Italian verse upon our rougher English—the contemporary of Surrey and Wyatt—the accomplished scholar—the courtier of "admirable discourse." He was soon to say, as in a poem attributed to him, "My lute be still, for I have done." † At that tournament lord Rochfort was the challenger of Sir Henry Norris. To the real incidents of that day, which we may sufficiently trace from authentic relations, report added that Anne dropped a handkerchief which Norris picked up, and that Henry's jealousy was thus stung into madness. Hall, who in his Chronicle is excessively brief in his relations of these events, says, "On May-day were a solemn justs kept at Greenwich; and suddenly from the justs the king departed, having not above six persons with him, and came in the evening from Greenwich in his place at Westminster. Of this sudden departing many men mused, but most chiefly the queen." One who was a servant of Sir Henry Norris has given us a glimpse of what passed in this hasty ride to London of the king and his six attendants. "Upon May-day, Mr. Norris justed; and, after justing, the king rode suddenly to Westminster; and all the way, as I heard say, had Mr. Norris in examination, and promised him his pardon in case he would utter the truth. But what soever could be said or done, Mr. Norris would confess nothing to the king; whereupon he was committed to the Tower in the morning." ‡ Of Anne's position and behavior, on that night of doubt and fear when the king left her at Greenwich, we hear nothing. From Tuesday, the 2d of May, to the day of her death, on Friday, the 19th, the record is very clear of the mode in which she bore her inflictions. The letters of the constable of the Tower, Sir William Kingston, tell the unhappy story very fully. §

It appears that the queen was examined by some of the council at Greenwich. "I was cruelly handled at Greenwich," she says to Kingston, "with the king's council, with my lord of Norfolk: he said, 'tut, tut, tut,' and shaking his head three or four times." They accompanied her to the Tower, on the 2d, and on their departing, says Kingston, "I went before the queen into her lodging; and then she said unto me, 'Mr. Kingston, shall I go into a dungeon?' 'No, madam; you shall go into your lodging that you lay in at your coronation.' 'It is too good for me,' she said, 'Jesu, have mercy on me;' and kneeled down weeping a great pace, and in the same sorrow fell to a great laughing, and she hath done so many times since." She desired to have the sacrament in her chamber, that she might pray for mercy; "for I am as clear from the company of men, as for sin, as I am clear from you, and am the king's true wedded wife." She pressed Kingston to know where lord Rochfort was—"O, where is my sweet brother?" She exclaimed, "O Norris, hast thou accused me; thou art in the Tower with me, and thou and I shall die together; and, Mark, art thou here too?" The cruel handling of the council was upon her mind. Mark was the musician—his name Smeaton. The memorial of Constantine thus speaks of him: "I cannot tell how he was examined; but upon May-day in

* 25 Hen. VIII. c. 1. † 27 Hen. VIII. c. 9.
‡ Bedyngfield to Cromwell, December 31. "State Papers," vol. i. p. 451. § Burnet, book iii.
‖ Milman, Introduction to "Anne Boleyn; a Dramatic Poem."

* "Life of Wolsey," p. 399.
† See Warton's "English Poetry," Park's edit., vol. iii. p. 316.
‡ From a memorial to Cromwell, by George Constantine, giving an account of a conversation which he held in Pembrokeshire. "Archæologia," vol. xxiii.
§ These letters were much injured by fire in the Cotton Library in 1731. Strype had printed many passages entire, copied before the fire. We give the extracts as they stand in Mr. Singer's edition of Cavendish.

the morning he was in the Tower. The truth is, he confessed it; but yet the saying was that he was first grievously racked." According to Kingston, the queen kept harping upon Norris, and speaking of him as if he had made advances to her, for which she had reproved him, and said she could undo him if she would. She had been persuaded that Norris had spoken lightly of her, but Norris had said to her almoner that he would swear she was a good woman. This talk does not appear to have chiefly taken place before the constable of the Tower, but was reported to him by one Mistress Cosyn, who was appointed to lie with the queen on her pallet—Lady Boleyn, her uncle's wife and her domestic enemy, being also there. Out of such talk it would be easy to prepare solemn depositions; and Kingston, with the true wisdom of the jailer-spy, says, "I have everything told me by Mistress Cosyn that she thinks meet for me to know." The queen spake, too, of Weston (Sir Francis Weston), who had said that he loved her; and in telling this, "she defied him." From time to time her mind is dwelling upon the threats and insinuations of Norfolk and the king's council, as these treacherous women question her; and she wanders in her distracted talk from one to the other of those who had been mentioned as being implicated in her dishonor. There is nothing which indicates anything more than the affection which these men naturally bore to a kind and perhaps too condescending mistress, in any one of her rambling and indiscreet sentences. It would be difficult to extract a proof of guilt, or even of levity, from this her account of the poor musician, Mark. At Winchester he came to her lodging to play upon the virginals: "I never spake with him since, but upon Saturday before May-day, and then I found him standing in the round window in my chamber of presence; and I asked why he was so sad, and he answered and said it was no matter; and then she said, 'You may not look to have me speak to you as I should to a nobleman, because you be an inferior person.' 'No, no, madam, a look sufficed me.'"

When the queen first came into the Tower she said, "Mr. Kingston, shall I die without justice?" and he answered, "The poorest subject the king hath has justice;" and therewith she laughed. It was the laugh of despair. Yet she made an effort to touch the heart of the king; and she said to Kingston, "I shall desire you to bear a letter from me to Master Secretary." A copy of a letter to the king, with the words written upon it, "From the lady in the Tower," is to be seen among the Cotton MSS. in the British Museum. The handwriting is supposed to be of the latter time of Henry VIII. It has been much injured by fire; but the entire letter, with which this burned MS. corresponds in the parts untouched, is printed in Lord Herbert's history, and by Burnet, who refers to the MS. in a marginal note. We make no apology for printing this beautiful composition at length, whose authenticity Sir James Mackintosh and Sir Henry Ellis concur in believing, as well as Mr. Froude, who has no belief in Anne Boleyn's innocence:

"SIR: Your grace's displeasure, and my imprisonment, are things so strange unto me, as what to write, or what to excuse, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you send unto me (willing me to confess a truth, and so obtain your favor) by such an one whom you know to be mine ancient professed enemy, I no sooner received this message by him than I rightly conceived your meaning; and if, as you say, confessing a truth indeed may procure my safety, I shall with all willingness and duty perform your command.

"But let not your grace ever imagine that your poor wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a fault, where not so much as a thought thereof preceded. And, to speak a truth, never prince had wife more loyal in all duty, and in all true affection, than you have ever found in Anne Boleyn, with which name and place I could willingly have contented myself, if God and your grace's pleasure had been so pleased. Neither did I at any time so far forget myself in my exaltation, or received queenship, but that I always looked for such an alteration as now I find; for, the ground of my preferment being on no surer foundation than your grace's fancy, the least alteration was fit and sufficient, I knew, to draw that fancy to some other subject. You have chosen me, from a low estate, to be your queen and companion, far beyond my desert or desire. If then you found me worthy of such honor, good your grace let not any light fancy, or bad counsel of mine enemies, withdraw your princely favor from me; neither let that stain, that unworthy stain of a disloyal heart toward your good grace, ever cast so foul a blot on your most dutiful wife, an the infant princess your daughter. Try me, good king; but let m have a lawful trial, and let not my sworn enemies sit as my accuser and judges; yea, let me receive an open trial, for my truth shall fea no open shame. Then shall you see, either mine innocency cleared your suspicion and conscience satisfied, the ignominy and slander o the world stopped, or my guilt openly declared. So that, whatsc ever God or you may determine of, your grace may be freed from a open censure; and mine offence being so lawfully proved, you grace is at liberty, both before God and man, not only to execut worthy punishment on me as an unfaithful wife, but to follow you affection already settled on that party, for whose sake I am now as am, whose name I could some good while since have pointed unto your grace being not ignorant of my suspicion therein.

"But, if you have already determined of me, and that not only m death, but an infamous slander must bring you the enjoying of you desired happiness; then I desire of God, that he will pardon you great sin therein, and likewise my enemies, the instruments thereof and that he will not call you to a strait account for your un princely and cruel usage of me, at his great judgment seat, wher both you and myself must shortly appear, and in whose just judg ment, I doubt not, whatsoever the world may think of me, mine in nocence shall be openly known and sufficiently cleared.

"My last and only request shall be, that myself may only bear th burden of your grace's displeasure, and that it may not touch the in nocent souls of those poor gentlemen who, as I understand, are like wise in strait imprisonment for my sake. If I ever have found favo in your sight; if ever the name of Anne Boleyn hath been pleasin in your ears, then let me obtain this request; and so I will leave t trouble your grace any further, with mine earnest prayers to th Trinity to have your grace in his good keeping, and to direct you i all your actions. From my doleful prison in the Tower, this sixth o May. Your most loyal and ever faithful wife,

"ANNE BOLEYN."*

The day after Anne had been imprisoned in the Tower, Cranme wrote a remarkable letter to the king.† He commences by sayin that he had been commanded by Mr. Secretary, in the king's name to repair to Lambeth, and there to wait his pleasure. Out of kind ness or policy his aid in the inquiries of the council was thus forbid den. He then adverts to the common rumor, and to the consequen "deep sorrows of your grace's heart," and thus proceeds: "I can not deny but your grace hath great causes many ways of lamentabl heaviness; and also that in the wrongful estimation of the worl your grace's honor of every part is so highly touched (whether th things that commonly be spoken of be true or not), that I remembe not that ever Almighty God sent your grace any like occasion to tr your grace's constancy throughout, whether your highness can b content to take of God's hand as well things displeasant as pleasant. He then proceeds to exhort the king to imitate the example of Job in his "willing acceptation of God's scourge and rod." After thi introduction he summons courage to come to the point upon which required all his discretion to speak: "And if it be true that openly reported of the queen's grace, if men had a right estimatio of things they should not esteem any part of your grace's honor t be touched thereby, but her honor only to be clearly disparaged And I am in such a perplexity that my mind is clean amazed. For never had better opinion in woman than I had in her, which maket me to think, that she should not be culpable. And again, I thin your highness would not have gone so far, except she had surel been culpable. Now I think that your grace best knoweth, that nex unto your grace I was most bound unto her of all creatures living Wherefore I most humbly beseech your grace to suffer me in that which both God's law, nature, and also her kindness bindeth m unto, that is, that I may with your grace's favor wish and pray fo her, that she may declare herself inculpable and innocent. And i

* The force and elegance of the diction have led some to belie that this letter was beyond the ability of Anne. Its modern for has, perhaps, been injurious to a conviction of its authenticity; an therefore we append it as a note, as the MS. now exhibits it, wit the mutilated parts in italics. (See end of this chapter.)

† This letter is printed by Burnet (book iii.), who says he copied from the original.

he be found culpable, considering your grace's goodness toward her, nd from what condition your grace of your only mere goodness took er, and set the crown upon her head, I repute him not your grace's aithful servant and subject, nor true unto the realm, that would not esire the offence without mercy to be punished, to the example of ll other. And as I loved her not a little, for the love which I udged her to bear toward God and his Gospel; so if she be proved ulpable, there is not one that loveth God and his Gospel that ever vill favor her, but must hate her above all other; and the more they avor the Gospel, the more they will hate her. For then there was ever creature in our time that so much slandereth the Gospel. And God hath sent her this punishment, for that she feignedly hath professed his Gospel in her mouth, and not in heart and deed." What ollows very clearly indicates the inclination of Anne to a true reform of religion, founded upon the knowledge of the Scriptures; and the nfluence which she had exercised upon Henry's opinions. But it lso shows how wavering Cranmer thought the mind of that man who bore a two-edged sword, to punish those who clung to the papal power and those who sought any expansion of spiritual belief. "I rust that your grace will bear no less entire favor unto the truth of he Gospel than you did before: forasmuch as your grace's favor to he Gospel was not led by affection unto her, but by zeal unto the ruth." Then comes this significant postscript:

"After I had written this letter unto your grace, my lord chancellor, my lord of Oxford, my lord of Sussex, and my lord chamberlain of your grace's house, sent for me to come unto the Star Chamber; nd there declared unto me such things as your grace's pleasure was hey should make me privy unto. For the which I am most bounden unto your grace. And what communication we had together, I doubt not but they will make the true report thereof unto your grace. I am exceedingly sorry, that such faults can be proved by the queen, as I heard of their relation. But I am, and ever shall be, your faithful subject." When Cranmer knew nothing of the charges against the queen, he used very strong language—"offence without mercy to be punished"—"God hath sent her this punishment." When the lord chancellor, and others, have made him privy to such things as the king desired him to know, he is only 'exceedingly sorry that such faults can be proved by [of] the queen s I heard of their relation." If he had heard enough to justify a charge "without mercy to be punished," would he not have used even stronger language than in the first portion of his letter? The charges against the queen were so awful, as set forth upon her so-alled trial, that he must have suppressed that letter which said, "I never had better opinion in woman than I had in her, which maketh me to think that she should not be culpable."

On the 10th and 11th of November true bills were found by grand uries of Middlesex and of Kent, against the queen, her brother, Henry Norris, William Brereton, Francis Weston, and Mark Smeaton, setting forth that the queen had incited them, including lord Rochfort, to commit the most odious crime; that they had at various imes compassed and imagined the king's death; and that the king, 'having within a short time before become acquainted with the before-mentioned crimes, vices, and treasons, had been so grieved that certain harms and dangers had happened to his royal body." The grand juries that found that the disease which was incident to the king's gross habit, and of which he died—ulceration of the legs—was produced by grief—a grief so short-lived as to permit him to marry again within nine days of this finding—were not likely to be very scrupulous upon returning true bills to any indictment presented to them. On the 12th of May the four commoners were tried by a jury at Westminster. They were convicted, and were executed on the 17th. These four men did not confess upon the scaffold to the crimes with which they were accused. As men about to die they confessed their sins generally. According to the letter of a bystander, "who heard them, and wrote every word they spake," * Norris said that he deserved to die, "but the cause wherefore I die judge not, but if ye judge, judge the best." Of the other three he says that they "in a manner" confessed all. But when he comes to particulars the "all" evaporates in general admissions of a sinful life. A Portuguese, who has given a most minute account of these executions, says, of the four commoners, "they besought the bystanders to pray for them, and that they yielded themselves to death with joy and exceeding gladness." *

The last scene of this dismal tragedy quickly opens. On the 15th of May a select number of peers assembled in the Tower—twenty-seven in all. The duke of Norfolk presided. The queen was arraigned, and pleaded not guilty. There is no record of the trial; no tittle of the evidence is preserved. The verdict was "guilty;" the judgment "to be beheaded or burned at the king's pleasure." The same form was gone through with lord Rochfort, with the usual sentence of death for treason. Lawyers are perplexed now to know under what statute any one of those accused could have been found guilty of treason. The evidence was not open to the world, for the proceeding "was inclosed in strong walls." † A Flemish gentleman in London at the time complains of the absence of witnesses upon these trials. Then, and long after, in trials for high treason, the witnesses were not confronted with the prisoners; and it was held sufficient to read out their depositions. We can thus easily understand how, on such a state-trial, to be accused was necessarily to be condemned. On the morning of her execution Anne Boleyn requested Kingston to be present while she received the sacrament, and then declared her "innocency." She had been brought before Cranmer, before her trial, to be examined upon some mysterious point which enabled him to pronounce a sentence of divorce. Burnet says it was in consequence of a pre-contract with the earl of Northumberland. This the earl denied upon oath. When she died for alleged adultery, she was by law proclaimed not to have been the king's wife at all.

Lord Rochfort was executed with the four commoners on the 17th of May. On the 19th Anne was brought out to die on the Tower green. Kingston thus wrote of his last interview with her within the prison-walls: "She sent for me, and at my coming she said, 'Mr. Kingston, I hear say I shall not die afore noon, and I am very sorry therefore; for I thought then to be dead and past my pain.' I told her it should be no pain, it was so subtle. And then she said, 'I heard say the executioner was very good, and I have a little neck,' and put her hand about it, laughing heartily. I have seen many men and also women executed, and they have been in great sorrow; and to my knowledge this lady hath much joy and pleasure in death."

The Portuguese sojourner in London has left the most detailed account of this deed, which startled Europe as much as the cruel end of Fisher and More. Anne was beheaded with a sword, "which thing had not before been seen in this land of England." She was habited in a robe of black damask. The speech which the foreigner assigns to her differs in no essentials from that given by Stow, but is somewhat fuller; and is not open to the suspicion of being curtailed by the English chroniclers of the time: "'Good friends, I am not come here to excuse or to justify myself, forasmuch as I know full well that aught that I could say in my defence doth not appertain unto you, and that I could draw no hope of life from the same. But I come here only to die, and thus to yield myself humbly to the will of the king my lord. And if in my life I did ever offend the king's grace, surely with my death I do now atone for the same. And I blame not my judges, nor any other manner of person, nor anything save the cruel law of the land by which I die. But be this, and be my faults as they may, I beseech you all, good friends, to pray for the life of the king my sovereign lord and yours, who is one of the best princes on the face of the earth, and who hath always treated me so well, that better could not be: wherefore I submit to death with a good-will, humbly asking pardon of all the world.' Then with her own hands she took her coifs from her head and delivered them to one of her ladies, and then putting on a little cap of linen to cover her hair withal, she said, 'Alas, poor head! in a very brief space thou wilt roll in the dust on this scaffold; and as in life thou didst not merit to wear the crown of a queen, so in death thou deservest not a better doom than this. And ye, my damsels, who, whilst I lived, ever showed yourselves so diligent in my service, and who are now to be present at my last hour and mortal agony, as in good fortune ye were faithful to me, so even at this my miserable death ye do

* Constantine's Letter to Cromwell, in "Archæologia."

* Letter written from London on the 10th of June, from a Portuguese gentleman to a friend in Lisbon, translated by Lord Strangford. "Excerpta Historica," p. 260.

† Wyatt.

not forsake me. And as I cannot reward you for your true service to me, I pray you take comfort for my loss; howbeit, forget me not; and be always faithful to the king's grace, and to her whom with happier fortune ye may have as your queen and mistress. And esteem your honor far beyond your life; and in your prayers to the Lord Jesu, forget not to pray for my soul.'

"And being minded to say no more, she knelt down upon both knees, and one of her ladies covered her eyes with a bandage, and then they withdrew themselves some little space, and knelt down over against the scaffold, bewailing bitterly and shedding many tears. And thus, and without more to say or do, was her head stricken off; she making no confession of her fault, and only saying, 'O Lord God, have pity on my soul;' and one of her ladies then took up the head, and the others the body, and covering them with a sheet, did put them into a chest which there stood ready, and carried them to the church which is within the Tower."

There is nothing which the drama could add to move terror and pity, when the curtain should drop upon the closing scene of this tragedy. But history has one fact to add, still more awful. It is the one fact which shows us how more terrible is the condition of a man utterly heartless and shameless, who, having moved all the instruments of so-called justice to accomplish the death of the wife of his most ardent devotion—and having in this accomplishment also procured her child to be held illegitimate, as he had willed as to the child of a former wife—at length is joyous and triumphant. Queen Anne was beheaded on the 19th of May. On the 20th Henry was married to Jane Seymour. The council exhorted him, we are told, to marry immediately, for a state necessity. Nature cries out against the outrage upon all the decencies of life; but the political philosopher says, "he looked upon matrimony as an indifferent official act which his duty required at the moment."* We can find no reasonable cause to doubt that from the first step to the last, the charge was got up, the indictments prepared, the juries selected, the peers upon the trial nominated, the marriage with Jane Seymour settled, and last, but not least significant fact, a new parliament called for the sole purpose of making a new law of succession, before the cannon of the Tower had announced that Anne had perished. That parliament met on the 8th of June. We know not the date of the writs of summons; but it was absolutely impossible that the elections could have taken place, and Peers and Commons have been in their places within eighteen days of the execution of Anne, had not those writs been issued at the same time as the order for a special commission was issued, namely, on the 24th of April. Even this date would only allow forty-three days. The writs for a new parliament were usually returnable in three months. The death of the queen was manifestly "a foregone conclusion."

The recent historian of this period, as we venture to think, has carried his admiration of the self-asserting force of character in Henry VIII. to an extent which blinds him to the hideousness of the acts in which that force is too often exhibited. Mr. Froude has given us this alternative—to receive his history, in its endeavors to prove a "human being sinful whom the world has ruled to be innocent," as "a reassertion of the truth, or the shame of noble names which have not deserved it at our hands."† Which are the "noble names?" Cranmer? the amiable and timid, who furnishes the most direct evidence that he believed in Anne's innocence, but did not dare to assert it. Cromwell? to whom his master's word was as the breath of his nostrils. Audley? who in begging, again and again, for a due share of the plunder of the monasteries, makes this forcible appeal to the king's favor, "I have in this world sustained great damage and infamy in serving the king's highness, which this grant shall recompense." Rich? the betrayer of Fisher and More—the branded perjurer, the slavish flatterer, who, when speaker of the House of Commons in 1537, compared Henry to Solomon for prudence, to Samson for strength, and to Absalom for beauty—the very sun which warmed and enlightened the universe. Norfolk? the declared enemy of his niece, Anne—he who upon an offence given to Henry by some of his family, in 1541, deprecates the anger of the king by avowing that he had betrayed the words of his mother-in-law; and, using not the language of an Englishman but of a slave dreading the bowstring, lays himself at Henry's feet as a "poor wretch," and claims as a

* Froude, "History," vol. ii. p. 502. † Ibid., p. 540.

merit, "the small love my two false traitorous nieces [Anne Boley and Catherine Howard] and my mother-in-law, have borne un me."* Fitzwilliam? who is distinctly accused, in Constantine's le ter to Cromwell, of having deceived the unhappy Norris into makin some false confessions, which he recanted in the most positive mann upon his arraignment and at his execution—Fitzwilliam, the king treasurer, to whom Baynton deplores that only one will confess (th racked musician), "wherefore it should much touch the king's hon if no further appear." The lives of six persons were as nothin compared with "the king's honor." Such are some of the leadin men in this proceeding—the "noble names" that are to make us a cept the accusations against Anne Boleyn, as confirmed by h judges, "as proofs of Holy Writ." We are told that "if the Cath olics could have fastened the stain of murder on the king and th statesmen of England, they would have struck the faith of the E tablishment a harder blow than by a poor tale of scandal against weak, erring, suffering woman:" and that "the Protestants, in mi taken generosity, have courted an infamy for the names of those whom they owe their being, which, staining the fountain, must sta forever the stream which flows from it." Are we forever to re history under the fear that if we trust to the everlasting principles justice—to our hatred of oppression, to our contempt for sycophanc and worldly-mindedness—we may be "staining the fountain" whic we regard as a well of life? Is there no firmer resting-place for tr thought than is to be found in the debatable ground between Cat olics and Protestants? Is there no common platform of historic evidence upon which both can meet to examine such questions ho estly and temperately? What, in truth, have the personal motiv which led to the rejection of papal supremacy—what the seizure first fruits and tenths by the crown—what the avarice that prompte the destruction of the monasteries—what the burnings for heresy what the "six articles" of 1539, by which all men were to be "re imented" into belief—what have these to do with the Protesta "fountain," or the "stream which flows from it?" Still less oug the verdict of him who thoughtfully weighs the almost total absen of satisfactory evidence against Anne Boleyn in the one scale, a the undeniable wilfulness, cruelty, revenge, and lust of Henry in t other, to be considered as an imputation against the strength of t principles on which the worship of Protestant England rests. L us be thankful that, under the dispensations of God, there were ve few righteous men called to do the evil work that accompanied t overthrow of the papal power—for we must acknowledge that t righteous men could not have done it so quickly and so effectual But let us not compromise our moral sense by having what is call "a state necessity" proposed to us as the rule of wisdom and virtu History may be so written as to make some believe that despotism the only safeguard for a nation's prosperity and happiness. It h been so written in bygone times, and the sophistry is struggling f revival. But let this pass. Anne Boleyn sleeps in the chapel in t Tower, where so many other victims of tyranny sleep; and, in spi of every laborious detraction, her fate will not be remembered wit out honest tears.

The bishops and abbots, quaking for fear—the lay lords and co moners, with a scent of spoil—thus got together within three wee of the appalling events that were probably still imperfectly rumore in distant parts of the kingdom, were told by Audley, the chancello of the great cause of their being unexpectedly summoned. The kin desired them to determine as to the succession of the crown; for h knew, confessed the chancellor, that he was "himself obnoxious t infirmities, and even death itself." Amazing acknowledgment The candid Audley adds, "a thing very rare for kings to think of. Had the king bad dreams, when all should have gone "merry as marriage bell?" Did he see where "death keeps his court,"

> "Scoffing his state, and grinning at his pomp—
> Allowing him a breath, a little scene
> To monarchize, he feared, and kill with looks?" †

Somebody, perhaps, had told him, in as gentle language as was use to the dauphin of France, that kings sometimes did die. But wit that morbid craving for power after the grave is closed upon hi that marks the selfish and tyrannous man, whether there is a crow

* "State Papers," vol. i. p. 721. † Richard II. act iii. scene 2.

o be disposed of or a house and lands, King Henry contrived that is parliament should pass the most unconstitutional statute that had ver attempted to convert the ancient monarchy into a personalty, aking the crown a chattel, for any royal flatterer to take by be-uest, and "put it in his pocket." England was delivered over, ound hand and foot, to Henry, by the prostration of this parliament. was enacted—the issue of the marriage with Catherine being ren-ered illegitimate by a previous statute, and by reason of a divorce ronounced before the execution of the late Lady Anne for treason, er daughter Elizabeth was therefore illegitimate, that marriage be-g "never good nor consonant to the laws"—that the oath taken to phold that succession was to be superseded by another oath to main-in the issue of the late marriage with the king's "entirely beloved ife," Queen Jane; and that all who should assert the lawfulness of ie issue of the former marriages should be guilty of high treason. Iere were two daughters of the king precluded from inheriting the rone. Naturally enough, the people would consider whom they ere to obey, if there should be no issue of this third marriage. ever was the danger of a disputed succession more imminent. Vas the danger likely to be removed by an enactment that, on fail-re of issue, the king might limit the descent of the crown, by letters atent, or by his will, to any person in possession or remainder, who hall be obeyed accordingly, whether male or female? The object vas that Henry might bequeath the crown to his illegitimate son, ie duke of Richmond. But the object was defeated by One greater han king, Lords, or Commons. The duke died while the bill was assing through parliament.

Mary, the king's first daughter, is now a little more than twenty ears of age; Elizabeth is scarcely three years. Mary has incurred ie greatest perils by her undaunted refusal to receive the marriage f her mother as unlawful. "For a great while she could not be ersuaded to submit to the king; who, being impatient of contradic-on from any, but especially from his own child, was resolved to rike a terror in all his people by putting her openly to death." * urnet adds that Cranmer induced the king to relax from this atro-ious resolve. But the princess was kept from court, and lived in reat seclusion. There is a story, for which no authority is given, hat Anne Boleyn, on the last evening of her life, fell on her knees efore the wife of the lieutenant of the Tower, requesting her to go o the Lady Mary, and in the same way kneeling before her, beg her o pardon an unfortunate woman the wrongs she had done her.† Be his true or not, it is clear that the removal of Anne was considered n opportunity for the Lady Mary again to approach her stern father. romwell appears to have been solicitous to effect a reconciliation; nd partly by his threats, and partly by his entreaties, the unhappy oman was led to make a complete renunciation of all her former pinions—to accept the king as the Supreme Head of the Church; to utterly refuse the bishop of Rome's pretended authority, power, nd jurisdiction within this realm;" and to recognize the marriage f her mother with the king as unlawful, by God's law and man's aw. The abject style in which the daughter creeps in the dust be-ore the parent—the fulsome flattery in which she endeavors to pro-itiate his favor—are proofs of the terror which that man inspired, nd of the arts which all who came within the reach of his power ex-rcised to disarm his ferocity. Thus Mary writes: "As I have, and hall, knowing your excellent learning, virtue, wisdom, and knowl-dge, put my soul into your direction; and by the same hath and will, n all things from henceforth, direct my conscience, so my body I do holly commit to your mercy and fatherly pity; desiring no state, no ondition, nor no manner degree of living, but such as Your Grace hall appoint unto me; knowledging and confessing, that my state an not be so vile, as either the extremity of justice would appoint nto me, or as mine offences have required and deserved."‡ She vas well instructed. She had at length learned the parrot note with hich the despot, so vain-glorious of his "learning, virtue, wisdom, nd knowledge," was to be approached. She had no opinion, when sked to declare herself upon doctrinal points, but "such as she hould receive from the king, who had her whole heart in his keep-ng." Upon pilgrimage, purgatory, and relics she had no guide but he king's "inestimable virtue, high wisdom, and excellent learning." She saved her head by this duplicity, for which it would be scarcely fair to blame her; but she took her revenge for a long suppression of her real opinions, by exacting conformity to them when the gib-bet and the stake were at her own command.

* Burnet, "History of the Reformation," part ii. book ii.
† Lingard, vol. vi. p. 323. ‡ "State Papers," vol. i. p. 457.

NOTE to page 262.

LETTER OF ANNE BOLEYN TO HENRY VIII.,

In the Cotton Library. The parts burned are in italics.

SIR,

Your Grace's displeasure and my imprisonment are things soe *strange* unto me, as what to wrighte, or what to excuse, I am altoge*ther* ignorant. Wheras you send unto me, (willing me to confesse a truth, and soe to obteyne your favour) by such an whome you know *to* be mine antient professed enemy, I noe sooner received this mes*sage* by him, then I rightly conceaved your meaning; and if, as *you say*, confessing a truth indeed may procure my saftie I shall wse all willingnesse and dutie perform your command. But let not your Grace *ever* imagine that your poore wife will ever be brought to *acknowledge a* fault, where not soe much as a thought ever proceeded. *And to spea*ke a truth, never a prince had wife more loyall *in all duty, and* in all true affection, then you have ever found *in Anne Bolen, with* which name and place I could willingly have conten*ted myself*, if God and your Grace's pleasure had so bene p*leased*. *Neither* did I at any time soe farre forgett myselfe *in my exalt*ation, or receaved queenshipp, but that I alwaye*s looked for su*ch an alteration as now I finde; for the ground *of my preferment* being on noe surer foundation than your Grace*'s fancye*, the least alteration was fitt and sufficient (I knowe) *to draw that fan*cye to some other subjecte. You have chosen *me from a low e*state to be your queene and companion farre *beyond my desert or* desire; if then you found me worthy of *such honour, good your Grace* let not any light fancye, or bade counsell *of my enemies withdraw* your princely favour from me; neither lett *that stayne, that unwor*thy stayne of a disloyall hart towards your *good Grace, ever cast so f*oule a blott one your most dutifull wife, *and the infant prin-cesse* your daughter. Trye me, good king, *but let me have a lawfull tr*yall; and let not my sworne enemyes s*it as my accusers and jud*ges; yee let me receave an op*en tryall, for my truth s*hall feare noe open shames. Then shall *you see either mine innocen*cye cleered, your sus-pition and conscie*nce satisfied, the ignomin*ye and slander of the world stopp*ed or my guilt openly decla*red. Sue that whatsoever God or *you may determine of your* Grace may be freed from an o*pen censure, and mine offence bei*ng soe lawfully proved, your *Grace is at liberty both be-fore God* and man, not only to exec*ute worthy punishment on me as* an unfaythfull wife, *but to follow your affection already* setled one that partie, *for whose sake I am now as I am, whose* name I *could some good while since have pointed unto, your Grace being not ignorant of my suspition therein.*

But if you have already determined of me, and that not only my death but an infamous slander must bring you the joying of your desired happines, then I desire of God that he will pardon your great sinne herein, and likewise my enemyes the instruments thereof, and that he will not call you to a straight accompt for your unprincely and cruell usage of me, at his generall judgement seat, where both you and my selfe must shortly appeare, and in whose just judgement I doubt not, what soever the world may thinke of mee, mine inocencye shall be openly knowene, and sufficiently cleared. My last and only request shall be, that my selfe may only beare the *burthen* of your Grace's dis-pleasure; and that it may not to*uch the inno*cent souls of those poor gentlemen, whome as I *understand* are likewise in straight imprison-ment for my sake. *If I* ever have found favoure in your sight, if ever the name *of Ann Bulen* have ben' pleasing in your eares, then let me obteyne thi*s request; And* soe I will leave to troble your Grace any further. *With mine earnest* prayer to the Trinitie to have your Grace in his *good keeping, and* to direct you in all yo[r] actions from my *dolefull prison in* the Tower the 6th of Maye,

Your most Lo*yall and*
ever faythfull *Wife,*
ANN BULEN.

The Ladye . . . .
to the Kinge he . . . .
of the Towe . . . .

At the foot of the MSS. the following memorandum appears in the same handwriting. The part destroyed by fire is supplied in italics:

On the King sending a messenger to Queen Ann *Bulen in the* Tower willing her to confesse the *truth, she said that she* could confesse noe more then shee had *already done. But as he* sayd she must conceale noth-ing *she would add this, t*hat she did acknowledge her selfe *indebted to the king for many* favours, for raysing her first *to be . . . next to be* a Marques, next to be his Que*ene, and that now he could* bestowe noe further honor upon *her than if he were soe pleased* to make her by martirdome a *saint.*

CHAPTER LV.

Ireland—Its condition in the early part of the reign of Henry VIII.—The English Pale—Regions beyond the Pale—Surrey, lieutenant-governor—The earl of Kildare arrested—Rebellion of 1534—Thomas Fitzgerald—Murder of Archbishop Allen—Progress of the rebellion—Fitzgerald surrenders—He and his uncles attainted and executed—Violated promises—Supremacy of Henry established—Disregard of the real welfare of the country—Attempts to make Ireland yield revenue—Irish fashions of dress—Character of the natives.

When Froissart, travelling in England toward the end of the fourteenth century, falls in acquaintance with Sir Henry Cristall, "an honest man and a wise," he received from this squire a romantic account of his captivity during seven years in Ireland. Cristall was in the service of the earl of Ormond, who was warring against the native Irish; and on one occasion, following his master in the pursuit of a band that was retreating before the English archers, his horse took his bridle in his teeth and ran away with him into the thick of the Irishmen. "One of them," he said, "by lightness of running, leaped up behind me, and embraced me in his arms, and did me none other hurt; but so led me out of the way, and so rode still behind me, the space of two hours, and at last brought me into a secret place, thick of bushes, and there he found his company, who were come thither, and scaped all dangers, for the Englishmen pursued not so far. Then, as he showed, he had great joy of me, and led me into a town * and a strong house, among the woods, waters, and meres." The name of this chief was Brian Costeret. He gave Cristall his daughter in marriage, who bore him two children during his seven years' experience of this free life in solitary places. But the kind-hearted Irishman was taken prisoner, as he was riding the horse which Cristall rode when he was captured. That horse was recognized in the English camp; and the adventure ended by Brian being released upon condition that he should give up the long-lost Cristall, with his family. "With great pain," says the narrator, "he made that bargain, for he loved me well, and my wife his daughter, and our children." † Of the mode of existence in the Irishman's "strong house among the woods" we have no further glimpses. We only see the affectionate and hospitable nature of the man who saved and succored his enemy—a nature which he shared with the majority of his countrymen. From the time of Strongbow there had been such constant interfusion of the races; and if neglect and oppression had not counteracted the natural influences of this disposition toward a cordial agreement between the natives and the settlers, we should not have to describe, as we now propose to do, the unhappy condition of Ireland at this period of the reign of Henry VIII. The materials for such description are now most abundant. Instead of taking the account which Spenser gives, in the reign of Elizabeth, as the starting-point in the history of evils which have endured to our own generation, and which have so materially influenced the course of public events in England, we have only to open the mass of State Papers which belong to half a century earlier, to exhibit a condition of society of which there was no parallel in the Europe that had emerged from barbarism.

The English Pale, to which all early notices of Ireland refer, anciently comprised all the eastern coast from Dundalk bay to Waterford harbor, extending some fifty or sixty miles inland. The term "pale" is thus explained: "When Ireland was subdued by the English, divers of the conquerors planted themselves near to Dublin, and the confines thereto adjoining; and so, as it were, inclosing and impaling themselves within certain lists and territories, they feared away the Irish, insomuch as that country became mere English, and thereof it was termed the English pale." ‡ In 1515 the pale was so reduced in its extent that a line drawn from Dundalk to Kells, from Kells to Maynooth, from Maynooth to Kilcullen, and then toward Dublin, under the Wicklow mountains, would comprise all the English pale from the sea. § This was a small district to have the rule of a large country; and we shall see that, practically, a very narrow portion of the island could be considered as under the English governance. There were, at the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII., sixty regions, inhabited by those whom this reporter of the "State of Ireland" in 1515, calls the "king's Irish enemies." These regions, "some as big as a shire," were governed by chief captains, calling themselves kings, princes, dukes, or archdukes; obeying no law but that of force; their very successions depending upon the strongest arm and the hardest sword. In each of these regions of Ulster, Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, we find the names of the chief captains, from "the great Oneylle, chief captaine of the nation, within the countrey of and region of Tyreown, to Omullmoy de Pherkeall, chief captaine of his nation," in Meath. Names that are still familiar to us call up remembrances of bitter animosities, rebellions, proscriptions—ranting demagogues and wily priests sowing the dragons' teeth, while the rich soil bore no corn, and the laborer starved where there was no security for the funds out of which labor is supported. But in old times, as in recent, the smaller beasts of prey were as voracious as the larger: "In every of the said regions there be divers petty captains, and every of them maketh war and peace for himself." A greater evil than that of the Irish great captains, "living only by the sword," was that of "thirty great captains of English noble folk, that followeth the same Irish order, and keepeth the same rule, and every of them maketh war and peace for himself"—the Desmonds, Fitzgeralds, and Fitzmaurices, the Butlers, Dillons, and Delameres. In the few districts subject to the king's writs—those within the pale—the people were so oppressed by the courts of law that they were glad to abandon their freeholds forever. In the marches, not subject to the king's law, they were as much oppressed by individual extortion. The reporter of 1515, looking at the inevitable consequences of such misrule, exclaims, "What common folk in all this world is so poor, so feeble, so evil-beseen in town and field, so bestial, so greatly oppressed and trod under foot, and fared so evil, with so great misery and with so wretched life, as the common folk of Ireland." * The oppression of the poor was universal. The noble folk whether English or Irish, were oppressors. They seized upon horse meat and man's meat "of the king's poor subjects by compulsion for nought, without any penny paying therefor"—which robbery was called "coyn and livery." The Deputy and his Council were extortioners. The Church was wholly abandoned to lucre, none preaching or teaching but the mendicant friars. In every department of lay or spiritual rule, the private weal, and not the common weal, was alone regarded. This plain-speaking denouncer of evils that had been growing for two hundred years, writes that the people despaired of a remedy for these complicated miseries, and said, "No medicine can be had now for the said infirmity, but such as have been had afore this time; and folks were as wise that time as they be now; and since they could never find remedy, how should remedy be found by us?" †

There are many official letters and memorials, of subsequent dates, which all agree in setting forth the turbulence of the people and the tyranny of the rulers. Whether English or Irish, there was scarcely one in authority who was not a plunderer or extortioner. Under Wolsey the government of Ireland had been principally committed to the earl of Kildare, who was ready enough to burn and destroy in the lands of rebellious chieftains, but was himself suspected of "seditious practices and subtle drifts." The earl of Surrey, who won his earldom at Flodden, was sent to Ireland as lord-lieutenant in 1520, while Kildare was in England. Surrey took a soldier's view of the position of the country, but one which indicated slight statesmanship: "After my poor opinion, this land shall never be brought to good order and due subjection, but only by conquest." ‡ But the warlike earl is not sanguine about his scheme; for Wales, he says, was not conquered by Edward I. in less than ten years; and as Ireland is five times as large as Wales, he doubted if it could be so soon won. But there was a greater difficulty in Surrey's mind. Even if conquered, the land must be repeopled. "For if these country people of the Irish should inhabit, undoubtedly they would return to their old ill-rooted customs, whensoever they might see any time to take their advantage, accordingly as they have ever yet done, and daily do." Having delivered this advice—pointing out that money

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* *Town*, in England as well as Ireland, was the term for any collection of dwellings however small—settlements around the "strong house" of the chief.

† Froissart, "Lord Berners' Translation," vol. ii. p. 620, ed. 1812.

‡ Stanihurst, in Holinshed, p. 10; ed. 1586.

§ The precise boundary is given in the "State of Ireland," 1515; "State Papers," vol. ii. p. 22.

* "State Papers," vol. ii. p. 10. † Ibid., p. 17. ‡ Ibid., p. 78.

vas wanting for men, victuals, artillery, and fortresses—the lord-eutenant begs to serve his grace in any other place than in this roublesome land. Surrey goes home. Kildare comes back. The euds between the two great rival chiefs, Kildare and Ormond, be-ome more bitter than ever; and Kildare is again suspected of en-ouraging revolt. But Wolsey dares not remove him from his office f deputy, for he dreads that the earl's "kinsfolks, the O'Connors, nd other such wild Irish lords, would, for revenge, overrun the vhole English pale." Kildare was the head of what was then eemed "the Irish party"—a party not so desirous of separation from Cngland as of using the English connection, not as the means for romoting the real improvement of the country, but for their indi-idual aggrandizement. Kildare, at last, carried his schemes too far. n 1534 he appears to have been preparing to defy the English gov-rnment; for he furnished his castles with arms and ammunition out f the royal stores, and it was said that "all the parchments and vax in England" would not bring him thither again. The earl, owever, obeyed the royal summons, though slowly and unwillingly. Ie was committed to the Tower, upon his arrival in London. But is son, Lord Thomas Fitzgerald, was permitted to return to Ireland s the vice-deputy appointed by his father. The consequences of his somewhat rash confidence were unexpected; but they were the atural results of a long period of misgovernment, through which neither the English order, tongue, nor habit was used, nor the ing's laws obeyed, above twenty miles in compass." *

The earl of Kildare arrived at his last resting-place, the Tower of ondon, in February, 1534. He was subsequently attainted by act f parliament, for traitorously levying war in Ireland, for slaying the ing's faithful subjects, and for carrying away munitions of war from ie king's fortresses to his own castles. † When the young Fitzgerald -who was known by the name of "the silken lord," from the plendid trappings of his horses—knew that his father was in immi-ent danger, and apprehending that the power of the race of Geral-ines was coming to an end, he suddenly rose in open revolt. In une, 1534, Cromwell is apprised by Robert Cowley of the "rebel-ng of the earl of Kildare's son, and brethren, with their adherents." Ie states that they have committed "infinite murders, burnings, and obbings in the English pale, about the city of Dublin." One sen-ence in the letter of Cowley may have led to a belief that this rebel-on was as much a religious as a political movement: "And, as I m very credibly informed, the said earl's son, brethren, kinsmen, nd adherents do make their avaunt and boast, that they be of the ope's sect and band, and him will they serve against the king and ll his part-takers; saying further that the king is accursed, and as any as take his part, and shall be openly accursed." ‡ The opinion iat the emperor Charles V. was in communication with the earl of esmond, and through him with the Geraldines, appears to have been rumor in Waterford. In the disorganized condition of Ireland, the eputy, Skeffington, an Englishman—who was to succeed Kildare—ot yet having arrived with any military force, the time was favor-ble for a bold attempt to supersede the English authority altogether. hat Henry at that time was threatened with excommunication was stirring matter that might have been agitated among men prepared o throw off their allegiance; but that the rejection of the papal upremacy in England was the occasion of this revolt in Ireland eems an overstrained inference from the facts as they appear in fficial records and other relations. Stanihurst, the chronicler of rish affairs, makes no mention of the employment of such a motive or insurrection. The religious element might have been slightly ixed up with the social turbulence, as it ever has been since, when-ver the wretchedness of the people is to be roused into fierce hatred; ut in our view, this rebellion in Ireland is not "significant, chiefly ecause it was the first in which an outbreak against England as-umed the features of a war of religion." § Looking at this passage f Irish history, with a knowledge of the distracted condition of the ountry, the hatreds of the rival chiefs, the almost total absence of egitimate authority, the universal dominion of brute force, we regard ie quarrel of Henry with the pope as a coincidence with this rebel-on, but the very least of its causes.

The opening scene of this Irish revolt, as described by the chroni-cler, has a deep human interest. On St. Barnabas' day, the 11th of June, Lord Thomas Fitzgerald, at the head of seven score horsemen, in their shirts of mail, rode through the streets of Dublin, and pass-ing through Dame's Gate, crossed the river to St. Mary's Abbey, where the council were sitting. The Lord Thomas took his seat as vice-deputy. Then the council chamber was suddenly filled with his armed followers, and he rose, and thus spake: "Howsoever in-juriously we be handled, and forced to defend ourselves in arms, when neither our service nor our good meaning towards our prince his crown availeth, yet say not hereafter, but in this open hostility which here we profess and proclaim, we have showed ourselves no villains nor churls, but warriors and gentlemen. This sword of estate is yours, and not mine; I received it with an oath, and have used it to your benefit. I should stain mine honor if I turned the same to your annoyance. Now have I need of mine own sword, which I dare trust. As for the common sword, it flattereth me with a painted scabbard, but hath indeed a pestilent edge, already bathed in the Geraldines' blood, and now is newly whetted in hope of a fur-ther destruction. Therefore, save yourselves from us, as from open enemies. I am none of Henry's deputy—I am his foe. I have more mind to conquer than to govern; to meet him in the field than to serve him in office. If all the hearts of England and Ireland, that have cause thereto, would join in this quarrel (as I hope they will), then should he soon aby (as I trust he shall) for his cruelty and tyr-anny, for which the age to come may lawfully score him up among the ancient tyrants of most abominable and hateful memory."

This speech—so resolved and daring, and yet so characteristic of the high feelings of a gentleman—carries with it a dramatic pro-priety, very different from the ordinary speeches which the chroni-clers invent for their heroes.* It is to be lamented that, in their subsequent proceedings, the Geraldine and his supporters did not maintain their declaration that they were "no villains nor churls, but warriors and gentlemen." When they rushed forth from the coun-cil chamber orders were given for their arrest; but the authorities of Dublin did not dare to execute the command, and some of the coun-cil retired for safety to the castle. There was a contest between the citizens and the insurgents, in which the rebels were successful; and they were thus enabled to lay siege to the fortress. Among those who had taken refuge there was John Allen, the archbishop of Dub-lin, who having been one of Wolsey's chaplains, was appointed by the cardinal to this dignity—an able statesman, systematically op-posed to the Geraldines and their party. When the castle was be-sieged, Allen, knowing the hatred in which he was borne by the in-surgents, escaped by night in a vessel in which he hoped to cross to England. By accident or treachery the boat was stranded near Clon-tarf; and after he had been a few hours on land he was seized at a village called Artane, and there barbarously murdered, while Lord Thomas stood by. The prior of Kilmainham, writing to the king, says, "The archbishop of Dublin, being in ship to depart towards England, Thomas, son to the earl of Kildare, caused him to be taken and brought before him, and there in his sight, by his command-ment, was cruelly and shamefully murdered, and other divers of his chaplains and servants that were in his company."† Robert Relye, who was present, stated upon his examination that he could not say whether it was by the command of Lord Thomas or not, that the murder of the archbishop was committed. He acknowledged that he was sent to Maynooth, one of Kildare's castles, with a casket which his master, Lord Thomas, had taken from the prelate: and that his master "afterward sent one Charles, his chaplain, to the bishop of Rome, to the intent, as he heard, of obtaining absolution for killing the bishop."‡ Upon this most doubtful evidence it is assumed that the massacre of "a heretic archbishop" was a venial and acceptable act for which Rome would willingly grant forgiveness; and of this detestable murder we are told, "Such was the pious offering to God and holy Church on which the sun looked down as it rose that fair summer morning over Dublin bay.§ Again we repeat our convic-

* "State Papers," vol. ii. p. 162.
† 26 Hen. VIII. c. 25.
‡ "State Papers," vol. ii. p. 198.
§ Froude, vol. ii. p. 306.

* Mr. Froude quotes this from Campion's "History of Ireland," and from Leland. The speech, as given by us from Stanihurst, is nearly as Mr. Froude gives it, with only one material variation. Stanihurst says of Henry, "then shall he soon aby, as I trust he shall, for his cruelty and tyranny." In Mr. Froude's version we have, "then should he be a by-word, for his *heresy*, lechery, and tyranny."
† "State Papers," vol. ii. p. 201.
‡ Ibid., p. 201, note.
§ Froude's History, vol. i. p. 283.

tion, founded upon a careful examination of the entire circumstances, that John Allen did not perish because he was "a heretic archbishop," but because he had been one of the most efficient instruments in opposing the schemes of the Geraldines; that "holy Church," and its contest for supremacy with Henry of England, had furnished no incentive and no motive for this rebellion, beyond the ancient belief that the country was held by the English king as a fief of the papal see; and that it is the result alone of that uncharitable spirit calling itself Protestant, which the historian ought to reject, if the party politician cannot lay it aside, that we are to be informed at this day, when religious differences as they regard Ireland and the Irish ought to be repressed rather than stimulated, that such as these murderers "were the men whose cause the Mores and the Fishers, the saintly monks of the Charterhouse and the holy martyrs of the Catholic faith, believed to be the cause of the Almighty Father of the world."* The "holy Church" of Catholic Ireland pronounced its curse "against Thomas Fitzgerald and others for killing of the archbishop of Dublin," according to the horrible formula of those times; saying, "let no man be to them merciful;" invoking the God of mercy to "send to them, and every of them, hunger and thirst, and strike them, and every of them with pestilence," and with "madness, blindness, and woodness of mind;" and calling upon "all the multitude of angels, that they be accursed before them, and in their sight as spirits condemned."† If this cruel and blasphemous presumption of erring man has passed away, and is held utterly alien to the Christian temper, it is chiefly because, when we think of the wise and good of past times, we forget whether they were Roman Catholic or Protestant, and do not believe, in a spirit of intolerance, that "the Mores and the Fishers," in opposing the supremacy of Henry VIII., would have given a direct or an indirect sanction to the murderers of a "heretic archbishop."

Fitzgerald, after the atrocious slaughter of John Allen, with a small force did enormous mischief within the English pale, burning and destroying houses and farms, and wasting the growing corn. In the gallant resistance which he made to the rebellion, Butler, now earl of Ormond and Ossory, pursued the same mediæval system, which ever disregarded the sufferings of the many. The siege of Dublin Castle was slowly conducted by an inconsiderable rebel band, whom the citizens at length resisted, and arrested as traitors. The delusive hopes which the Geraldines had entertained, that their cause would be adopted by the settlers of the pale, as the means of overthrowing the English rule, were wholly dissipated by the spirit of the Dublin citizens. The belief that the old rivalry of the Kildares and Ormonds might be closed by dividing the kingdom between them was destroyed by the faithful conduct of Ossory: "The traitor, Thomas, then sent to the earl of Ossory, how that, if he would withdraw his duty from the king, he would depart and divide all Ireland with him, and accept him as his father, offering to make partition of his own inheritance with him; whereunto he answered, that if his country had been wasted, his castles won or prostrate, and himself exiled, yet would he never shrink to persevere in his duty to the king, to the death."‡ The notion that the emperor and the pope would furnish prompt assistance in the wild enterprise of Lord Thomas was, no doubt, entertained by him. He sent a priest on a voyage to Spain, and afterward to proceed to Rome, with documents "which should prove that the king held this land of the see of Rome, alleging the king and his realm to be heretics, digressed from the obedience of the same, and the faith Catholic;" at the same time promising, in return for aid, "that he will hold the same land for them and pay tribute yearly."§ There is an official paper by Allen, the master of the rolls, which says, "the Irish men, of long continuance, have supposed the regal estate of this land to consist in the bishop of Rome, for the time being, and the lordship of the kings of England here to be but a governance under the obedience of the same, which causeth them to have more respect of due subjection unto the said bishop than to our sovereign lord."‖ To this ancient delusion Lord Thomas appealed, as might have been done in the times of Richard II. But in spite of such an incitement to revolt, there were very few of the great Irish chiefs who gave Fitzgerald their support. The contest went on for some months after the arrival of Sir William Skeffington, the English deputy without any signal success; but at last the Castle of Maynooth wa taken by Skeffington, after ten days' siege. Twenty-six of the pris oners were executed. "A priest," says the official dispatch to th king, "which was privy with the traitor, deposeth that the empero promised to send hither, against your grace, ten thousand men b the first day of May; and the king of Scots promised to give aid t your rebel likewise."* The first of May, 1535, came, but no aid fro Spain or Scotland. Lord Thomas was carrying on a war of depopu lation. In August, the chief justice and the master of the rolls, wh had been absent in England, write to Cromwell, "We marvelled t consider the state of this country at our landing, so far altered fro the condition that we left it at our departure; for in the county o Kildare there be eight hundreds, or baronies, and six of them were in effect, all burnt; few or no people inhabiting there, but leavin their corn in the ground to the traitors."† The end of this desperat outbreak—the result, not of any marked oppression of the Englis government, but of its more cruel neglect—was shortly at hand. A vigorous commander, Lord Leonard Grey, came, as it was supposed to take the civil and military authority from the procrastinatin Skeffington. But the deputy, not yet superseded, was roused int vigor. He compelled the submission of O'Connor, the chief wh most faithfully adhered to Fitzgerald; and the "great traitor," Lord Thomas, had no chance but to yield himself up, or to escape t a foreign country. He writes a letter to Lord Leonard Grey, wh was a relative of the Kildares, in which he says, "I heartily desir your lordship to be intercessor betwixt his grace and me, that I ma have my pardon for me, and mine life and lands; the which shal not be undeserved to the uttermost of my power; and if I canno obtain my foresaid pardon, I have none other to do, but shift for my self, the best that I can, trusting in God."‡ Skeffington writes, o the 24th of August, that Fitzgerald had yielded himself "withou condition." The council of Ireland, on the contrary, write to th king, on the 27th of August, that Lord Leonard Grey will proceed t London with his prisoner; "beseeching your highness, most hum bly, that according the comfort of *our* words spoken to the sam Thomas to allure him to yield him, ye would be merciful to the sai Thomas, especially concerning his life."§ Norfolk saw that i Fitzgerald were executed, having received such inducements t yield, "surely the Irish men shall never after put themselves int none Englishman's hands;" and he therefore counsels that his pun ishment should be deferred.‖ Lord Thomas was committed to th Tower, in which prison his father had died. At the beginning o 1536 the five uncles of the young rebel were apprehended throug treachery; which the council call "the politic and surest conveying of the matter." They being sent to London, the six members o this unhappy family were hanged at Tyburn, on the 3d of February There was no trial. An act of attainder was passed, by which Thomas Fitzgerald, James, John, Richard, Oliver, and Walter, then i the Tower of London, should suffer execution of death for their trea sons.¶ That Lord Thomas especially deserved his fate there can b little doubt. That he surrendered upon terms held out to him is ad mitted by Henry himself, in a letter to Skeffington; and the king owned that he was embarrassed by this circumstance: "If he ha been apprehended after such sort as was convenable to his deserv ings, the same had been much more thankful and better to our con tentation."** But it was not in Henry's nature, nor indeed in that o the duke of Norfolk, who had counselled delay, to stand upon th trifling point of broken promises. In the English rebellion of 1536 which we shall have presently to describe, the king bitterly re proaches Norfolk for keeping faith; "for you fell to a point wit the rebels," when previously "you said you would esteem n promise that you should make to the rebels, ne think your hono touched in the breach and violation of the same."†† Shakespeare ha exhibited Prince John of Lancaster and the earl of Westmorelan tempting the rebel lords in the time of Henry IV. to disband the forces and then arresting them;‡‡ and Dr. Johnson complains that th poet passes over, without a note of censure, "this horrid violatio of faith." Shakespeare was satisfied to exhibit the conduct of th

* Froude, History, vol. ii. p. 283.
† "State Papers," vol. ii. p. 217.
‡ Ibid., p. 250.
§ Ibid., p. 222.
‖ Ibid., p. 480.
* "State Papers," vol. ii. p. 237.
† Ibid., p. 263.
‡ Ibid., p. 273
§ Ibid., p. 275.
‖ Ibid., p. 277.
¶ 28 Henry VIII. c. 18
** "State Papers," vol. ii. p. 280.
†† Ibid., vol. i. p. 519.
‡‡ "King Henry IV.," Part II., act. iv. scene 2.

treachery to make men hate the agents who accomplished it. We offer no comment upon the execution of Fitzgerald, beyond entering our protest against a doctrine which might be suited to the sixteenth century, but which is somewhat startling in the nineteenth. "How far," says Mr. Froude, with reference to Lord Thomas, "a government is bound at any time to respect the unauthorized engagements of its subordinates is one of those intricate questions which cannot be absolutely answered."* Intricate! The English minister who would now dare to put a man to death, after assurances of safety from those in authority (as Fitzgerald was assured by the *authorized* representatives of King Henry), would be consigned to the everlasting infamy that cleaves to the betrayer; and if an eloquent casuist, some three hundred years after, should doubt whether the promise of a king's agent is binding upon his principal, he would—so strongly do we believe in the progress of the world in political morality—have to receive his own portion of the same natural hatred of dishonor; he would excite the same instinctive disgust with which we read the famous axiom of Machiavelli, "A prince that is wise and prudent cannot, and ought not to keep his *parole*, when the keeping of it is to his prejudice, and the causes for which he promised, removed."

The suppression of the Geraldine rebellion, if it had not been sullied by broken faith, and had been followed up by a large and benevolent policy, would have presented a fortunate crisis in the government of Ireland. There appears to have been no want of diligent counsellors for the improvement of the country, according to their limited views. The supremacy of Henry as "king of Ireland"—for the title was now changed from "lord"—was proclaimed without opposition. Monasteries were suppressed without disturbance. The rebellion had been clearly one of personal ambition, stimulated by the general disorganization of civil society. But still no decided policy was resorted to for converting a land filled with wild tribes, living in the rudest manner under hostile chiefs, into a land to be made prosperous by industry, which alone was wanting to utilize its natural advantages. But for this end something was required besides soldiers and laborers. In 1538 the council wrote to Henry describing their attack upon the district of the Cavanaghs. The land is won; but what is to be done with it? They would not banish all the inhabitants, but they would banish "the gentlemen and men of war; and having garrisons of men of war in certain principal places, to retain still the most of the poor earth-tillers there, which be good inhabitants."† The poor earth-tillers in the country of the Cavanaghs and elsewhere went on occupying the land, with little profit, till, with division and subdivision, it would no longer yield them sustenance. The soldiers were among the oppressors of the poor earth-tillers—the soldiers of a government parsimonious for public objects because extravagant in private expenditure. "The wages of your army is so small," say the council, "as the soldiers, not being able to live therewith, much oppress your subjects, to their great grief."‡ There were occasionally some individual efforts made to win the people from their semi-barbarous life to learn the arts of civilization. Sir Pierce Butler, earl of Ormond and Ossory, who died in 1539, with the aid of his energetic wife, the sister of Kildare, "planted great civility in the counties of Tipperary and Kilkenny; and to give good example to the people of that country, they brought out of Flanders and other countries divers artificers, who were daily kept at work by them, in their Castle of Kilkenny; where they wrought and made diaper, tapestry, turkey carpets, curtains, and other like works."§ Ormond was thus doing something as material for the welfare of the country as in quelling his nephew's rebellion. But the example did not spread. Private efforts can do little good in the attempt to force industry. When capital flows to a country through the regular course of exchange, then industry goes forward. Security was wanting for its employment, as it ever has been wanting in Ireland till our own day. It was in vain to lament that the gallowglass and kerne, who consumed the victuals of the land in idleness, did not apply to labor—tilling wastes, digging in mines, fishing in the bounteous seas. The moving and regulating power, with which labor profitably works, was wanting. The government, when it seized upon the monastic possessions, might have accomplished some of such good by a just application of the country's revenues. But there was a king who fancied that he was the state; and thus he wrote, as to the religious houses of the countries brought under obedience: "The same shall be suppressed, and We to appoint such farmers to them as We shall think good, so as the whole revenues of them may come to our use and profit." "Our use and profit" was the burden of his song: "You have devised by an Act to invest in Us the name and title of King of Ireland. We would you should amongst you consider, whether it be either honor or wisdom for Us to take upon Us that title of a King, and not to have revenues there, sufficient to maintain the state of the same." The country was impoverished by a long course of oppression and neglect. There is a chance of its being brought under the rule of law, and of the reign of brute force being at an end. The "king of Ireland" writes to his council, trusting that "We shall have cause to commend your doings in the discreet training of the Irishmen to their due obedience, whereby they shall learn to know Almighty God, and grow into wealth and civility." To accomplish such a blessed end, is he prepared to contribute out of his ample means? Will he assist the husbandman to cultivate the rich wastes; the miner to raise the precious ore to the surface; the fisherman to gather food from the seas and rivers? Will he make roads through the marshes and woods? He looks back grudgingly upon "the great sums of money bestowed already to bring the land to the conformity it is now at;" he sets forth many schemes by which the "submission" of the Irishmen should be made profitable to himself; he recommends the council to "excogitate what you think may be added thereunto, as customs, tolls, gabelles, or any other things, which you shall think may be won further to our profit;" and, "among other things, we would you should devise, how to cause our revenues there to be shortlier and sooner paid, after the terms they be due, than they be at present."* Finally, he asks the Irish House of Commons for a Benevolence, which they had refused in the previous year. In vain the lord deputy and the council plead for the wretched people: "The inhabitants of these your four shires of Dublin, Meath, Kildare, and Uriel [Louth], have been so spoiled, oppressed, and robbed, as they be not of ability to give to your grace any notable thing, otherwise than they be charged already." They adroitly recommend that the burden should be shifted upon the countries out of the English pale—countries where the Ormonds and O'Neills commanded the service of their naked kernes; where the English tongue was never heard; where the harper sang of the old glories of Ireland, when there was a king in every shire, each plundering for himself, and no foreign lord forbade any robbery but his own. Taxation, as the beginning of civilization beyond the pale, was to roll on like a snowball. In Kilkenny and Tipperary, and Wexford and Waterford, say the council, parties so charged there "will the more willingly further the levying of your revenues elsewhere."†

The notion of extracting a large revenue out of an impoverished or an unsubdued country was doubtless as idle as the attempt to change the ancient customs of the people by royal mandate. In 1536 Henry writes to his "well beloved" of the town of Galway, straitly charging and commanding that they should perpetually observe certain articles set forth for their weal and profit: "Item, That every inhabitant, as well within the said town as the suburbs of the same, do shave their over [upper] lips, called crompeaulis; and suffer the hair of their heads to grow till it cover their ears; and that every of them wear English caps. Item, That no man, nor manchild, do wear no mantles in the streets, but cloaks or gowns, coats, doublets, and hose, shapen after the English fashion, of the country cloth, or any other cloth shall please them to buy."‡ To these regulations for dress was added a command, "that every inhabitant within the said town endeavor themselves to speak English, and to use themselves after the English fashion; and specially that you, and every of you, do put forth your child to school, to learn to speak English."§ Desirable as it might be that the two countries should be assimilated in dress and language, we know, from the ex-

* Froude, History, vol. ii. p. 305.
† "State Papers," vol. iii. p. 100. ‡ Ibid., p. 101.
§ MS. in British Museum, quoted in "State Papers," vol. iii. p. 145.

* "State Papers," vol. iii. p. 330. † Ibid., vol. ii. p. 381.
‡ By the Irish statute, 28 Hen. VIII. c. 15, these orders were more stringently enforced, particularly as regarded the use of long locks, called glibbes, and wearing the Irish cloak.
§ "State Papers," vol. ii. p. 309.

perience of three centuries both in Ireland and Wales, that such changes are not effected by royal threats or penal statutes. In the reign of Elizabeth, as we learn from Spenser's description, "the ancient dress" was still worn. The mantle was still "a fit house for an outlaw, a meet bed for a rebel, and an apt cloak for a thief." The long matted locks, called glibbes, were still used for a disguise. The men were still close hooded, or skull-capped, despising "civil caps." The mustaches, or crompeaulis, still covered the upper lip. The gallowglass still went to battle with his hatchet and his darts, the kerne with his darts and short bows. What the Irish were, as to dress, in the time of Henry VIII., they continued to be after the lapse of half a century. The children of the great chiefs might learn English, as Sir John Harrington found the sons of Tyrone learning it, to whom he gave his translation of Ariosto. But the rebellious earl had still his "boys" about him, "without shirts, who, in the frost, wade as familiarly through rivers as water-spaniels." Harrington says, "With what charm such a master makes them love him, I know not; but if he bid come, they come; if go, they do go; if he say do this, they do it." They lived, as Tyrone said, as "wolves that fill their bellies sometime, and fast as long for it."* But full or starving they were faithful. The charm was in the interchange of service and protection; in the reverence for claims that went back, through song and tradition, to the days of cairns and cromlechs. Nothing could weaken these claims, and convert a land of septs into a nation, but a real paternal government; and such a government was not likely to proceed out of the selfish despotism of the eighth Henry. Although he had some able advisers in the Irish Council, a detestable policy was at the root of their measures. There was ever suspicion where confidence might have begot allegiance; and a low treachery which met its reward in lip-service and conspiracy. A government must have been essentially base when its chief legal officer thus advises: "Because the nature of Irish men is such, that for money one shall have the son to war against the father, and the father against the child, it shall be necessary that the king's grace have always treasure here, as a present remedy against sudden rebellions."†

CHAPTER LVI.

Three years without an English parliament—Proclamation for the abolition of holidays—The Lincolnshire insurrection—Demands of the insurgents—The king's answer—The Yorkshire insurrection—The Lancaster herald at Pomfret—Negotiations with the Yorkshire rebels—They disperse—Disturbed state of the northern counties—Second rebellion—The rebels defeated—Executions—Martial law proclaimed—Birth of Prince Edward—Death of Queen Jane—Immediate proceedings for a new marriage of the king—Position of Cranmer and Cromwell—The Bible set up in parish churches—Papists and heretics—Trial of Lambert before Henry—Burnings in Smithfield—Surrenders of the larger religious houses—Visitations of the Commissioners—Relics and images—"Abomination of living" in monasteries—Concealment of property—Abbot of Glastonbury—Deprivations—Pensions—Plunder—Destruction of monastic houses.

The English parliament soon did the work which it was called together to do in 1536; and the executive, seeing vast pecuniary resources within its reach, did not care for three more years to be troubled with a representative body. Henry, with his new queen, was passing the autumn amid "the large green courts" and "the wild forest" of Windsor; happy, if it were possible, in forgetfulness of the past. Yet startling memories must sometimes have obtruded upon him—slight associations that must have for a moment disturbed his selfish complacency. Thus, when he looked upon the dedication to him of Coverdale's first Bible, and saw the mode in which the name of his queen was introduced—by printing J. A. over the original A. N., so that "Anne" might be changed to "Jane,"—the clumsiness of the substitution might have suggested the moral deformity of his own work. But he soon had stirring occupation. A large body of his English subjects were in rebellion.

On the 2d of October, 1536, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners were to hold their Visitation at Louth. The smaller monastic houses had been suppressed. The progress of the official inquiry into the condition of all houses of religion appeared only a prelude to their final extinction. The parochial clergy were called upon, in the king's name, no longer to teach that there was any virtue in relics or images; or that pilgrimages were beneficial exercises of faith. They were also to make known the royal proclamation for the abolition of many holidays, especially those of the harvest-season. There appears some principle of utility in declaring that the harvest-time holidays were "much to the hindrance of the gathering in of corn, hay, fruit, and other such-like necessary and profitable commodities." But even a material good cannot suddenly be effected, nor ought it to be, when it is revolting to the ancient habits of a people. The ecclesiastical reformers saw, in some of these holidays, the superstitions of the earlier times of the Church ingrafted upon the customs of Roman heathenism. They did not see how they had a still deeper foundation in the natural feelings of the human heart. The harvest-time was, to the great body of the people, a time of uncontrollable gladness: for their food became cheap after the long period of privation which they had to endure, when their small stores of barley and rye were exhausted. Potatoes were then unknown. The esculents of the garden were little cultivated. Under these circumstances the laborer was not very likely to neglect his reaping to make holiday before the harvest was wholly gathered. But in the final ceremony of the hock-cart, when the last load of corn was crowned with flowers; when the rude image, derived from the classic Ceres, rode on the wain; when the shouting crowd would "bless the cart," and "cross the fill-horse," and

"some with great
Devotion stroke the home-borne wheat;"*

it may readily be imagined that the early reformers, who were not yet prepared to deal with essential differences in a spirit of religious liberty, would strive to suppress such popular traces of "the old learning." On the 2d of October, then, in Louth, the ecclesiastical commissioners, instead of proceeding quietly to their occupation, found a great body of peasantry in arms, clamoring for their holidays, and proclaiming that they were gathered together for the maintenance of the faith, which was about to be destroyed. The course of this Lincolnshire insurrection, and of one more formidable which followed in Yorkshire, may be minutely traced in the official letters and proclamations of the period.

The "Answer to the Petitions of the Rebels and Traitors of Lincolnshire," by Henry, fully shows what was the character of their demands. They objected to the councillors that were about the king, and the prelates that he had appointed. He replies that he had never read nor heard, that "princes' councillors and prelates should be appointed by rude and ignorant common people;" and he adds, "how presumptuous then are ye, the rude commons of one shire, and that one of the most brute and beastly of the whole realm, and of least experience, to find fault with your prince, for the electing of his councillors and prelates."† This was not a polite expression from a king to his lieges; but probably the inhabitants of the fenny country, of old the seat of a peculiar population, were more than commonly opposed to innovations, and might therefore be rated as "brute and beastly" in manifesting the ancient Saxon stubbornness. According to this rough answer of the king, they objected "to the suppression of religious houses and monasteries." The parliament, said the king, had granted them to him. There were none suppressed but where there was abomination of living. He derided the alleged hospitality of those who spent the substance of their goods in nourishing vice. Their possessions were much better in the hands of their sovereign lord, who spent his own possessions in the defence of his people. It was the same with the First Fruits, to which they also objected. When they demanded a release from the subsidy which had been granted, he answered, "Think ye that we be so faint-hearted that, perforce, ye of one shire—were ye a great many more—would compel us with your insurrections and such rebellions to remit the same?" So Henry reasoned with these angry men, and told them no more to intermeddle with the weighty affairs of the realm. His arguments were supported by the approach of some military force, under the duke of Suffolk and the earls of Shrewsbury, Rutland, and Huntingdon. The prior of Oxney, and a leader named Melton, who assumed the name of Captain Cobler, could no longer

* "Nugæ Antiquæ," vol. i. p. 248.
† J. Allen to Sentleger, "State Papers," vol. ii. p. 485.

* Herrick.
† "State Papers," vol. i. p. 463.

eep together the terrified bands, when the king's troops were nigh t hand, and the royal proclamation had somewhat appeased them. t may appear strange that a monarch so despotic as Henry should ave entered into discussion, through his proclamations, with rebels n arms. But the danger was not foreseen. The earth was heaving, nd toppling down old institutions; but the Crown was fancied to e safe. The king was terribly alarmed. Wriothesley wrote to romwell, "His grace's pleasure is, you shall go to the Jewel House n the Tower, and there take as much plate as you shall think his race shall not necessarily occupy, and put it strait to coining. His race appeareth to fear much this matter, specially if he should want noney."* On the 13th of October the Lincolnshire rebels dispersed; nd the Lancaster herald, who had read and posted up his proclama- on at Louth, went on to Pontefract, where he had a more obstinate ssembly to deal with. His report is one of the most curious pic- ures remaining of the state of English society.

Thomas Myller, Lancaster herald, was approaching the town of Pomfret, wearing the king's coat of arms, when he overtook a large umber of the rebels, "being common people of the husbandry." They saluted him gently, and gave honor to his badge of office. The erald asked why they were in harness; and they said it was for he commonwealth, and that if they did not so, the commonalty and he Church would be destroyed. Some of them the herald persuaded o disperse, telling them that the notion that the king was about to ax them when they wedded, or christened, or buried, was a false umor. Riding into the town the herald was about to fix his proc- amation on the market-cross when he was prevented, and com- anded to go to the castle. He passed through three wards, full of arnessed men, "very cruel fellows," and was brought into the all, full of people. He got upon the high table, and showed the ause of his coming, when he was conveyed into another chamber. There sat Robert Aske, the captain of the rebellious host, with the rchbishop of York, lord Darcy, and other honorable persons. But Aske sat there, "keeping his port and countenance, as though he had een a great prince, with great rigor, and like a tyrant." He gave o reverence to the herald's tale, but demanded a sight of his proc- amation; and then told him that it should not be read at the narket-cross, nor in any other place among his people; and he set orth the articles of reformation which he sought, and for which he would die. "And I fell down of my knee before him," says the erald, "showing him how I was a messenger, and charged by the ing's council to read the proclamation, which I brought, for my dis- harge." But Aske declared that he should not read it; led him by he arm out of the castle; and there proclaimed that he that wore he king's coat should go safe, under pain of death. That bending f the knee to Robert Aske cost Thomas Myller his life. He was ndicted for high treason in kneeling down before traitors, with the ing's most honorable coat of arms on his back, and so encouraging nd comforting them; and he suffered death at York in the follow- ng year.†

Straitened for want of money, having no standing army at his ommand, relying upon the prompt aid of nobles, some of whom ere not favorable to extreme changes in religion, the king appears o have conducted himself in the beginning of these insurrections vith some prudence and moderation. It was a great crisis, and he net it, under all its difficulties, with the decision of character which elonged to him for good or for evil. His pecuniary means were so canty that Wriothesley, the Secretary of State, wrote to Cromwell, n the 21st of October, "I think your lordship should not only do he king high service to send him, for his help, four or five hundred ounds with speed, but win his heart therewith for ever."‡ Henry, rom his castle of Windsor, gives minute directions for the move- nents of the few troops which the duke of Norfolk and the other obles had with them. He commends "the politic device" of Nor- olk. He exhorts him "never to give stroke" unless he thought he ad some great advantage over the rebels. He trusted very much to is own elaborate answers to the demands of the insurgents. But, owever, indicating his vigilance and energy, these documents are uriously indicative of the capricious and jealous temper of the king, ather than of the sober consistency of responsible advisers. He romises mercy and threatens vengeance in a style which exhibits more of weakness than of strength. His "most noble and princely heart," he says to the rebels, "is touched with more mercy, pity, and compassion of you, and of your poor wives and innocent chil- dren, than your deserts have merited;" but if you "continue one whole day longer, after the receipt hereof, we shall execute all ex- tremity against you, your wives, and children, without mercy, to the most terrible and fearful example of all others whilst the world shall endure hereafter."* In his correspondence he shows his despotic character to those who were striving to serve him. He is exceedingly indignant that Norfolk recommended a free general pardon, and a parliament to be summoned. The crafty nature of the man is abun- dantly shown in these instructions. His agent, Sir John Russell, brought the pardon in his pocket, to be used only in the last neces- sity. But meanwhile Norfolk was to hold out to the rebels hopes that he might obtain such pardon from the king; and if they made any special conditions, to keep them in suspense for twenty days, until new forces were brought up. What he meant is indicated by his subsequent reproach to Norfolk that he "fell to a point to the rebels," when he had declared that he would not hold his honor violated if he kept no promise made to them.† There were forty thousand of the insurgents in arms on one side of the river Don, with the king's forces on the other side. The chroniclers record that no battle took place, because the shallow stream "suddenly rose of such a height, depthness, and breadth, that the like no men that there did inhabit could tell that ever they saw it there before."‡ No blood was shed in fight. Shrewsbury writes on the 29th of October that the rebels had dispersed, and the king's army was dissolved. It was this which provoked Henry's indignation. Yet he was compelled to yield to circumstances, and he emulated the prudence of Norfolk, by writing a courteous letter to Aske, the leader of the insurgents, inviting him to come to him, as "we have conceived a great desire to speak with you, and to hear, of your mouth, the whole circum- stance and beginning of that matter."§ The pardoned rebel went to the king; and he returned, to receive Henry's letter, thanking him for "his good endeavors for the stay of such our subjects as have been moved or inclined to a new commotion."‖ The disturbed state of the northern counties at this time, January, 1537, is graphically described in two letters from Ralph Sadler to Cromwell. He was proceeding on an embassy to Scotland. Between Doncaster and York there were bills posted up on the church doors, with these words, in effect: "Commons, be ye true amongst yourselves, and stick one to another, for the gentlemen have deceived you; but yet, if need be, ye shall lack no captains."¶ Passing from York to New- castle, he found the people much excited by a report that the duke of Norfolk was coming "with a great army and power, to do ex- ecution, and to hang and draw, from Doncaster to Berwick, in all places northward, notwithstanding the king's pardon."** He reached Darlington about six o'clock in the evening; and having entered his inn, about thirty or forty persons assembled in the street, with clubs and bats, and a large crowd soon gathered together. The host of the inn said that when any one came out of the south, they always thus gathered, to hear news. Sadler observed that such assemblies were unlawful, and that the heads of the town ought to lay some of them by the heels. "God defend," said the prudent host; "for so might we bring a thousand men in our tops within an hour." The inn- keeper pacified them in some sort. But they demanded to know when the duke of Norfolk would come, and with what company; and Sadler sent them word that he would be at Doncaster on Candle- mas day, and bring none with him but his household servants. At Newcastle the mayor and aldermen had reasoned and threatened the commons into obedience, and had placed cannon upon the walls and gates, which ordnance the merchants had brought out their ships; and they had made new gates of iron upon the bridge and had vict- ualled the town for a whole year. Such preparations sufficiently show that the character of this northern revolt was very formidable —that the mass of the people, so rarely stirred into insurrection, were agitated by a deep feeling, stronger than their habitual obedience to their political rulers; and that the name which had been given to their dangerous enterprise, The Pilgrimage of Grace, expressed a

* "State Papers," vol. i. p. 482. † Ibid., p. 485. ‡ Ibid., p. 489.

* "State Papers," vol. i., p. 470. † Ibid., p. 514 and p. 519.
‡ Hall, p. 823. § "State Papers," vol. i., p. 523.
‖ Ibid., p. 529. ¶ Ibid., p. 526. ** Ibid., p. 530.

sentiment well calculated to make them feel as heroes and martyrs. They broke out again into open rebellion in February. A parliament, to be held at York, had been promised by Norfolk on the first outbreak. The promise was not kept; and the leaders, lord Darcy, Aske, and others, were again in arms. Yet the men of influence, for the most part, adhered to the government. Norfolk writes from Pomfret, on the 3d of February, "I think never man was more welcome, of my degree, to the gentlemen of the country, than I am; which, without doubt, is most principally for their own safeguards, being in the greatest fear of the people that ever I saw men."* But Norfolk had come with other company than those of his own household. The insurgents made an attack upon Carlisle, and also upon Hull. They were unsuccessful, and their leaders were taken prisoners. Martial law was proclaimed; and, says the chronicler, threescore and fourteen of them were hanged on Carlisle walls. There was a terrible interval for the leaders of the insurrection. In the brief entries in the chronicle of a religious fraternity of London we have a more fearful picture of the severities which followed the northern tumults than in the most elaborate descriptions. On the 29th of March, which was on Maundy Thursday, the Lincolnshire men were hanged, and headed, and quartered. They had been brought out of Newgate to the Guildhall in ropes, and there had their judgment. On the 14th of May lord Darcy and lord Hussey were condemned at Westminster. On the 25th of May Sir John Bulmer and five others, of whom three were ecclesiastics, were executed at Tyburn, and the lady Bulmer was burned at Smithfield. On the 2d of June Sir Thomas Percy, Sir Francis Bigod, and three others, of whom two were ecclesiastics, were hanged and headed at Tyburn. On the 20th of June lord Darcy was beheaded at Tower Hill.† We may add that Lord Hussey was executed at Lincoln, Sir Robert Constable at Hull, and Robert Aske and the unfortunate Lancaster herald at York. But if the commands of the king were not disobeyed—a very unlikely circumstance—there was a far more terrible vengeance than these executions of the leaders. Thus writes Henry to Norfolk, on the 22d of February, commending him for having displayed the king's banner: "By reason whereof, till the same shall be closed again, the course of our laws must give place to the ordinances and estatutes martial. Our pleasure is that, before you shall close up our said banner again, you shall, in any wise, cause such dreadful execution to be done upon a good number of the inhabitants of every town, village, and hamlet that have offended in this rebellion, as well by the hanging them up in trees, as by the quartering of them, and the setting of their heads and quarters in every town, great and small, and in all such other places, as they may be a fear ful spectacle to all others hereafter that would practise any like matter; which we require you to do, without pity or respect, according to our former letters." The king adds to this command one equally stringent. Norfolk is to repair to certain specified abbeys, and all other places where there has been resistance to the suppression, or conspiracy, where "you shall, without pity or circumstance, now that our banner is displayed, cause all the monks and canons that be in any wise faulty, to be tied up, without further delay or ceremony, to the terrible example of others." Seven months after, his highness grows merciful, and begs Norfolk, "concerning punishment," to "remember they be our subjects, though evil men and offenders."‡

It would seem, from a curious passage in Hall's Chronicle, that in this season of trouble there was sympathy for the northern rebels even in the neighborhood of Henry's palace of Windsor: "In this time of insurrection, and in the rage of hurley-burley, even when the king's army and the rebels were ready to join, the king's banner, being displayed, and the king's majesty then lying at Windsor, there was a butcher dwelling within five miles of Windsor which caused a priest to preach that all such as took part with the Yorkshiremen, whom he named God's people, did fight and defend God's quarrel; and further, the said butcher, in selling of his meat, one did bid him a less price of sheep than he made of it, he answered, 'Nay, b God's soul, I had rather the good fellows of the north had it amon them, and a score more of the best I have.' This priest and butche were accused to the king's majesty's council of the treason above-sai on the Monday in the morning, and the same day were both sent fo which confessed their treason, and so according to the law martia they were adjuged to die; and so the said Monday they were bot examined, condemned, and hanged. The butcher was hanged on new pair of gallows set at the bridge-end, before the castle gate; an the priest was hanged on a tree at the foot of Windsor bridge." Th tree at Windsor bridge and the gallows at the castle-gate must hav given Henry a satisfactory assurance of the efficacy of "ordinance and estatutes martial" in the distant rebellious districts. What hi subjects thought of such exhibitions did not affect him.

On the 12th of October the same form of circular letter went fort as when the Princess Elizabeth was born, to announce that Quee Jane had given birth to a son. The event seems to have cause great gladness. Latimer, among others, is in ecstasies, and write to Cromwell, "Here is no less joying and rejoicing for the birth o our prince, whom we hungered for so long, than there was, I trow (inter vicinos) at the birth of St. John Baptist."* But the quee was not destined to partake of the nation's joy. She died on th 24th of October.† On that day Cromwell wrote to lord Willia Howard, who was in France, that the infant "is in good health, an sucketh like a child of his puissance;" but that "our mistress through the fault of them that were about her, which suffered her t take great cold and to eat things that her fantasy in sickness calle for, is departed unto God."‡ Another passage in the same letter ma scarcely appear credible. But there it stands in its undoubted authen ticity: "Though his majesty is not anything disposed to marr again—albeit his highness, God be thanked, taketh this chance as man that, by reason, with force overcometh his affection, may tak such an extreme adventure"—at the earnest entreaty of his counci "that his grace will again couple himself," the king desires that lor William Howard will report of "the conditions and qualities" of th French king's daughter, and of those of the widow of the duke d Longueville. Similar instructions, to inquire into the conditions an qualities of particular ladies, are immediately sent to ambassadors a other courts. On the 9th of December John Hutton writes fro Brussels to Cromwell, speaking highly of the duchess of Milan; an in a letter of the same day to Wriothesley, he adds, "She is not s pure white as was the late queen, whose soul God pardon; but sh hath a singular good countenance; and when she chanceth to smil there appeareth two pits in her cheeks, and one in her chin, th which becometh her right excellently well."§ Fortunately, perhaps for herself, the dimpled duchess was not chosen, for she was in th degree of forbidden relationship to Henry's first queen, Catherine Hutton gave other information as to eligible ladies. There was a maiden of fourteen who would have "a good dote." There was a widow, "of goodly personage." The duke of Cleves has a daugh ter; but, says the ambassador, "I hear no great praise neither of he personage nor beauty." Hutton is aware that in such ticklish affair his frank opinions might get him into trouble; and he adds, "I have not much experience among ladies, and therefore this commissio is to me very hard; so that, if in anything I offend, I beseech you lordship to be my mean for pardon." The time would come when Cromwell himself would regret that he had not imitated the prudence of the ambassador to the Netherlands, "leaving the further judg ment to other that are better skilled in such matter,"‖ than directing his capricious master's choice, at the peril of his own head.

If we rightly interpret the policy of the counsellors of King Henry, it was their endeavor, by these toys, so to speak, to diver him from intermeddling with the desire of the reformers to effect substantial change in religion. Cromwell, in his position of vice gerent, had an almost absolute power in regulating ecclesiastica affairs. In the parliament of 1539 we find that he had precedence be fore the archbishop of Canterbury. Cranmer, with his quiet an temporizing habits, was under the control of Cromwell; but the

* "State Papers," vol. i. p. 524.

† "Chronicle of the Grey Friars," p. 40.

‡ Thus we read in "State Papers," vol. i. p. 537 and p. 565. It is from some higher authority, no doubt, that we are told, "The rebellion was put down; and in the punishment of the offenders there was unusual leniency; not more than thirty persons were executed although forty thousand had been in arms."—Mr. Froude, *Fraser's Magazine*, January, 1857.

* "State Papers," vol. i. p. 571.

† The chroniclers wrote that the queen died on the 14th. But th date is now clearly shown by extant letters.

‡ "State Papers," vol. viii. p. 1. § Ibid., p. 7. ‖ Ibid., p. 7.

each had a course of policy to be worked out with the greatest caution. In the suppression of the monasteries they would have the thorough support of the king, for his revenues would thence receive an enormous increase. In every form of resistance to the papal supremacy they would have the same countenance. But in the disputed matters of doctrine, their individual desires, if such they truly held, for an enlarged liberty of conscience, would be of no avail against an absolute ruler, who felt his inordinate vanity flattered in prescribing what his subjects should believe and what not believe. "Henry was a king with a pope in his belly," truly says an old and plain-spoken writer. They went forward in a course of inconsistency, hanging disobedient abbots, and racking and burning Lutheran reformers. There is nothing absolutely to hate in either of these men; but there is little to love. Cranmer was a servile tool. Cromwell was a bold and unscrupulous minister. They accomplished one good work, of which their intolerant master did not see the final result. They gave us the English Bible.

The circulation of Tyndale's English Testament, printed at Antwerp in 1526, had been prohibited by Henry, in his zeal against Luther and the reformed doctrines. Ten years later he was moved to consent to the publication of an English Bible. In August, 1537, Cranmer wrote to Cromwell to exhibit a Bible in English to the king, which was of "a new translation and a new print;" soliciting him "to obtain of his grace, if you can, a licence that the same may be sold, without danger of any act, proclamation, or ordinance heretofore granted to the contrary; until such time that we, the bishops, shall set forth a better translation, which, I think, will not be till a day after doomsday." * This was Coverdale's Bible, printed anew under the name of Matthews. In 1538 another Bible was printing in Paris by Coverdale and Grafton; and they write to Cromwell, sending specimens of the same, desiring "to be defended from the papists by your lordship's favorable letters." † Another edition of the Bible was printed in 1538, known as "Cranmer's, or the Great Bible." These Cranmer appointed to be sold at 13*s.* 4*d.* each; unless Cromwell would give the printers exclusive privileges, when they might be sold at 10*s.* In 1538 injunctions were given to the clergy to set up the Bible in parish churches, and to encourage the people to peruse it. In a few years that liberty was partially withdrawn. But the great principle was proclaimed in Cromwell's injunctions, that in the Scriptures was to be sought the way to eternal happiness, they "being the true lively word of God, which every Christian ought to believe, embrace, and follow, if he expected to be saved."

If the English people could have viewed the extraordinary anomalies of this period of the Reformation in England as we now view them, they would have probably subsided into that most unhappy condition of a nation—universal scepticism. There appear to us to have been no secure resting-places for honest opinion. Those who held, as many earnestly did, to the principles and forms of the old religion, based as it was upon obedience to one spiritual head of the Church, were traitors. Those who, in rejecting the papal supremacy, rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation, were heretics. The shrine of Thomas à Becket is plundered and destroyed; and a royal proclamation forbids him to be any longer received as a saint. Instead of the pilgrims to Canterbury wearing the steps of the high altar, there is a great crowd in Westminster Hall to hear a king confute a "sacramentarian." John Nicholson (known commonly as Lambert) has been accused of denying the corporal presence in the eucharist. Henry has renewed the old excitement of his polemical studies, and he causes it to be solemnly proclaimed that he will publicly examine and judge the heretic. He sits upon his throne dressed in white satin, with his guards all in white. He calls upon the unhappy man to declare his opinion, which, according to Burnet, did not differ from that then held by Cranmer and Latimer, being the Lutheran doctrine of consubstantiation. The king, the bishops, and the accused entered upon scholastic disputations, which lasted five hours. The poor unaided disputant, with ten opponents, one after another, engaging with him, and the king frowning in his most awful manner, was at last silenced, and the people in the hall shouted their applause at the royal victory. Lambert was then asked by Henry whether he would live or die; and he answered, "that he committed his soul to God, and submitted his body to the king's clemency." He was condemned to be burned, and Cromwell read the sentence; and burned he was in Smithfield, crying aloud in his agony, "None but Christ." It is fearful to see those whose memories we must regard with some respect mixed up with these horrors. The superstitions of the ignorant are pitiable. The zealotry of the wise and learned is revolting. There was an image in Wales called Darvell Gathern, to which the people resorted by hundreds, believing that the wooden block had power to save. Darvell Gathern was brought to London, and was burned in Smithfield. But the "huge and great image" was brought under the gallows where an observant friar, Forest, was hung in chains alive; and the idol being set on fire under the wretched man, who was accused of heresy and treason, they were consumed together. Worst of all, "there was also prepared a pulpit, where a right reverend father in God, and a renowned and pious clerk, the bishop of Worcester, called Hugh Latimer, declared to him (Forest) his errors, and openly and manifestly by the Scripture of God confuted them, and with many and godly exhortations moved him to repentance. But such was his frowardness that he neither would hear nor speak." *

After the great insurrections of 1536–7 had been effectually repressed it became evident that the destruction of the larger religious houses would soon follow that of the smaller. It was not necessary for a parliament to be sitting to pass a second law of suppression. The government adopted the principle of terrifying or cajoling the abbots and priors into a surrender of their possessions. The ecclesiastical commissioners continued their work with larger powers. Their reports exhibit a dreary catalogue of abuses, which, however colored by the prejudices and interests of the reporters, would afford some justification for the sweeping spoliation, if particular examples could be received as types of a general depravity. The records of these proceedings, imperfect as they are, present so many interesting points of historical information as to this great ecclesiastical and political revolution, that we shall endeavor to condense some of the facts, in addition to the details we have already given.†

The act of 1539, for Dissolution of Abbeys, recites that since the 4th of February, in the 27th year of the reign of Henry, divers heads of religious houses had voluntarily surrendered their possessions to the king. The 27th regnal year comprised the period between the 22d of April, 1535, and the 21st of April, 1536. In that 27th year, after the 4th of February, there were four surrenders. In the 28th year there were three. In the 29th year there were twenty-four. In the 30th year there were a hundred and seventy-four. In the 31st year there were seventy-six. We may judge, therefore, what powerful influences were set in action, after the chances of a successful popular resistance were at an end.‡ The visitation of the commissioners had several objects—to search out and publicly expose the alleged impostures and depravities of the monastic life; to induce the abbots and monks to resign, and to arrange the terms of resignation; to appropriate the revenues and available property of these institutions. In addressing the rebels of Lincolnshire, in 1536, the king had said, "There be none houses suppressed, where God was well served, but where most vice, mischief, and abomination of living was used." § In carrying out a much more extensive measure of suppression, it became necessary to have materials for urging the same plea.

The impostures connected with images and relics are among the most curious manifestations of human credulity; and it was a necessary step in the establishment of a pure worship that the system of deceit, which was of no modern origin, should be thoroughly exposed. In 1538 Cranmer writes to Cromwell, "Because I have in great suspect, that St. Thomas of Canterbury his blood in Christ's Church in Canterbury, is but a feigned thing, and made of some red ochre, or of such like matter, I beseech your lordship that Dr. Lee, and Dr. Barbour, my chaplain, may have the king's commission to try and examine that, and all other like things there." ‖ The commissioners went to the abbey of Hales, in Gloucestershire, and reported of their finding "jewels, plate, ornaments, and money, besides the

* "State Papers," vol. i. p. 561. † Ibid., p. 576.

* Hall's Chronicle, p. 826. † See *ante*, p. 259.

‡ In Burnet (Records) the Lists of Surrenders, as found in the Augmentation Office, are given.

§ "State Papers," vol. i. p. 464. ‖ See *ante*, p. 223.

garnishing of a small shrine, wherein was reposed the counterfeit relic in times past."* This counterfeit relic was "the blood of Hales," which Latimer made famous by preaching at Paul's Cross that it was "no blood, but honey clarified, and colored with saffron." But when the same plain-speaking bishop preached before Edward VI., he told a tale of "the blood of Hales," which shows how the most palpable imposture had established its stronghold, even in the mind of the supreme head of the Church. Henry himself believed that in the crystal vessel, opaque on one side and transparent on the other, was held the blood that flowed in the agony in the garden. The pretended blood was shown or not, according to the price paid for the sight. Latimer says, "What ado was there to bring this out of the king's head. This great abomination of the blood of Hales could not be taken a great while out of his mind. . . . . Unpreaching prelates have been the cause that the blood of Hales did so long blind the king."† Barlow, bishop of St. David's, writes to Cromwell that he had openly detected the abuse of "the taper of Haverford-west;" "but sithence I chanced upon another taper of much greater credit, and of more shameful detestation, called Our Lady's taper of Cardigan, which I have sent here to your lordship, with convenient instructions of that devilish delusion." There was in the priory of Cardigan an image of the Virgin, with a taper in her hand, which was found standing on the river Tyne, with the taper always burning; but being carried into Christ's Church, in Cardigan, the image would not stay there, "but was found three or four times in the place where now is builded the Church of our Lady, and the taper burning in her hand, which continued still burning the space of nine years without wasting, until the time that one forsware himself thereon, and then it extincted, and never burned after." So stated the prior, in his examination.‡ Wales was the especial seat of these superstitions. There was an image at Bangor, worth to the friars "twenty marks by the year in corn, cheese, cattle, and money."§ But the counties nearer London had their relics, ancient and modern. At Caversham, near Reading, the friars showed "the holy knife that killed St. Edward," and "the holy dagger that killed King Henry."‖ At Reading abbey the relics "would occupy four sheets of paper to make an inventory of every part thereof." Walsingham, famous for these curiosities, contributed a more than common proportion to the bonfire which Cromwell made at Chelsea of these memorials of a perishing belief. At St. Paul's Cross some of the images were exhibited and broken in pieces. The famous rood of Boxley, of which the figure could move his threatening eyes, twitch his nostrils, throw back his head, or nod approbation, is elevated on a scaffold, and goes through the performance at which past generations had trembled and wondered. The imposture is proclaimed from the pulpit; the image is cast down into the street; its machinery is disclosed; and amid the hootings of the people is consigned to the flames.

The "abomination of living," of which the inmates of the religious houses were accused, are exhibited in these returns of the commissioners. Sometimes their neighbors have evil things to say of them; sometimes the monks themselves relate some of the evil doings of their brethren, at which they duly profess their horror. Richard Beerley, a monk of Pershore, implores Cromwell, as "the most gracious lord and most worthiest vicar that ever came amongst us," to "help me out of this vain religion." He says that monks come to matins drunk; play at cards, dice, and tables, with many other vices.¶ In some cases an abbot and his monks were at variance, and the disorders of the house hastened its suppression. In the terror that preceded the surrenders and suppressions, some of these institutions became wholly disorganized. The brethren of the Charterhouse, in the isle of Axholm, write to the prior of Shene that their father prior is daily conveying goods out of their house. He went to London, leaving the monks without money. Our husbandry, they say, is not looked upon; our land is not tilled; muck is not carried; our corn lieth in the barn, and taketh hurt with vermin. All their servants are gone away.** The heads of some of the richer houses hid their valuables, or carried them off. At Glastonbury the commissioners write to Cromwell, "We have daily found and tried out both money and plate, hid and muried up in walls, vaults, and other secret places;" and that "the abbot and the monks have embezzled and stolen as much plate and adornments as would have sufficed to have begun a new abbey."* The abbot and the monks felt as the people of an invaded country feel when they conceal their treasures from the foreign marauders; and the commissioners felt as a rapacious soldiery feel when their hopes of booty are disappointed. The abbot of Glastonbury had little chance against his persecutors. He was tried at Wells on the 14th of November, 1539, "and the next day put to execution with two other of his monks, for the robbing of Glastonbury church, on the Tor hill next unto the town of Glaston; the said abbot's body being divided in four parts, and head stricken off."† Richard Whiting's head was fixed on the abbey gate, to crumble into dust with the perishing fabric, once so glorious.

George Giffard, one of the ecclesiastical commissioners, ventures however, to speak a good word in favor of the house of Woolstrope in Lincolnshire. The head of the house is well-beloved of all the inhabitants; the priests are of good conversation, living religiously; they employ their time in embroidering, writing books, making their own garments, carving, painting, or engraving. In the house, standing very solitary, such hospitality is kept that, unless there were singular good provision, the lands could not maintain the relief which is daily afforded to the poor inhabitants. But George Giffard trembles at his own boldness in writing the truth; for he says that when he wrote to the chancellor of the Augmentations in favor of the abbey of St. James and the nunnery of Catesby, the chancellor showed his letter to the king, whereof "the king's highness was displeased, as he said to my servant, Thomas Harper, saying that it was like that we had received rewards which caused us to write as we did."‡ Is it to be wondered that we find few records of the virtues of the monks? And yet the unwelcome honesty will occasionally have its course. At the Benedictine nunnery of Polesworth, in Warwickshire, still picturesque in its ruins, the abbess was a discreet and religious woman, and the nuns of virtuous lives, by the fame and report of all the country. The nuns, it would seem, educated children of the neighboring gentry, who boarded in the house to the number of thirty or forty, who were right virtuously brought up. "And in the town of Polesworth are forty-four tenements, and never a plough but one; the residue be artificers, laborers, and victuallers, and live in effect by the said house."§ The nunnery and its school were swept away. The artificers and laborers had to swell the number of vagabonds that were stocked, whipped, and hanged when the means of profitable industry were taken from them. The nuns of Polesworth protested against leaving and forsaking their habits and religion. They were unfitted for the ordinary duties of the world; and so were the whole regular clergy. They had, for the most part, small pensions assigned them, "of his grace's charity;" but we have hints and assertions that they were rarely paid. The commissioners made bargains for the crown, of which Tewkesbury may serve as an example. The clear yearly value of the possessions was 1595*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.* They gave the abbot the large annual sum of 266*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Seven monks had pensions varying from 7*l.* to 16*l.* Twenty-seven monks had 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* each; making a total of 551*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* "And so remains clear, 1044*l.* 8*s.* 10*d.*"‖ In the smaller monasteries the ejected monks had pensions varying, according to their ages, from 4*l.* to 53*s.* 4*d.* But some monasteries were in a state of miserable poverty, with only a few acres of arable land, and the ruinous house that sheltered the half-starved inmates. Many of the convents were deeply in debt. The bishop of Dover writes, "Many shall lose much money by the friars, the which will make a great clamor among the people."¶ But, whether the houses were rich or poor, resistance was useless. The abbot of St. Alban's "sheweth himself so stiff that, as he saith, he would rather choose to beg his bread all the days of his life than consent to any surrender."** The plan pursued in such cases is set forth in the commissioner's letter.

* "Suppression of Monasteries," p. 237.
† Seventh Sermon before Edward VI.
‡ "Suppression of Monasteries," pp. 186–188. § Ibid., p. 212.
‖ Ibid., p. 222. ¶ Ibid., p. 133. ** Ibid., p. 126.

* "State Papers," vol. i. p. 620.
† Lord J. Russell to Cromwell, Ellis, First Series, vol. ii. p. 98.
‡ "Suppression of Monasteries," p. 136. § Ibid., p. 139.
‖ Burnet Records. ¶ "Suppression of Monasteries," p. 241.
** Ibid., p. 250.

It was to pass a sentence of deprivation on the abbot for alleged misconduct; "which done, the house will be in such debt that we think no man will take the office of abbot here upon him, except any do it only for that purpose to surrender the same to the king's hands; and by these means we think this thing may most easily and with least speech be brought to the king's highness' pleasure."

With the king's highness eager for the silver shrines, the parcel-gilt cups, the embroidered copes, the very lead and timber of the conventual buildings, to be turned into money; with grasping courtiers ready to bribe the king's vicegerent for grants of land and leases —there was no difficulty in converting the monastic possessions to immediate advantage. It is lamentable to trace the degradation of a period when to bribe and be bribed was no disgrace. Audley, the chancellor, offers two hundred pounds to Cromwell for one job. Sir Thomas Elyot, a scholar, an accomplished writer, the friend of More, offers the vicegerent the first year's fruits of "some convenient portion of the suppressed lands." All this was natural. But the shamelessness of public men was never more clearly exhibited than in Elyot's slavish address to Cromwell, in which he beseeches him "to lay apart the remembrance of the amity between me and Sir Thomas More." He thinks so meanly of the king and of his minister that he cannot ask a favor without declaring his base ingratitude to the memory of the man who was his dearest friend. With such a spirit in the rapacious suitors of the court, it was not likely that the work of spoliation should not be carried through most thoroughly. There were hungry claimants for the crumbs of the table, as well as for the sumptuous banquet. Stow records that the widow Cornwallis obtained a fair house and tenements of a dissolved priory by the timely present of some fine puddings to the king. Cromwell had a grant of Lewes Abbey, besides many other valuable estates and manors. It was one of the first to be swept away. In 1537 Cromwell has minute account from some officer, "how we had begun to pull the whole down to the ground;" and "with how many men we have done this." The superintendent brought from London seventeen persons—"these are men exercised much better than the men that we find here in the country."* The first process, in all cases, was to strip the roofs of the churches and other buildings, and to cast the lead or make it up into fodders. At Jervaux, the nimble destroyers got down the lead; but "the said lead cannot be conveyed nor carried until the next summer, for the ways in that country are so foul and deep that no carriage can pass in winter." The careful Richard Bellasis, who has the superintendence of this work, is much distressed that he cannot sell the bells for above twenty-five shillings the hundred.† Sir Richard Rich was now chancellor of the Court of Augmentations, for managing the revenues of the suppressed houses. He writes to John Scudamore, one of the king's officers for the dissolved possessions, that he is informed "that the late monastery of Bordesley is defaced and plucked down, and the substance thereof sold to divers persons without profit or lucre paid or answered to the king's majesty's use for the same."‡ It was a season of general plunder and waste. Philip Hoby desires John Scudamore to let him have what is left of the stone of Evesham. The anxious Philip had obtained a grant of the monastery; and no doubt he made the best of his bargain: "As concerning the spoil or waste that ye wrote to me of that hath been done there, I assure you both I and mine be guiltless thereof."§ When Leland visited Evesham soon after 1539, the abbey was called by him "the late abbey." John Scudamore had cleaned out the sixteen altars, and the hundred and sixty-four gilded pillars of its church. Chapter-house, library, refectory, dormitory—all were gone. The campanile of the cemetery alone remains to indicate its ancient splendor.

* "Suppression of Monasteries," p. 180.
‡ Ibid., p. 279.
† Ibid., p. 165.
§ Ibid., p. 283.

CHAPTER LVII.

Parliament of 1539—Conformable knights and burgesses—A tractable parliament the instrument of tyranny—Complaints against the suppression of the abbeys—Act for the king to make bishops—Application of the revenues of religious houses—Six new bishoprics—Destruction of the Hospital of St. John—The Six Articles—Penalties under the statute in which they are declared—Latimer and Shaxton resign their bishoprics—Reformers executed or expatriated—Arrests of the Pole family, and convictions—Margaret, countess of Salisbury—Anne of Cleves—Her progress to England—The king and his bride—The marriage declared invalid—Fall of Cromwell—His attainder—Queen Catherine Howard.

THE parliament which was summoned to assemble at Westminster on the 28th of April, 1539, met for the sole purpose of accomplishing a despotic revolution, with all the forms of representative government. Never had a parliament of England assembled under circumstances so full of strange anxiety. In the parliament of 1536 there were present fifteen abbots, and thirteen other abbots voted by proxy.* In the parliament of 1539 there were seventeen abbots present, and three sent their proxies. Unwillingly the abbots must have come. There could be no doubt that they were about to pass away from their high position in the state. No more would the mitred lords of Tewkesbury and St. Alban's, of St. Edmondsbury and Tavistock, of Colchester and Malmesbury, ride to Westminster with their armed and liveried servants, with crowds on the highways kneeling for their blessing. The abbot of Glastonbury earnestly entreats to be pardoned for non-attendance. "But if the king's pleasure be so, I would be gladly carried thither in a horse-litter, to accomplish his grace's pleasure and commandment, rather than to tarry at home."† He was not one of those who met to register their own fall. He had a harder fate than mere deprivation. In that parliament there were also present the two archbishops and eighteen bishops. There were forty-nine temporal peers summoned. If the ecclesiastics had mustered in their full strength, the spiritual and temporal peers would have been of equal number.‡ In the second session of the same parliament the proportion was changed, never again to be restored. The abbots had then vanished from the legislature. "His grace's pleasure and commandment" had been accomplished. But it was not accomplished without an amount of labor and management which might appear to be a characteristic of modern rather than of ancient times. The returns to the Lower House of knights and burgesses, who should be wholly conformable, was accomplished by the unremitting care of Henry's ministers. On the 17th of March, five weeks before the meeting of parliament, Cromwell writes to Henry, "For your grace's parliament, I have appointed your majesty's servant, Mr. Morison, to be one of them. No doubt he shall be ready to answer, and take up such as would crack or face with literature of learning, or indirected ways, if any such shall be, as I think there shall be few or none; for as much as I, and other your dedicate councillors, be about to bring all things so to pass that your majesty had never more tractable parliament."§ A "tractable parliament" was the machinery by which tyranny sought to do its work in England, after the old spirit of freedom had been crushed under the Tudor heel. It was necessary to put the drapery of representation over the naked form of despotism. One sound constitutional historian, in stating that the immense revolutions of Henry's time could never have been effected without the concurrence of parliament—that the spoliation of property and the condemnation of the innocent were accomplished by their acquiescence and co-operation—holds that their subservience was not ultimately injurious to public liberty, because "it accustomed the people to set no bounds to the authority of those who bestowed it on the king."‖ But let us not forget that if the people had not been trained, by long traditions of individual liberty, to rely upon themselves, the subservience of parliament might have ultimately accomplished a more dangerous, because more complicated, tyranny than that of uncontrolled monarchical supremacy. Happily the roots of English freedom were too deeply imbedded in the soil for the old tree to be destroyed by the storms of regal power, or the blights of representative corruption. The ancient spirit which upheld justice and civil rights survived in the most dangerous times, such as in other countries left the people grovelling before the throne. The essential difference was that in England, from the earliest days, a great part of the administrative functions of government was wrought out by the people themselves.

* "Lords' Journals," July 17.
† "State Papers," vol. i. p. 607.
‡ See the list in "Parliamentary History," vol. i. p. 533
§ "State Papers," vol. i. p. 603.
‖ Mackintosh, "History of England," vol. ii. p. 240.

The local constitutions of the feudal ages had not been destroyed or changed. They were carried forward into the whole theory and practice of a state of society from which slavery and villanage had departed. They retained their strongholds in parish and borough—in the village vestry and the corporate guild. They survived in the constable and the justice of the peace. There were institutions besides those of crown and parliament. These might be tyrannous and corrupt; but the elements of freedom still abided with the people. "The imperfection of certain organs matters nothing, because the whole is instinct with life."* If Ralph Sadler, in 1539, could openly write to a new member to repair to him, "to speak with the duke of Norfolk by whom ye shall know the king his pleasure, how ye shall order yourself in the parliament-house,"†—there were, no doubt, others who endured such domination in secret displeasure. The Saxon temper would chafe and fume, and would have to bide its time, even for a century. But it was the spark that, some day, would fly up in the face of tyranny. Even in the ashes of freedom lived its wonted fires.

The "act for dissolution of abbeys" was a formal statute, to make perfect the work that was practically accomplished. It vested the remaining monastic possessions in the king, of which the greater number had been surrendered; and it confirmed all future surrenders. It annulled leases granted a year previous to each surrender. Other business had preceded this enactment; but all other matters were of secondary importance, or depended upon the accomplishment of this measure. Of the public opinion as to this sweeping confiscation, Burnet says, "this suppression of abbeys was universally censured; and besides the common exceptions which those that favored the old superstition made, it was questioned whether the lands that formerly belonged to religious houses ought to have returned to the founders and donors by way of *reverter;* or to have fallen to the lords of whom the lands were holden, by way of *escheat;* or to have come to the crown."‡ Lord Herbert says, "This rapine upon the Church, with the miserable ruin of themselves and houses, was divulged abroad in such terms as astonished the whole Christian world. For though the excessive number of them excused the king in some part for the first suppression, the latter had no such specious pretext." In our day we properly look upon these institutions as having been, if not nurseries of vice and idleness, unsuited even to their own times, and as utterly incompatible with the progress of religious freedom, and therefore with national prosperity and happiness. But we should grossly err if we believed that they were wholly useless. Even Henry did not dare to appropriate these vast possessions without a pretence that he was about to devote some portion of them to great public uses. The act for the dissolution of the abbeys was followed by "an act for the king to make bishops." The preamble to the draft of this statute is written in King Henry's own hand: "Forasmuch as it is not unknown the slothful and ungodly life which hath been used among all those sort which have borne the name of religious folk; and to the intent that from henceforth many of them might be turned to better use as hereafter shall follow, whereby God's word might be the better set forth; children brought up in learning; clerks nourished in the universities; old servants decayed to have livings; alms-houses for poor folks to be sustained in; readers of Greek, Hebrew, and Latin to have good stipend; daily alms to be ministered; mending of highways; exhibition for ministers of the Church; it is thought unto the king's highness most expedient and necessary that more bishoprics and colleges shall be established."§ Here is, indeed, a goodly catalogue of noble intentions. Who, after the effects of the first sudden change had passed away, could have failed to rejoice in seeing the Gospel preached, children educated, learning encouraged, the indigent assisted, the means of communication promoted! Here is a large project of civilization, to be accomplished by the absorption of one fifth of the lands of the kingdom into the possessions of the crown! What a noble title of the honest reformer would King Henry have attained by the realization of these projects! The abbey-walls were pulled down, the lead melted, the timber sold, the painted windows destroyed. Alas! the records of the time show wonderful schemes for the establishment in each bishopric of preachers, readers, students, scholars, schoolmasters—large sums for alms, mending of highways—all to be "founded and established by the king's majesty's goodness." But the far greater part of these waste-paper projects remained wholly undone till the next reign, and then most grudgingly and imperfectly. "The king's majesty's goodness" remained satisfied that he should have a convenient fund to draw upon for the maintenance of his extravagant household and his absurd wars; for "the upholding of dice-playing, masking, and banqueting," with other recreations that are not suited to delicate ears. The king grew bolder in a short time; and when he went to parliament to sanction another spoliation, the abolition of the chantries—ancient endowments for alms-giving connected with obits, or praying for souls—he honestly said, speaking by the voice of the slavish parliament, that the revenues of the same should be devoted to the expenses of the wars against France and Scotland; and "for the maintenance of your most royal estate, honor, dignity, and estimation, which all your said loving subjects, of natural duty, be bound to conserve and increase by all such ways and means as they can devise."* Schools, alms-gifts were attached to the smallest as well as the largest religious houses. These were all destroyed when the funds for their support were swept into the king's exchequer. Henry's "goodness" was chiefly confined to the establishment of six new bishoprics, by his letters patent. This was a small performance of a large promise. While he swept away the strongholds of the supremacy of Rome, he annihilated the greater part of those ancient possessions, out of which a pure religion might have been diffused over an instructed people. The magnificent endowments of ages that were past might have been preserved, not to perpetuate error, but to become living fountains of future piety and knowledge. It was the divine will that it should be otherwise; that, painfully and laboriously, the reformed faith might be built up upon sounder foundations than the temporal riches of an outworn institution.

The destruction of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, in 1540, was as remarkable an example of the changes of opinion as the dissolution of the abbeys. Eighteen years only had passed since the heroic defenders of Rhodes had quitted their island forever. When their conqueror, the Sultan Solyman, had paid a tribute of respect to their grand master, he said, "It is not without pain that I force this Christian, at his time of life, to leave his dwelling." Henry of England had less generosity than the infidel. The act of parliament which expelled the knights of St. John from their ancient priory in Clerkenwell—to appropriate its vast buildings "as a storehouse for the king's toils and nets for hunting, and for the wars"†—coldly says, that "considering that the isle of Rhodes, whereby the said religion took their old name and foundation, is destroyed by the Turks," it is "much better" that the possessions of the order should be "employed and spent within this realm."‡ L'Isle Adam, the defender of Rhodes, broke his heart when he learned that a king, who still affected some of the pomp of chivalry, had destroyed the last link that connected the England of the sixteenth century with the glories of the Crusades.

The act for dissolution of abbeys is immediately followed in the statute-book by "an act abolishing diversity in opinions." The very title of this statute is sufficient evidence of its vain presumption. The king's majesty, being by God's law supreme head of the whole Church and congregation of England, calling to mind the commodities which have ever followed unity of opinions, and the dangers of diversities of minds, especially of matters of Christian religion, caused certain articles to be discussed in parliament and in convocation. And also he "most graciously vouchsafed in his own princely person to descend and come into his said high court of parliament and council, and there, like a prince of most high prudence, and no less learning, opened and declared many things of high learning and great knowledge touching the said articles, matters, and questions, for an unity to be had in the same."§ The statute then sets forth that the desired unity was to be "charitably established," by the observance, under the most tremendous penalties, of Six Articles. Fox calls this statute "The whip with six strings." It was something more terrible than a whip. It breathed the amplest threats of the

* De Tocqueville, "Society in France," translated by Henry Reeve, page 321.
† Letter in "Henry VIII.'s Scheme of Bishoprics," p. 101.
‡ Reformation, vol. i. p. 261, ed. 1681. § 31 Henry VIII. c. 9.

* 37 Henry VIII. c. 4.
† Stow.
‡ 32 Hen. VIII. c. 24.
§ 31 Hen. VIII. c. 14.

ke in Smithfield and the gallows at Tyburn. The first article sets rth the doctrine that "in the most blessed sacrament of the altar. the strength and efficacy of Christ's mighty word, it being spoken the priest, is present really, under the form of bread and wine, the tural body and blood of our Saviour," and that "after the conse- ation there remaineth no substance of bread and wine, nor any other bstance but the substance of Christ." This article regarding the l presence thus involves a condemnation of the minuter difference m the orthodox doctrine which the Lutherans called consubstanti- on, as distinguished from the Romish doctrine of transubstanti- on. The Defender of the Faith, in his character of Supreme Head the Church of England, has utterly rejected the papal authority; has declared against pilgrimages, images, and relics; he has de- oyed the monastic institutions; he has even permitted the transla- n of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue; but not one tittle will relax from the enforcement of those doctrines of the Romanists ich are the barriers to any true reformation. The other five arti- s are directed against those who preached the necessity of admin- ering the eucharist, in both kinds, to the laity; who advocated the rriage of priests, or the non-observance of female vows of chastity widowhood; who maintained that private masses were not lawful laudable; who asserted that auricular confession was not expedi- t. The jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts upon such subjects as removed; and commissioners were appointed to examine ac- sed persons, to commit to prison, to try before a jury of twelve en, and to pass sentence. Those who were convicted under the st article "shall be deemed and adjudged heretics;" and "every ch offender shall therefore have and suffer judgment, execution, in, and pains of death by way of burning, without any abjuration, rgy, or sanctuary to be therefore permitted." Burnet remarks, at denying such offenders the benefit of abjuration was a severity yond what had ever been put in practice before; for which re- ark Dr. Maitland sneers at the bishop's ideas of "honesty and mar- rdom."* For any violation of either of the five other articles, by eaching or teaching in any school to the contrary, "every fender, on the same being therefore duly convicted or attainted," all be adjudged a felon; "and shall therefore suffer pains of ath, as in cases of felony." Any man or woman who had ad- sedly professed chastity or widowhood, and should afterward rry, was to suffer the same penalty of death. Those who main- ned doctrines against the articles where preaching was felony, re to lose lands and goods, and to be imprisoned; and for a second fence to suffer death.

This, then, from the 12th of July, 1529, when the act of the Six rticles was to take effect, to the end of the reign of Henry, was the gland of the Reformation. It would be difficult to understand w such a statute could have passed, if the great body of the people d been inclined to a higher species of reformation than consisted in e destructive principle which assailed the externals of the Church. anmer was too yielding, and Cromwell too politic, to oppose the rty which carried this statute, backed by the irresistible force of e king's will. The doctrinal reformers were clearly a minority. he political reformers had got all they wanted in the plunder of the cient Church. The subservient courtiers, who had become impro- iators, and provided half-starved monks to do the service of the ar at the cheapest rate, were wholly indifferent to the principles rough which the continental reformers were daily waxing in ength. Cranmer spoke against the bill; but he finally sent away s wife, to evade its penalties, and locked up for a more convenient ason the secret of his heart as to the real presence. Latimer, on e 11th of July, resigned his bishopric of Worcester. He was sub- quently arrested, on a charge of having spoken against some of the x Articles; and he wore out six years of his life in a close impris- ment in the Tower. Shaxton, the bishop of Salisbury, also re- gned. But he had to endure something far more terrible than the ose cell in which Latimer fortified his heart against all fear of an's power to harm. The story of Shaxton's fall will be told in its e order. An acute and learned writer, somewhat startled into an- ner extreme by the exaggerated statements of bloody persecutions der the Six Articles, has given a list of all the martyrs whom Fox entions as having been put to death during the time that the act was in force—that is, during the last seven years of Henry the Eighth's reign.* These amount to twenty-eight. But, says this writer, speaking of the statute against diversity in opinions, "it was meant to frighten rather than to hurt, to intimidate and quiet the people rather than to destroy and slaughter them by wholesale. In the first place it caused many of the more violent partisans of the Reformation to quit the country; and, secondly, it made those who stayed at home more quiet and peaceable." He rightly attributes this act to the king, which we may readily infer from its preamble: "I believe that he was roused by an idea that the Church, of which he was resolved to be the supreme head, was likely to be overthrown by a torrent of what he considered infidelity and blasphemy; and that he devised, and insisted on, and would have, and carried such a measure as he thought was suited to check the frightful evil."† Be it so. He who had stalled his horses in monasteries, even before the dissolution,‡ looked quietly on while painted windows were smashed, and consecrated bells were melted; saw noble libraries sold to grocers and soap-boilers; heard the cries of the unfed poor at the desolated abbey-gate, and consigned them to the beadle's whip; turned out ten thousand nuns into the wide world, to find resting-places where they might—forbidden to marry under the pains of felony, with no strict or tender mother-abbess to watch over their ways—he to oppose "a torrent of what he considered infidelity and blasphemy!" the profane songs—the plays and interludes, "tending any way against the Six Articles,"—the disturbances of congregations during the service of the mass—these things were evils. But it was a far greater evil to render England a land uninhabitable "by the more violent partisans of the Reformation;" by which "violent partisans" we understand that consistent body of earnest thinkers who have since been honored with the name of Puritans. These were the men who did not rest satisfied that the king had "destroyed the pope, but not popery."§ Whether twenty-eight persons were executed under the statute of the Six Articles, or twenty-eight hundred; whether ten reformers fled from England or ten thousand; whether the great mass of the people rejoiced in this persecuting law—and, to use the words of Hooper in 1546, "the impious mass, the most shameful celibacy of the clergy, the invocation of saints, auricular confession, superstitious abstinence from meats, and purgatory, were never before held by the people in greater esteem"—we cannot, at this day, look upon such a law without horror, nor hesitate to entertain the most unmeasured disgust for its royal author and supporter. Our history tells of other tyrants, crafty and cruel as this Henry, who had slight regard for the life of man, and scrupled not to sacrifice friend and foe to their personal ambition. But this tyrant stands alone in his preposterous claim to unlimited obedience. He would absorb into himself all the inordinate powers of popes and councils, to prescribe what should be truth and what untruth. He would pretend to govern by parliament, according to the ancient laws of the realm, and yet procure his parliament to enact that his proclamations should have the force of statutes.‖ To the very last he looked upon the five millions of the people of England as his property; and the council that by his will were to govern during his son's minority were called his executors, "to keep up," says Mackintosh, "the language of the doctrine of ownership."

The general proceedings of the English government—not halting between two opinions, but punishing and threatening whoever differed from the fluctuating and inconsistent dogmas of the supreme head of the English Church—outraged the earnest partisans of "the new learning," and propitiated none of the vast body that cleaved to the old religion. The papal bull against Henry had been published, after a long delay; and the cardinal Pole, nearly allied in blood to Henry, had conducted negotiations to induce the emperor and the king of France to unite in hostilities against England. Neither of these powerful monarchs dared singly to brave the resentment of Henry; and they were too jealous of each other to join in any measures, such as those suggested for the conquest of England, or for removing its contumacious sovereign. But enough was done to provoke the revenge of Henry upon those who were within his reach. Reginald Pole was the grandson of George, duke of Clarence; and

* "Essays on the Reformation," p. 255.

* Maitland; "Essays," p. 259.
† Ibid., p. 270.
‡ Latimer's First Sermon before Edward VI.
§ Letter of Hooper.
‖ 31 Hen. VIII. c. 8.

although educated by Henry, he published a book reflecting with bitterness upon the subject of the divorce of Catherine. The Tudor king and the descendant of the house of York thus became mortal enemies. Lord Montague, the elder brother of Reginald, with other relatives and friends of their family, were arrested in 1538, on a charge of treason. On the 13th of November Sir Thomas Wriothesley writes from Brussels to Sir Thomas Wyatt, in Spain, to say that Lord Montague had been sent to the Tower, with the marquis of Exeter; that the king, through his special favor toward them, had "passed over many accusations made against the same of late by their own domestics," but that he was constrained to commit them to ward, "for avoiding of such malice as was prepensed both against his person royal, and the surety of my lord prince, our only jewel after his majesty."* It is asserted that Geoffrey Pole, who was arrested at the same time, was a witness against his brother. Montague and Exeter were convicted by their peers, and executed, with Sir Edward Neville, and other commoners, accused of treasonable and seditious offences. The life of Geoffrey Pole was spared, for the remorse of a lifelong imprisonment. The aged mother of the Poles the countess of Salisbury, was arrested at her house at Warblington, near Havent, by the earl of Southampton and the bishop of Ely. They wrote to Cromwell, "We assure your lordship we have dealed with such a one as men have not dealed withal before us. We may call her rather a strong and constant man than a woman. For in all behavior howsoever we have used her, she hath showed herself so earnest, vehement, and precise, that more could not be."† She maintained her innocence with such consistency, and the materials for an arraignment were so utterly wanting, that Cromwell resorted to an expedient which has brought as much disgrace upon his memory as any of his acts of spoliation. He put a question to the judges whether parliament might condemn a person accused of treason without a hearing—without trial or confession. A nice and dangerous question, said the obsequious ministers of justice; but parliament is supreme, and an attainder in parliament is good in law. The bill of attainder was passed against the countess of Salisbury, her grandson, the eldest son of lord Montague, and the marchioness of Exeter. The marchioness obtained a pardon. The grandson's fate is unknown. Let us finish this hateful story. After more than two years' imprisonment, on the 27th of May, 1541, Margaret Plantagenet —the last in the direct line of that illustrious race—was brought out to suffer death on Tower Hill. If anything could add to the terror of this murder, the scene at the execution would have made a people, too much familiarized to exhibitions of blood, start and wonder how England endured such atrocities. The unyielding countess refused to lay her head upon the block. It was for traitors so to die, and she was not guilty of any treason. She struggled against the force which held her down; and her gray hairs were covered with gore before the head parted from the body. Ten months before this terrible event took place, the chief instrument of the attainder of the countess of Salisbury had fallen by the same mockery of justice—and few pitied him:

> "For 'tis the sport to have the engineer
> Hoist with his own petar."

It has been considered as a proof of King Henry's undissembled grief at the loss of Jane Seymour that he continued two years a widower.‡ We have seen that on the very day of her death his ambassadors were instructed to look out for a new consort. The real motive or the pretence was anxiety for the succession, which has been called "the ruling frenzy of Henry's mind."§ Hutton had disparaged the personal charms of Anne, the daughter of the duke of Cleves, upon the first intimation of the king's desire again to wed.‖ But Cromwell—who felt the importance of a Protestant connection at a period when the Romanists were using every effort to regain their ascendency—was not to be diverted from his determination to marry his master to this daughter of one of the princes of the German Confederacy, by vague statements that there was no great praise of her person. In March, 1539, Cromwell wrote to the king: "Every man praiseth the beauty of the same lady, as well for the face as for the whole body, above all other ladies excellent. One amo other purposes, said unto them of late, that she excelleth as far duchess as the golden sun excelleth the silvery moon."* T "silvery moon" was the duchess of Milan, who is reported to h met Henry's advances by saying that she had but one head; if had possessed two, one should have been at his majesty's servi In this affair the politic Cromwell was too eager. Nicholas Wot and Richard Berde were sent to negotiate the marriage with Anne Cleves. She was not bound, they wrote, by any covenants betw the old duke of Cleves and the duke of Lorraine; she was at libe to marry wherever she would. She had been very straitly brou up, they said, by the lady duchess, her mother. She occupied time mostly with the needle. She knew not French nor Lat neither could she sing nor play upon any instrument; "for they t it here in Germany for a rebuke and an occasion of lightness t great ladies should be learned, or have any knowledge of musi Her wit was good, and she would soon learn English. She was te perate in her diet: "I could never hear that she is inclined to good cheer of this country." Finally, "your grace's servant, H Holbein, hath taken the effigies of my lady Anne and the l Amelie, and hath expressed their images very lively."† Thus wr Wotton on the 11th of August, 1539. On the 12th of December lady Anne was at Calais, about to embark for England. She ca from Dusseldorf, with a train of two hundred and sixty-three p sons, and was received with the greatest state by Fitz-William, t the earl of Southampton, and four hundred noblemen and gen men, in coats of satin damask and velvet. The English admi writes with honest pride of the exhibition he made of his countr naval power: "Her grace saw, as well the ship that is prepared her passage, as other your grace's ships; which were not only ri well appointed and trimmed with streamers, banners, and flags, also no less well furnished with men standing on the tops, shrouds, on the yard-arms, and other places accordingly; and th shot of ordnance therein marvellously well ordered. And surely only she, but also all such strangers as were with her, much co mended and liked the same; and though I say it, it was to liked."‡ But the weather was unfavorable for embarkation; a Southampton entreated, with great humility, "that your majesty, your gracious goodness and high wisdom, will consider that neit the wind nor the sea will be ordered at man's will." But Southam ton has a greater difficulty to contend with than the wind or the s Anne of Cleves will not readily conform to the English notions royal dignity. She prays Southampton to come to supper with h "and to bring some noble folks with me to sit with her, after manner of her country. I showed her it was not the usage of country so to do, and therefore besought her grace to pardon me that, for I durst not consent thereunto." But again and again princess repeated her request—"for this one night;"—for "she w much desirous to see the manner and fashion of Englishmen sitti at their meat." And so Anne of Cleves supped graciously wi Southampton and eight other Englishmen. The earl begs for pard if he had done amiss. Henry was perhaps not in the best humor her freedom when he first met her, and was "marvellously astonish and abashed." Hans Holbein had been a flatterer. The kin braced her, but scarcely spoke twenty words, and did not offer present he had prepared for her.§ Sir Anthony Brown, the mas of the horse, had gone before the king, and "was never so mu dismayed in his life to see the lady so far unlike what was reported. In the last month of his life Cromwell was commanded by his m ter, on the peril of his soul, to write truly what he knew concerni the marriage with the princess of Cleves. What is fit to be repeat of this document is of curious interest. Anne was to be at Rochest

* Ellis, Second Series, vol. ii. p. 109. † Ibid., 114.
‡ See Southey, "History of the Church," vol. ii. p. 77.
§ Mackintosh, "History," vol. ii. p. 243. ‖ See *ante*, p. 272.

* "State Papers," vol. i. p. 605.
† Ellis, First Series, vol. ii. p. 121. A miniature supposed to ha been this identical picture was considered by Walpole the most p fect of Holbein's works. The Flemish fairness was remarkable.
‡ Southampton to Henry, "State Papers," vol. viii. p. 208.
§ Modern history has its parallel scene. When George, Prin of Wales, first met Caroline of Brunswick, lord Malmesbury sa "he embraced her, said barely one word, turned round, retired t distant part of the apartment, and calling me to him said, 'Harris am not well; pray get me a glass of brandy.'"—Malmesbury "Diaries," etc., vol. iii. p. 210.
‖ Strype, "Ecclesiastical Memorials."

n New Year's eve, and Henry declared to Cromwell that he would isit her privily, "to nourish love." The next day, at Greenwich, ays Cromwell, "I demanded of your majesty, How ye liked the Lady Anne: your highness answered, as me thought, heavily, and ot pleasantly—Nothing so well as she was spoken of; saying urther, That if your highness had known as much before as ye then new, she should not have come within this realm; saying, as by he way of lamentation, What remedy?"* After Anne's public ntry at Greenwich the king called a council, and the agents of the uke of Cleves were questioned about covenants, and touching a re-contract of marriage with the duke of Lorraine's son and the rincess. The deputies offered to remain prisoners till ample satisaction was given upon both points. But when Cromwell informed he king of all the circumstances, "Your grace," he says, "was very nuch displeased, saying, 'I am not well handled,' adding, 'If it vere not that she is come so far into my realm, and the great preprations that my states and people have made for her; and for fear f making a ruffle in the world—that is to mean, to drive her brother nto the hands of the emperor and the French king's hands—being ow together, I would never have married her.'" Anne was called pon to make a protestation that there was no pre-contract, which he readily made, and which Cromwell reported to Henry: "Whereunto your grace answered in effect these words, or much like, 'Is here none other remedy, but that I must needs, against my will, put ny neck in the yoke?'" There was no instant remedy; and the narriage ceremony was gone through. The king, while waiting or the bride in the presence chamber, said to Cromwell, "My lord, f it were not to satisfy the world and my realm, I would not do that must do this day, for none earthly thing." In this temper Henry ulked and lamented; he "should surely never have any more chilren for the comfort of this realm" if this marriage should continue. A second experiment of the Calais executioner's sword might have been dangerous with a foreign princess. There was a "remedy," of a less serious nature. Anne of Cleves made no resistance to a separation, with an adequate provision. She was a woman of judgment, and no doubt heartily despised the fastidious sensualist. A convocation was called, exactly six months after the marriage, which was empowered to determine its validity. On the 4th of July Henry wrote to Pate, his ambassador at the emperor's court, to inform Charles that the Lords and Commons, "perceiving some doubts to be n our last marriage with the daughter of Cleves," and wishing "to draw a most perfect certainty of succession," had requested him to commit the examination of the marriage to the bishops and clergy of the realm. The cunning politician adds that the ambassador was on no account to explain what were the "grounds and causes of this motion."† On the 10th of July the marriage was declared invalid; the chief pretence being a doubtful pre-contract, and the unblushing argument, "that the king having married her against his will, he had not given a pure inward and complete consent."‡ Cromwell had gone to the block; and "Cranmer, whether overcome with these arguments, or rather with fear, for he knew it was contrived to send him quickly after Cromwell, consented with the rest."§

Cromwell had gone to the block. On the 17th of April, 1540, the fortune of Cromwell seemed at its culminating point, for he was created earl of Essex. On the 12th of April a parliament had been assembled, which Cromwell had addressed as the king's vicegerent, and had declared that "there was nothing which the king so much desired as a firm union among all his subjects. . . The rashness and licentiousness of some, and the inveterate superstition and stiffness of others in the ancient corruptions, had raised great distinctions, to the sad regret of all good Christians. Some were called papists, others heretics; which bitterness of spirit seemed the more strange, since now the Holy Scriptures, by the king's great care of his people, were in all their hands in a language which they understood."‖ In this parliament he carried a bill for a great subsidy to be raised upon the laity and the clergy. The promises that the necessities of the state should be provided for out of the spoil of the Church were violated without the slightest apology. The odium of this taxation was solely laid upon Cromwell. The exorbitant demand "gained him an universal hatred among the people, and was one reason of his sudden fall after it."* The minister's work was done. He had carried through a great revolution with comparative success. He had impartially racked, beheaded, and gibbeted papist and heretic. His loose papers of "Remembrances" show that he kept as careful memoranda of business to be done as the most careful scrivener. Take a few specimens:

"Item, to remember all the jewels of all the monasteries in England, and specially for the cross at Paul's, of emeralds.
"Item, the Abbot of Reading to be sent down to be *tried* and *executed* at Reading with his complices.
"Item, the Abbot of Glaston to be tried at Glaston, and also to be executed there, with his complices.
"Item, to see that the evidence be well sorted, and the evidence well drawn, against the said abbots and their complices.
"Item, to remember specially the Lady of Sar [Salisbury].
"Item, what the king will have done with the Lady of Sarum.
"Item, to send Gendon to the Tower to be racked.
"Item, to appoint preachers to go throughout this realm to preach the gospel and true word of God."†

Well might Cromwell in his adversity, write to Henry, "I have meddled in so many matters under your highness, that I am not able to answer them all; but one thing I am well assured of, that wittingly and willingly I have not had will to offend your highness; but hard it is for me or any other, meddling as I have done, to live under your grace and your laws but we must daily offend."‡ The sky began to grow dark for Cromwell at the very instant when parliament was to be prorogued, after the subsidy had been carried. On the 9th of May a letter comes from the king to his "right trusty and well-beloved cousin"—in which the sign manual was affixed by a stamp—most probably as a mark of displeasure. The old familiar words are no longer written; but "our pleasure and commandment is, that forthwith, and upon the receipt of these our letters, setting all other affairs apart, ye do repair unto Us, for the treaty of such great and weighty matters, as whereupon doth consist the surety of our person, the preservation of our honor, and the tranquillity and quietness of you, and all other our loving and faithful subjects."§ On the 10th of June he was arrested by the duke of Norfolk, while at the council table. The divorce of Anne of Cleves had not yet been mooted. Had Cromwell imprudently pressed upon Henry to cleave to a Protestant queen? Had Norfolk as resolutely urged upon his master, who now hated heretics more than papists, to consider the charms of his niece, Catherine Howard, who would support him in resisting the "rashness and licentiousness" that had come upon the land? There is no solution of these questions, beyond the fact that Cromwell was attainted for treason and heresy, by act of parliament, on the 29th of June. He was charged to have been "the most corrupt traitor and deceiver of the king and the crown that had ever been known in his whole reign." It was alleged that "he, being also a heretic, had dispersed many erroneous books among the king's subjects, particularly some that were contrary to the belief of the sacrament;" and that when some complained to him of the new preachers —such as Barnes and others—he said that their preaching was good; and "that if the king would turn from it, yet he would not turn. And if the king did turn, and all his people with him, he would fight in the field in his own person, with his sword in his hand against him, and all others." Whatever crimes may be laid to the charge of Cromwell, no one can believe that he was the foolish braggart which these words imply. That he was an oppressor; that he received bribes; that he had made a great estate for himself by extortion, were no doubt true. Some of the public plunder stuck to his fingers. He made as free with the lands and moneys of the king's subjects as he did with the wooden house in Throgmorton Street, belonging to old Stow's father, which house he wanted out of the way when he built his own mansion; and so moved it upon rollers twenty-two feet, and seized the land upon which it stood.‖ Cranmer said with truth, though not with firmness, "that he thought no king of England had ever such a servant, . . . but if he was a traitor, he was glad it

* Cromwell's Letter in Burnet, vol. i. p. 193. The same letter is given by Sir H. Ellis, with considerable variations. The original in the Cotton Library is much injured by fire.
† "State Papers," vol. viii. p. 374. ‡ Burnet, vol. i. p. 280.
§ Ibid., p. 281. ‖ Burnet, and "Parliamentary History."

* Lord Herbert.
† See the curious extracts from the Cotton MS. in Ellis, Second Series, vol. ii. p. 120. ‡ Ellis, Second Series, vol. ii. p. 165.
§ "State Papers," vol. i. p. 628.
‖ "Survey of London," Thom's edit. p. 67.

was discovered." Though Cromwell was unscrupulous in carrying out the cruel judgments of his master and his base parliaments, he knew in his own case what was the justice which an Englishman had a right to demand. In his last letter to Henry, from the Tower, he says that he had been informed by the honorable personages who came to him, that "mine offences being by honest and probable witness proved, I was by your honorable lords of the Upper House, and the worshipful and discreet Commons of your nether House, convicted and attainted. Gracious sovereign, when I heard them I said, as now I say, that I am a subject and born to obey laws, and know that the trial of all laws only consisteth in honest and profitable witness. . . . Albeit, laws be laws." The principle of attainder, without hearing or confession, was not law. He perished by attainder; having in vain written to his remorseless master—who, however, sent him a little money while in prison—"Most gracious prince, I cry for mercy, mercy, mercy." The cry moved the heart of Henry for a moment; he dropped one tear. But the servant of twelve years was executed on the 28th of July. The divorce of Anne of Cleves had been completed four days before; and on the day when Cromwell was beheaded King Henry married his fifth wife, Catherine Howard.

CHAPTER LVIII.

Three priests burned as heretics, and three hanged as traitors—Other executions for denying the supremacy—Queen Catherine Howard appears in public—Her shame discovered—Cranmer's letter to Henry—Mercy promised to be extended toward her—Act of attainder against her and Lady Rochford—New law of treason—Catherine Parr—War with Scotland and with France—State of Scotland under James V.—David Beaton—The first Scottish Reformer—Efforts to stop the progress of Lutheran opinions—James rejects the overtures of Henry—Invasion of Scotland by forces of the duke of Norfolk—James deserted by his nobles—Flight of Solway Moss—Death of James—Birth of the Princess Mary of Scotland—Treaty for a marriage between Prince Edward and the infant princess—The treaty broken off—Invasion of Scotland by earl of Hertford—Edinburgh taken—Kelso destroyed—Jedburgh burned—Ravages of the southern districts—Proposition to assassinate Cardinal Beaton—He is murdered in the following year—France invaded by Henry in person—Boulogne besieged and taken—Attempts of France to invade England—Francis and the emperor conclude a peace—French make continued efforts to retake Boulogne—Peace with France, in which Scotland is included—Anne Askew and others burned as heretics—Duke of Norfolk and the earl of Surrey arrested—Surrey convicted of high treason and beheaded—Norfolk attainted—Death of King Henry.

The public executioners had ample work in the dog-days of 1540. The record of Cromwell's fate by the chronicler of the Grey Friars is followed by this entry: "And the 30th of the same month was Dr. Barnes, Jerome, and Garrard drawn from the Tower into Smithfield, and there burned for their heresies." The heretics were clergymen. The record then continues: "And that same day also was drawn from the Tower, with them, Doctor Powell, with two other priests; and there was a gallows set up at Saint Bartholomew's gate, and there were hanged, headed, and quartered." The traitors were condemned for affirming the legality of the marriage with Catherine of Arragon; one of them named Abel having been her chaplain. In the Beauchamp tower, whose walls are covered with the sad memorials of the wretched, is the carving of a bell with an A. Below this is another memento of a condemned prisoner, Doctor: Cook.* He was the prior of Doncaster, and with six others was executed at Tyburn, on the 4th of August, for denying the royal supremacy. It may be doubted whether the people exactly comprehended the nice distinctions of these punishments. These sufferers of the 30th of July—three reformers, the steadfast opponents of the pope; and three devoted adherents to the supremacy of the pope—rode out of the Tower in sorrowful companionship, one of each being placed upon the same hurdle, by express desire of the king, that his impartiality might be duly exhibited. Arrived in Smithfield they each went their several way, three to the gibbet, and three to the stake. It was a merry time at court, whatever tears might fall in Smithfield. Queen Catherine Howard appeared in public on the 8th of August—a beautiful girl, the very opposite of "the Flanders mare," whom Henry had rejected. Catherine, the "parvissima puella," as she was called, had fifteen months of what, in the language of romance is termed uninterrupted felicity. When the little queen was traveling with her somewhat unwieldy lord in the north, in 1541, he there solemnly offered thanksgiving for the happiness he found in her society. On their return to London Cranmer had a private audience of the king; and he exhibited a paper, which purported to be the examination of a servant of the duchess of Norfolk, setting forth the profligacy of the queen before her marriage, and alleging that her paramour formed one of her regal establishment. Let us pass over the revolting story, giving only a few extracts from a remarkable letter of Cranmer to the king. It is a touching exhibition of a sinful woman, plunged into the depths of despair: "It may please your majesty to understand, that at my repair unto the queen's grace, I found her in such lamentation and heaviness, as I never saw no creature, so that it would have pitied any man's heart to have looked upon her; and in that vehement rage she continued (as they informed me, which be about her), from my departure from her, until my return again; and then I found her, as I do suppose, far entered toward a frenzy, which I feared before my departure from her at my first being with her. . . . And as for my message from your majesty unto her, I was purposed to enter communication in this wise; first, to exaggerate the grievousness of her demerits; then to declare unto her the justice of your grace's laws, and what she ought to suffer by the same; and last of all, to signify unto her your most gracious mercy; but when I saw in what condition she was, I was fain to turn my purpose, and to begin at the last part first, to comfort her by your grace's benignity and mercy . . . and after I had declared your grace's mercy extended unto her, she held up her hands, and gave most humble thanks unto your majesty, who had showed more grace and mercy than she herself thought meet to sue for, or could have hoped for, and then for a time she began to be more temperate and quiet, saving that she still sobbed and wept; but after a little pausing she suddenly fell into a new rage, much worse than she was before. . . . And for anything that I could say unto her, she continued in a great pang a long while; but after that she began something to remit her rage, and come to herself, she was mightily well until night, and I had very good communication with her, and as I thought, had brought her into a great quietness. . . . The cause, that Master Baynton sent unto your majesty, was partly for the declaration of her estate, and partly because, after my departure from her, she began to excuse, and to temper those things which she had spoken unto me, and set her hand thereto; as, at my coming unto your majesty, I shall more fully declare by mouth." * The unhappy woman was thus solemnly assured by Cranmer, as he wrote to Henry, "of your grace's mercy extended unto her." The archbishop thought that he should be able to establish a pre-contract with Francis Derham which would have rendered the marriage of Henry invalid. The matter was not clear; and the promise of mercy was a mere breath of idle words.

The act of parliament for the attainder of Queen Catherine Howard includes the Lady Rochford as an accomplice—she who had sacrificed her own brother in the case of Anne Boleyn. Derham, and another man involved in the accusation against the queen, had previously been hanged. The king's council on the 12th of November wrote to Paget, the English ambassador in France, stating the allegations against the queen; and "they are related with a circumstantial exactness, forming almost a contrast to the vagueness of all former proceedings of the like sort." † The ambassador writes on the 28th of November to Henry, detailing, with the greatest coolness, the discourses he had held on this terrible disclosure with the king of France and the queen of Navarre. Francis "swore, *par la foy de gentil homme*, that he was very sorry for the chance." But the French ambassador in London had told Francis more than Paget could communicate particularly that "she would neither eat nor drink since the matter was known; but intended to kill herself; and that therefore knives and all such other things as wherewith she might hurt herself, were taken from her;" with many of the odious particulars of the bill of attainder. "*Par la foy de gentil homme*, quoth the king, and laid his hand upon his breast, she hath done wondrous naughtily, and I am right sorry that my good brother should have such an occasion of

* Bayley, "History of the Tower," p. 160–1.

* "State Papers," vol. i. p. 691. † Mackintosh, History, p. 230

nquietness." * The parliament, desirous that condign punishment ould not be delayed, requested the king not to trouble himself per- onally to give the royal assent to the bill of attainder against the ueen and Lady Rochfort, but to agree to the same by letters patent. o the letters patent were granted; and the unhappy women were xecuted on the 12th of February. In the statute there is a remark- ble clause, that any single woman of impure life who, before mar- age with the king, should not confess the same, should be declared uilty of high treason. "To make the concealment of vices a capi- al offence was worthy of such a reign." † Lord Herbert says that here were no more youthful candidates for the honor of Henry's and, after this enactment. There was no Sheherazade again to be ound ready to trust the safety of her head to her power of amusing King Shahriar. Henry wisely rejected the chance of a fatal termina- ion of another union, under this new law of treason, by obtaining the and of a discreet widow, who had been twice before married. The naiden name of this lady was Catherine Parr. She became the queen f Henry in July, 1543. Before we enter upon her personal history, s connected with the two great religious parties into which England vas now divided, we purpose to take a rapid view of the foreign elations of the kingdom to the end of Henry's reign, involving as hey did a war with Scotland and with France.

The minority of James V. of Scotland was a disastrous period for is country. The regency was a constant object of contention be- ween the factious nobles. The power of the great feudal chiefs had ot been subjected, as it had been in England, to the superior power f the crown. A new element of discord was introduced by the prog- ess of the new opinions in religion. The reforming spirit assumed simpler character than in the neighboring country, where it was nixed up with the personal quarrel of the king with the papal see. t was the earnest spirit of the first Lollards, revived in the doctrines f Luther, and spread through Europe by his unwearied labors. But though the reformers were dreaded for their singleness of pur- ose, the old ecclesiastical power was completely ascendant. The atal day of Flodden had cut off the most influential of the nobles; nd those who remained were inferior in wealth, and therefore in uthority, to a body which possessed half the land of the kingdom. The spiritual and temporal dominion appeared consolidated when David Beaton was appointed lord privy seal. Patrick Hamilton, the irst Scottish reformer, was burned by this persecuting prelate at St. Andrews in 1528.‡ As early as 1525 the Scottish parliament had nacted that, "forasmuch as the damnable opinions of heresy are pread in divers countries by the heretic Luther and his disciples, and his realm and liege has firmly persisted in the holy faith since the ame was first received," no stranger arriving should bring any ooks of the said Luther or his disciples, on pain of forfeiture of hip and goods, with imprisonment. § But the books found their way; the doctrines were preached; and what this statute calls "filth nd vice" became the secret food and medicine of earnest men in usy towns and secluded valleys. And so Patrick Hamilton, high- orn, accomplished, went to the stake in his enthusiastic youthfulness. Beaton soon obtained the complete control of the young king. He egotiated his marriage with Mary of Guise, after James had lost his irst wife, the Princess Magdalen of France. Mary of Guise was a owerful instrument in confirming the devotion of the Scottish king o the ancient Church; and Henry of England in vain endeavored to empt him to follow his example in seizing the monastic property. ames, in whose mind the cause of Reformation was associated with he idea of rebellious subjects, refused to listen to these temptations; nd, as it would appear from a letter of Wriothesley to some person n the Scottish court, written in 1541, the king of Scotland had set p pretensions to the title upon which Henry most valued himself, ven at the time when he was shaking the pillars of the ancient Church, and pulling down its corner-stones: "It shall like you to nderstand, that upon the arrival of the said Mr. Sadleir, there were onveyed hither from Scotland sundry little books imprinted; and mong others, one entitled 'The Trumpet of Honor,' wherein, in he very titling in the first front of the book, the king your master taketh upon him a piece of the title of the king's majesty, being the king your master therein called Defender of the Christian Faith, whereby his majesty should have great cause to think more than unkindness, if he would willingly take his title upon him. And the conjecture is the more pricking, because he added thereto the Christian Faith, as though there should be any other than the Christian Faith; which seemeth to have another meaning in it than one good prince can think of another, much less a friend of his friend, or a nephew of his uncle, if he would show himself to esteem his friendship." * Out of such sensitiveness, direct hostility would be pretty sure to arise.

Beaton, now a cardinal, had been to Rome in 1541, on a secret embassy. Henry determined to try the effect of a personal interview with his nephew, James; and it was agreed that they should meet at York in the autumn. Thither the king of England went, accompanied by Catherine Howard. But the king of Scotland was induced by the wily cardinal not to hold to the appointment. Henry was furious, and determined upon war. He resolved upon renewing the old claim of the English kings to the crown of Scotland; and the privy council directed the archbishop of York to search in "ancient charters and monuments" for a "clearer declaration to the world of his majesty's title to that realm." † A manifesto of enormous length was issued, entitled "A declaration containing the just causes and considerations of this present war with the Scots; wherein also appeareth the true and right title that the king's most royal majesty hath to the sovereignty of Scotland." ‡ The duke of Norfolk entered Scotland with a large army in 1542, after the English warden of the east marches had sustained a defeat in Teviotdale. Having accomplished the usual destruction, Norfolk retreated to Berwick, for James was assembling an army in his front. The feudal chiefs gathered round the royal standard on the Borough Muir, as they had gathered under the standard of James IV. Onward they marched for the invasion of England. There was division among the host. The rebellious Douglasses were on the side of England. Many of the nobles were favorable to the principles of the Reformation, which their king opposed. The catastrophe came, without any real contest between the two armies. James was deserted by his nobles: "Pleaseth your grace, the king of Scotland the last day of October was at Lauder, and the Lords and Commons of his whole realm with him. The king was very desirous to be in England, but the lords would not agree thereunto; and upon this they returned, and are dispersed, and every man gone into his country." § The deserted James, in grief and indignation, returned to Edinburgh. An army of ten thousand men was, however, got together, under Lord Maxwell; with which he proposed to enter England by the western marches. Maxwell crossed the border. But the spirit of jealousy destroyed any chance of success, even in burning and plunder; for one who is termed the king's minion, Oliver Sinclair, produced a commission giving him supreme command. The nobles refused to serve under him, and the clans mutinied. A body of English horse came up, who were believed to be the vanguard of the great army; and in a panic the Scots fled, with the loss of a large number of prisoners—some willing prisoners, as it has been asserted. The king gave himself up to despair. He immured himself in his palace of Falkland, would speak to no one, sickened, and sank under a slow fever, heart-broken, on the 14th of December. A week before, his queen had borne him a daughter—that Mary, whose long struggles with adversity form a striking contrast to the hopelessness of her father.

The lords who were taken at Solway Moss were first harshly treated by Henry, and then propitiated by indulgences. His first object was to negotiate a marriage between his son, Edward, and the daughter of James V., and thus to effect a natural union between the two countries. His second design was to demand the government of Scotland, as the guardian of the infant queen. The imprisoned nobles concluded a treaty with him, that they would deliver up Mary, and acknowledge him as their sovereign lord. They were released, and returned to Scotland to carry out their plan. But cardinal Beaton produced a will of James V., appointing the cardinal governor of the realm, and guardian of the queen. The earl of Arran was presumptive heir to the throne; and he possessed sufficient power to obtain the

* "State Papers," vol. viii. p. 635. † Mackintosh, p. 231.
‡ The life of "the first preacher and martyr of the Scottish Reformation" has been published (1857) by the Rev. T. Lorimer.
§ "The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland," vol. ii. p. 295.

* "State Papers," vol. v. p. 191. † Ibid., p. 212.
‡ Hall, p. 846. § "State Papers," vol. v. p. 213.

regency and drive Beaton from his usurped authority, the will being affirmed to be a forgery. But Arran belonged to the reforming party; and the Church was as yet too strong to allow a dominion that placed its dignities and possessions in imminent peril. Arran was, after some time, during which Beaton had been imprisoned, gained over to the party of the Church; and he became an instrument in the hands of the cardinal and the queen-mother. In December, 1543, Beaton became chancellor, and in the following January was constituted the pope's legate *à latere* in Scotland. He was now supreme in church and state; the friendship and alliance of the excommunicated king of England was renounced; and a treaty with England which gave Henry some of his demands, was set aside. There was patriotism as well as intolerance in the policy of the papist faction. We cannot follow the dark intrigues of this period, in which some of the reformers were prepared to sacrifice their national independence, and the Romanists to hold their power by craft and persecution. As to any political morality on either side, the Englishman or Scot who wishes to trace his hatred of dishonor to the integrity of statesmen at this great transition period, will be disappointed. The people of Scotland, according to the most acute of observers, Ralph Sadler, would, in 1543, rather "suffer extremity than come to the obedience and subjection of England: they would have their realm free, and live within themselves, after their own laws and customs." The kirkmen were against the unity of the two realms. The nobles, he thought, "in time would fall to the obedience and devotion of the king's majesty, whereupon the earl of Angus and his brother, with other lords prisoners, do make a perfect foundation." * Wherever we turn we find corruption and treachery; dark plots and contemptible rivalries.

Scotland was again invaded in May, 1544. The earl of Hertford arrived in the Firth with a powerful fleet, carrying a force of ten thousand men. He demanded that the infant queen should be immediately surrendered. The regent refused; and Hertford, with an additional force from Berwick, marched upon Edinburgh. One of the gates was battered down, and the city was entered and given up to conflagration and plunder. The castle held out; and some who had been willing to sell Scotland to England, appear to have felt that their duty was now to resist pretensions that were enforced by an invading army. Troops under the command of faithful Scots, and of those who had deserted the English cause, were marching upon Edinburgh in considerable numbers; and Hertford, after burning Leith, retired to Berwick. For two years the war was continued with the usual terrible inflictions upon the peaceful cultivators of the soil. The letters of Hertford in 1545 present a fearful picture of the ravages of his troops in border towns and fertile districts, which poetry and romance have made famous through every land. On the 5th of September Hertford moved with his army out of Newcastle. He had been directed to demolish the abbey of Kelso, and to construct a fortress upon its ruins. The abbey was taken by assault; but the ancient churchmen had built too strongly for the massive walls to be thrown down by such engineering power as belonged to the sixteenth century. Hertford wrote that he could construct nothing tenable, under four or five months, out of those "buildings of stone, of great height and circuit—which, to make any convenient fortress there, must of force be down and avoided." The noble ruin still shows that the difficulty was not overrated. And so Hertford writes, "We have resolved to raze and deface this house of Kelso, so as the enemy shall have little commodity of the same, and to remain encamped here for five or six days, and in the mean season to devastate and burn all the country hereabouts, as far as we may with our horsemen." Razed and defaced the great abbey was; and onward went the merciless destroyer in his allotted work. Thus his narrative continues:

"As to-morrow we intend to send a good band of horsemen to Melrose and Dryburgh, to burn the same, and all the corn and villages in their way, and so daily to do some exploits here in the march; and at the end of the said five or six days to remove our camp, and to march to Jedworth [Jedburgh] to burn the same, and then to march through a great part of Tyvydale [Teviotdale] to overthrow their piles and stone-houses, and to burn their corn and villages, with all annoyance to the enemy that we can; which in our opinions would be such a scourge and impoverishing to the enemy as the shall not be able to recover a long season." * Such were the "exploits" of warfare three hundred years ago—exploits which the greatest believed just and honorable; and which men might still so believe; a stronger power than the will of princes and nobles had not arisen in the world—the power of public opinion founded upon the progress of knowledge. Yet even in those times there was a spirit of humanity growing up among the rude inhabitants of a country accustomed from time immemorial to murderous forays. In another letter of the 18th of September, Hertford says that he had sent horsemen, who forayed, burned, and wasted a great part of East Teviotdale; "and for the better execution thereof I sent with them one hundred Irishmen, because the borderers would not most willingly burn their neighbors." The commander is perfectly aware of the ravages he is committing upon innocent people, and he glories in them. His description presents a picture of Scotland, very different from the barrenness and imperfect culture that some assign to this early period: "Surely the country is very fair, and so good a corn country, and such plenty of the same, as we have not seen the more plenteous in England; and undoubtedly there is burned a wonderful deal of corn, for, by reason that the year hath been so forward, they had done much of their harvest, and made up their corn in stacks about their houses, or had it lying in shocks in the fields, and none at all left unshorn; the burning whereof can be no little impoverishment unto them, besides the burning and spoil of their houses." † There is no intermission when "havoc" has been cried. From Kelso the main body of the army marched upon Jedburgh; and a detached men of fifteen hundred light horsemen advanced six or seven miles beyond, "brenning and devasting the country." The abbey of Jedburgh, still glorious in ruin, met the same fate as that of Kelso, though the demolition was not so complete: "I caused the abbey, the friars, and town of Jedburgh, and all the villages within two miles and more about the town, to be brent, where was destroyed also no little quantity of corn."

While the earl of Hertford was carrying forward this ignoble work in Scotland, King Henry and his council were busy in negotiations far more disgraceful than the most barbarous open warfare. Cardinal Beaton was calling forth every means of resisting and annoying Henry; and Henry had commanded Hertford to spare no one in Scotland who was allied in blood or associated in friendship with Beaton. He did not hate the cardinal because he burned and imprisoned the movers of the Reformation. He might have destroyed all the Lutherans in Scotland without offence to the intolerant king. He was the head of the papal faction—he upheld the supremacy of the pope—he was the opponent of Henry's designs upon the independence of Scotland, and thus no means would be too base to accomplish his destruction. While Hertford was carrying on his war of devastation in 1545, the Privy Council of England wrote to inform him that the king had seen some letters from the earl of Cassilis to Mr. Sadler, "one containing an offer for the killing of the cardinal, if his majesty would have it done, and would promise, when it were done, a reward." Does Henry indignantly reject this proposal to remove his enemy by assassination? The letter of the Privy Council, which is signed by Wriothesley, the chancellor; the duke of Suffolk, the bishop of Winchester, and four other counsellors, has this answer to the proposition: "His majesty hath willed us to signify unto your lordship that his highness, reputing the fact not meet to be set forward expressly by his majesty, will not seem to have to do in it; and yet not misliking the office, thinketh good that Mr. Sadleir, to whom that letter was addressed, should write to the earl of the receipt of his letter containing such an offer, which he thinketh not convenient to be communicated to the king's majesty; marry, to write to him what he thinketh of the matter (he shall say that if he were in the earl of Cassel's place, and were as able to do his majesty good service there, as he knoweth him to be, and thinketh a right good will in him to do it, he would surely do what he could for the execution of it, believing verily to do thereby not only acceptable service to the king's majesty, but also a special benefit to the realm of Scotland, and would trust verily the king's majesty would consider his service in the same; as you doubt not, of his accustomed goodness to them which serve him, but he would do the same

* Sadler to Parr, "State Papers," vol. v. p. 271.

* "State Papers," vol. v. p. 513.

† Ibid.

him."* Beaton was murdered in 1546; and if the king of England was not an accessary, it was not for the want of inclination. The guilt of the king of England and his government, in giving encouragement to the proposal to assassinate cardinal Beaton, is a sufficient proof of the low morality of that age. Cassilis proposed the crime as a "special benefit to the realm of Scotland." The councillors of Henry accepted it as "an acceptable service to the king's majesty." What was denominated "subtle policy," was a cloak for revolting wickedness. In judging of the men of this period we must consider what was the standard of opinion; and thence find occasion to be thankful that a higher standard has gradually been created, by which public servants, not of individual compulsion, but as a necessary conformity, regulate their actions. Familiarity with bloodshed, with treachery, with pecuniary corruption, no longer has any support in a common example. But the guilt of political agents may appear less flagrant, because more in accordance with a prevailing spirit, when we are informed that one of the most zealous of the Scottish reformers did not hesitate to sanction the assassination which the ferocious noble proposed. Henry directed that the Scottish earls, with whom he was treating in 1544, should "cause the word of God to be truly taught and preached among them, and in their countries, the mere and only foundation from whence proceedeth all truth and honor."† One of the most effective preachers was George Wishart. From a dispatch of Ralph Sadler, in 1544, it appears that "a Scottishman called Wyshert" brought him a letter, the object of which was to state that the Laird of Grange and the Master of Rothes "would attempt either to apprehend or slay the cardinal, at some time when he should pass through the Fife-land." The persons named in the letter were actually concerned in the murder. But Wishart had been seized while preaching in the town of Haddington; and being carried to St. Andrew's, was tried for heresy before a special ecclesiastical commission, and was burned on the 26th of March, 1546. There may be a doubt, however slight, whether Wishart the agent of assassination was Wishart the martyr. But the zealotry of those times would sometimes shut out the natural perceptions of "truth and honor," even from the eyes of the pious and enlightened. Knox speaks of the murder of Beaton in a tone of exultation; and Buchanan records it without any expression of disapproval. Beaton was murdered in the castle of St. Andrew's. On the 29th of May, between five and six o'clock in the morning, armed men entered with masons and other workmen coming in to their labor. The workmen were thrust forth, the household servants driven naked from their dormitories, and the cardinal, hearing the din, came out of his chamber and was slain. The town-bell was rung, the provost and townsmen gathered round the castle, the murderers appeared on the wall, and "speered what they desired to see—one dead man?" They then brought the dead cardinal to the wall-head and hung him over the wall by one arm and one foot, and "bade the people see there their god."‡

To complete our rapid view of the foreign affairs of the kingdom, we pass from Scotland to France. In 1544 Henry went to his parliament with a long tale of his griefs. Out of his inestimable goodness, and like a most charitable, loving, and virtuous prince, he had for a long time loved and favored Francis, the French king. He had freed his children from thraldom; he had relieved his poverty by loans of money. But now the ungrateful Francis had withdrawn the pension which he had been accustomed to pay; he had confederated with the Great Turk, common enemy of all Christendom; and he had stirred the Scots to resist his majesty, contrary to their duty and allegiance.§ The king, therefore, declares his intention to go to war with France as well as with Scotland—"to put his own royal person, with the power of his realm and subjects in armor." But inestimable sums will be required for the maintenance of these wars. The faithful parliament, by this statute, again sanction the same species of robbery that the parliament of 1529 sanctioned; and, for the alleviation of such charges, declare all loans made to the king in the two previous years of his reign to be entirely remitted and released, and all securities for the same to be utterly void.‖ Thus, with the proceeds of this swindle in his pocket, King Henry goes to the wars. He had previously propitiated the emperor, Charles V., by a compromise as to the succession to the crown, which recognized some claims in the person of the Princess Mary, the emperor's niece. This was the third act for regulating the succession to the throne, which all persons were to accept and swear to, under the penalties of treason. The Princess Mary had been declared illegitimate under the act of 1534. The Princess Elizabeth had been declared illegitimate under the act of 1536. By this act of 1544 they were restored to their place in the succession, in default of issue of the king, and Prince Edward, but without any declaration of their legitimacy, which would have been to declare the divorces of their mothers unlawful.* The emperor and the king of England were now joined in a treaty for the invasion and partition of France. Charles was to claim Burgundy; Henry the ancient possessions of the Plantagenets, unless Francis would agree to certain conditions. The chivalrous French king spurned their pretensions; and so, in July, 1544, Henry put on his armor, and with thirty thousand men crossed the Channel. The emperor was to enter France by Champagne, and the king by Picardy; and their united armies were to march to Paris. But no plan of mutual operations could detach the vainglorious Henry from the pomp and circumstance of some gorgeous personal exhibition. He crossed the seas in a ship whose sails were of cloth of gold. He advanced at the head of the English and Imperial forces, to assist in the siege of Boulogne, which the duke of Suffolk was investing. "Armed at all points upon a great courser," as he is now exhibited in the armory at the Tower, he paraded his huge body before the besiegers, for two months. In vain the envoys of the emperor urged him to move forward, according to their compact. The emperor, said Henry, had taken some frontier forts, and he, the king, would have Boulogne. The lower town surrendered on the 21st of July. The upper town held out till the 14th of September. There had been a brave defence by the French governor against that portion of the English troops that were in earnest; while the royal showman was conducting his part of the business of war with the safer parade of a tournament. At length the great day of triumph arrived; for which he had broken faith with his ally. On the 18th of September he made his triumphant entry into Boulogne, which pageant Hall describes with a corresponding magniloquence: "The king's highness having the sword borne naked before him, by the lord marquis Dorset, like a noble and valiant conqueror rode into Bulleyn, and the trumpeters standing on the walls of the town, sounded their trumpets, at the time of his entering, to the great comfort of all the king's true subjects, the same beholding. And in the entering there met him the duke of Suffolk, and delivered unto him the keys of the town, and so he rode toward his lodging, which was prepared for him, on the south side of the town. And within two days after, the king rode about all the town, within the walls, and then commanded that our Lady church of Bulleyn should be defaced and plucked down, where he appointed a moat to be made for the great force and strength of the town." But while the "noble and valiant conqueror" was listening to the trumpeters on the walls, Francis and Charles, with great wisdom, had concluded a separate peace. Henry had constituted Queen Catherine regent, during his absence; and her letters to him show that she attended to his affairs with diligence, by sending fresh supplies of money and men.† He returned to England on the last day of September, in no very placable humor, if we may judge from a letter of the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk and others, in which they entreat the council to avert his majesty's wrath, "in our departing from Boulogne as we have done; whose displeasure is death unto us."‡

But if Henry was slow in his projected march to Paris, Francis was the more ready to contemplate a march to London. There is a most curious letter from Vaughan to the king of England, dated from Antwerp, February 21st, 1545, in which he enters into a minute detail of a discovery communicated to him by a Flemish broker, of the mission of three spies to England, who were paid by the French government, to report upon the practicability of a plan of invasion. Two of these, who were men of Antwerp, had sailed in a hoy, with eleven packs of canvas, to be sold in London; where the third man was to meet them, in the house of a Fleming dwelling by the Thames. The first two had charge "to view the Isle of Sheppey,

* "State Papers," vol. v. p. 449. † Ibid., p. 387.
‡ Ibid., p. 560. § 35 Hen. VIII., c. 12. ‖ See *ante*, p. 247.

* 35 Hen. VIII., c. 1. † "State Papers," vol. x. p. 12.
‡ Ibid., p. 114.

Margate, and the grounds between them and London; what landing there may be for an army, what soils to place an army strongly in." For, said he, "the French king purposeth, with his army that he appointeth, to land in the Isle of Sheppey and at Margate; to send great store of victuals which shall be laden in boats of Normandy with flat bottoms, which, together with galleys, shall there set men a-land. He will send with his army no great ordnance, but small; and set upon such frame of wood as neither shall be drawn with horses, nor yet have wheels. This army the French king purposeth, shall go so strong that it shall be able to give the battle; and is minded, if the same may be able to go through, to go to London; where (said he) a little without the same is a hill from which London lieth all open; and, with their ordnance laid, from thence the said army shall beat the town." The ambassador adds, "Where this hill should be so near London he could not tell me; but, as I guess, it must be about Finsbury or Moor-field." * This tale of the spies does not appear to have been altogether a delusion; for Paget, the secretary of state, when in Flanders in the following month, received corroborative information. This project of invasion seems altogether founded upon rather imperfect knowledge as to the topography of the country. But such a scheme was not utterly hopeless; for the English government was sorely straitened for money, and the means of defence were of the weakest kind. The religious dissensions, and the bad faith of their rulers in all pecuniary engagements, had made the loyalty of the nation a matter of doubt. That the people would have rallied round the king's standard the instant that an invader stepped upon the soil, we may be nevertheless certain. In the summer of 1545, however, Francis was making strenuous efforts for the invasion of England; and the coasts had been specially surveyed for defence by the duke of Norfolk. New bulwarks were being constructed, and decayed ones repaired, along the coasts of the Channel. But the commonest appliances were wanting for an effectual resistance on shore. At Portsmouth the works could not be completed for want of tools. "As for shovels and spades," writes the duke of Suffolk, "we have had some from London; but as for mattocks we have had none." † Money was equally wanting for defence. Wriothesley, the chancellor, writes that it is no use telling him, "Pay, pay, prepare for this, prepare for that." He cannot pay. The subsidy is gone, the lands are consumed, the plate of the realm molten and coined. Corn is scarce and excessively dear. The country will bear no more tax.‡ The king had drained as much as he could under the old plea of a "Benevolence;" and so little was there of the voluntary principle in the matter that an alderman of London had been compelled to serve in the Scottish war because he was stubborn in holding fast his money. But the true defence of England was not wanting in this season of peril. According to a return of this date there was a fleet in the Channel of a hundred and four vessels, carrying more than twelve thousand men. This fleet contained every variety of craft, from the Henry Grace à Dieu, of one thousand tons and seven hundred men, to the Mary Winter of Plymouth, of forty tons and thirty-two men. But of these hundred and four vessels, only twenty-eight were above two hundred tons. The fleet was in three divisions, the Vanward, the Battle, and the Wing. The watchwŏrd and countersign point to the traditionary origin of our national song: "The watchword in the night shall be thus, 'God save King Harry;' the other shall answer, 'And long to reign over us.'" § There was an indecisive action off Portsmouth, in July, 1545, and a serious misfortune in the accidental sinking of a large ship, with four hundred men, in the harbor of Portsmouth. The Mary Rose went down like the Royal George. The king was on shore and saw his noble ship laid on her side and overset.

"It was not in the battle,
No tempest gave the shock."

The danger of invasion was soon overpast. The French sent assistance to the Scots, devastated the neighborhood of Calais, and made the most strenuous efforts to retake Boulogne. At length a peace was concluded in June, 1546, one of the articles of which was that Boulogne should be restored to France, at the expiration of eight years, upon the payment of two millions of crowns, and another that Scotland should be included in the pacification. The remainder Henry's reign was not disturbed by foreign warfare.

The marriage of Henry with Catherine Parr, in 1543, was proba brought about by the party of the Reformation, as far as any pa could influence the king's personal inclinations. Unless the lady l been of singular discretion her own religious convictions might h been as dangerous to her as her light-heartedness was to Anne Bul and her impurity to Catherine Howard. The persecutions for her ical opinions went fiercely on, while the solid principles of Prot tantism were gradually establishing themselves in the minds of laity as the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures came to be more wid diffused. But the anti-reforming party had contrived to interpos barrier between the people and the day-spring. In 1543 an act v passed which limited the reading of the Bible and the New Tes ment in the English tongue to noblemen and gentlemen; and forb the reading of the same to "the lower sort"—to artificers, prentic journeymen, serving-men, husbandmen, and laborers, and women, under pain of imprisonment.* We shall have occasion s sequently to notice this statute, which offers some curious illust tions of the state of popular knowledge. It may suffice here regard it as a clear indication of the anomalous character of ecclesiastical reform, as it had hitherto proceeded in England—a form which let in the sunlight to the dark and decaying chambers the ancient Church, and then endeavored to shut it out again, t the patchwork reparation might be concealed. The act of the Articles was especially retained in full force by the statute of 1 for the advancement of true religion; with the exception that th was a provision for allowing the clergy, accused of preaching c trary to the king's doctrines, to recant upon the first offence; to jure and bear a fagot on the second offence; and not to be burn unless they refused to abjure, or committed a third offence. T chase of heretics thus became more prolonged and more amusing the hunters. When the flying animal was caught the first time, was saved for the chance of another run; and so of the second fi ing. But when the hounds a third time gave tongue, the p wearied beast was left to the dogs.

One of the mightiest of the heretic-hunters was Stephen Gardin As chancellor and bishop he fills a large space in the history of persecutions in the reign of Mary; but his earlier career is mark by his strenuous exertions to accomplish the divorce of Henry fr Catherine of Arragon, by his negotiations and by his published wr ings. He had opposed the supremacy of the pope; and yet he clu to and asserted, with unflinching zeal, "doctrines and practic which the adherents to the pope maintain, but which Protestan have rejected." † Cranmer, Latimer, and other early reformers, sa with a truer judgment, that to reject the supremacy of the pope w necessarily to destroy the superstructure of which the papal author was the foundation. But during the reign of Henry it was exce ingly difficult for conscientious reformers to carry forward th opinions to their logical conclusions. They looked on, not with difference, perhaps with horror, while papists and sacramentaris were imprisoned and burned with a fearful impartiality. After t death of Cromwell the prevailing spirit of the king's council was desire to terrify the humbler classes of the people by the punishm of those who avowed heterodox doctrines. One singular example the avidity with which this object was pursued is exhibited in a l ter to the council in 1542, from Wallop, the ambassador to Fran in which he says that, "as touching the heretic," he has giv thanks for the genteel offer of the French authorities; and the s heretic has been "delivered unto those I sent; whom I have t day sent to Calais according to the king's commandment." ‡ T wretched fugitive, an Englishman named Denis Tod, thus hand over to his unmerciful countrymen, was burned at Calais a few we after the date of this letter. If the heretic could not escape ev when he put the sea between himself and his persecutors, we m readily believe how keen would be the search, and how unrelent the punishment, when men who dared to think for themselves we found within the very precincts of the king's palace. At the ti of Henry's marriage with Catherine Parr, that is in July, 1543, th

* "State Papers," vol. x. p. 302.
† Ibid., vol. i. p. 796.
‡ Ibid., vol. x. p. 830.
§ Ibid., p. 814. "The Order for the Fleet," August 10, 1545.

* 34 & 35 Hen. VIII., c. 1.
† Maitland, "Essays on the Reformation," p. 396.
‡ "State Papers," vol. ix. p. 96.

cre four men of Windsor confined under charges of heresy—An-ıony Peerson, a priest; Robert Testwood and John Marbeck, sing-g men; and Henry Filmer, a townsman of Windsor. They were rought to trial at Windsor on the 27th of July. Three were in-icted that they had uttered words against the mass; and Marbeck that e had copied out an epistle by Calvin against it. The case of Mar-eck shows how earnestly some men endeavored to avail themselves f the knowledge which was opened to them by the reading of the criptures. This singing man of Windsor College, when Matthew's ible was published in 1537, borrowed a copy, and commenced tran-cribing it. But printed Bibles becoming more accessible, he was iverted from this labor, and employed himself in making a concord-nce to the Scriptures, upon the plan of the Concordance to the Latin ulgate. This unfinished manuscript was found when Marbeck's apers were seized. The four men were condemned. Three were urned; but Marbeck was spared—at the request of Gardiner, accord-ng to some authorities, at the command of Henry, according to thers; the king saying that Marbeck had employed his time better nan those who examined him. It is added by Fox that when Henry eard of these executions, he said, "Alas, poor innocents."

Among the escapes of the suspected clergy, that of Cranmer is ne most remarkable. It presents the almost solitary instance of the ing interposing to save an old friend and servant from the intrigues f a powerful party. Cranmer triumphed over Gardiner in 1543, hen Henry made him acquainted with the charges that were rought against him of being an encourager of heresy; and when ranmer, discovering his secret enemies and pardoning them, earned ne praise of the common voice, "Do my lord of Canterbury a nrewd turn, and he is your friend forever." * Cranmer again tri-mphed in 1546, when the remarkable scene took place which Fox as described and Shakespeare has dramatized—carefully following is authority as to the incidents, but disregarding their date. The ouncil preparing to send the obnoxious prelate to the Tower; the oomed man kept waiting at the door, as if his disgrace were already ccomplished; the accusations and the threats; the king's signet pro-uced; the conspirators covered with shame—these circumstances ake up a vivid picture, colored no doubt in the original relation, nd heightened by the poet's art. But there is one point in the nar-ative of Fox which stands out in the oratorical discourses which he ives between the king and the archbishop. When Henry says that ne council had requested him to commit Cranmer to the Tower, "or se no man dare come forth as witness in those matters, you being counsellor," and Cranmer replies that he is content to go thither, nat he may come to his trial, the king thus answers: "Oh, Lord, hat manner of man be you? What simplicity is in you? I had nought that you would rather have sued to us to have taken the ains to have heard you and your answers together for your trial, ithout any such indurance. Do you not know what state you be in ith the whole world, and how many great enemies you have? Do ou not consider what an easy thing it is to procure three or four lse knaves to witness against you?" † It was not the practice in ate trials to bring the "false knaves" face to face with the prisoner. o one could have a more complete knowledge than Henry had of ne mode in which convictions were procured during his reign. Previously to the time of Edward VI. and Queen Mary," says Mr. ardine, "there is no instance of the admission of the *vivâ voce* ex-mination of witnesses, either for the prosecution or the defence, in ases of treason or other state offences." It was held "too danger-us to the prince" to produce witnesses who might be questioned by ne accused. The evidence consisted almost entirely of written dep-sitions and examinations, taken before the Privy Council or before ommissioners. Interrogatories were previously prepared by the own lawyers. These were submitted to the witnesses individually. they were conformable in their answers it was well. If they were ot so, the rack was introduced. The fear of torture was present to ne mind of every witness. When the depositions had been shaped fter the most approved fashion, the prisoner was subjected to the ke tender interrogatories. The trial, so called, having come on, the ounsel for the crown carefully noted what in the depositions was to e read and what omitted; and the officer of the court as carefully obeyed his directions. What chance a prisoner had of an acquittal may be readily conceived. * When King Henry interfered with the insane resolution of the archbishop to seek a trial, he truly said, "You will run headlong to your undoing if I would suffer you."

The searchers for heresy appear to have manifested great anxiety to fix their accusations upon persons of the royal court. During the persecution at Windsor false charges were made against Sir Thomas Hoby and others. Dr. London, one of the least scrupulous of the commissioners appointed to ferret out the delinquencies of the religious houses, was now employed in an opposite direction. His charges against members of the king's household were held to be founded in perjury and conspiracy; and Dr. London and his associates were set in the pillory. The unscrupulous doctor did not survive the disgrace.† The queen, whose Lutheran tendencies were more than suspected, had influence enough to save her friends for some time. That influence perhaps saved Cranmer. But the blow at last fell upon one of the most interesting of victims. Anne Askew, a lady known at court, if not about the queen's person, was an avowed Protestant. She had been married against her will, and had been discarded by her bigoted husband for the strength of her convictions. Anne Askew delivered her opinions on the Eucharist with some imprudence, and was subjected to an examination by the bishop of London. She escaped for a time, but was again examined before the council. Otwell Johnson, a merchant of London, writing to his brother at Calais, thus relates the issue, among other news: "Quondam bishop Saxon [Shaxton], Mistress Askew, Christopher White, one of Mistress Fayre's sons, and a tailor that came from Colchester or thereabout, were arraigned at the Guildhall, and received their judgments of my Lord Chancellor and the council to be burned, and so were committed to Newgate again. But since that time the aforesaid Saxon and White have renounced their opinions; and the talk goeth that they shall chance to escape the fire for this viage. But the gentlewoman and the other men remain in steadfast mind; and yet she hath been racked since her condemnation, as men say; which is a strange thing in my understanding. The Lord be merciful to us all." ‡ Burnet says that he had seen an original journal of the transactions in the Tower, which shows that "they caused her to be laid on the rack, and gave her a taste of it." But Burnet has doubts of the relation of Fox, that the chancellor, Wriothesley, when the lieutenant of the Tower refused "to stretch her more," threw off his gown, and himself "drew the rack so severely that he almost tore her body asunder." Lord Campbell gives this horrid story without noticing the doubt of Burnet; and adds that Griffin, the solicitor-general, assisted in the detestable crime. Wriothesley was a determined bigot; and when the passions of the zealot and the policy of the statesman were combined, there was no atrocity from which the men of this time would shrink. Let us hope that in this case human nature was not so utterly degraded as the somewhat credulous historian of the English martyrs has represented. There was a disgusting scene in Smithfield which soon followed the torture of the high-minded woman, who, amid her sufferings, would not utter one word to implicate her friends. Upon a bench under St. Bartholomew's church sit the lord chancellor, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Bedford, the lord mayor, and other dignitaries. There are three martyrs, each tied to a stake. The apostate Shaxton is to preach the sermon. It is rumored that gunpowder has been placed about the condemned, to shorten their sufferings. The chancellor and the other high functionaries have no compunction for their victims; but they are in terror for their own safety. Will not the exploding gunpowder drive the firewood where they sit? They hold a grave consultation, and are persuaded to sit out the scene. The gentlewoman and her fellow-sufferers die heroically—a noble contrast to the cowardice that quakes in the extremity of its selfishness upon the bench under St. Bartholomew's church.

Such were the scenes that marked the closing days of the life of Henry. He is a pitiable spectacle of human infirmity. Moved about by mechanical aid from chamber to chamber—a vast mass of obesity—there is one patient nurse forever about him, soothing the paroxysms of his temper by endeavors to alleviate his bodily sufferings. But the belief in his own infallibility is as strong as ever; and he lis-

* Shakespeare, "Henry VIII.," act v. scene 2.
† Fox, "Acts and Monuments."

* See Jardine's "Criminal Trials," Introduction, vol. i. p. 25.
† Burnet, book iii. p. 327. ‡ Ellis, Second Series, vol. ii. p. 177.

tens to the whispers of those who tell him that his queen, that faithful nurse, is a heretic. She is sincere in her opinions; and endeavors to influence him to go on with the work of reformation. "A good hearing it is," he exclaims, "when women become such clerks; and a thing much to my comfort to come in mine old age to be taught by my wife." * Gardiner and Wriothesley seize the right moment when the old pride of the polemical despot is in the ascendant, and have his authority to prepare articles for Catherine Parr's impeachment. But the king passed out of life without a third queen's head falling on the scaffold in the Tower. His wrath was appeased; and, according to Fox, his anger fell on the bishop of Winchester, the scheming Gardiner. The story says that the queen diverted his fury by an adroit appeal to his self-love. "Kate, you are a doctor," said the king. "No, sir," she replied, "I only wish to divert you from your pain by an argument, in which you so much shine." Kate was again his friend and "sweetheart;" and when Wriothesley came with a warrant for the queen's arrest, he was driven away with the royal salute of "knave, arrant knave, beast, fool." We can scarcely receive these details among the authentic matters of history; though we may readily believe that in the fierce contest of parties, at a time when the despot could be more readily than ever moved to sudden hatreds, the Protestant tendencies of Catherine Parr might have been easily perverted into the means of her destruction. But as the king was necessarily becoming a more passive instrument in the hands of others, the party of the Reformation was gaining strength. The earl of Hertford, afterward famous as the Protector Somerset—the uncle of the heir to the crown—was undoubtedly in the ascendant. How far may be imputed to his counsels the last iniquitous acts of Henry's reign must be a matter of conjecture rather than of proof. Hertford was a decided reformer. The duke of Norfolk, and his son the earl of Surrey, were as firm opponents of further changes. The Howards were of the ancient nobility; the Seymours were "new men." There were political hatreds between them, as well as theological differences. Surrey had been superseded by Hertford in the lieutenancy of Boulogne. Norfolk acknowledged that he had been "quick against such as have been accused for sacramentaries." There was one point in which the jealousy of Henry could be easily aroused against the Howards. They were of the blood royal by descent. They might aspire to the throne during the minority of the young Prince Edward. Surrey had something of the wilfulness which mankind are too ready to ascribe to the poetical temperament. He who was the first and the most successful in familiarizing English verse to a new accentuation—he who led the way in the use of blank verse, the noblest instrument of our noble language—the most accomplished scholar, the bravest gentleman—was punished at one time for eating flesh in Lent, and at another time for the coarse frolic of walking the streets at night, and breaking windows with a cross-bow. It was his impulsive and incautious nature which precipitated his fall. In 1546 he was imprisoned for using bitter language to the earl of Hertford. A few months later, he and his father, the aged duke of Norfolk, were committed to the Tower upon a charge of treason. This was in the beginning of December. The king was dangerously ill. There is an official paper, in the handwriting of Wriothesley, which contains the groundwork of the charges against Norfolk and Surrey. These are in the form of questions; and the two first questions, which contain interlineations by Henry himself in a tremulous hand, have reference to the principal charge upon which the father and son were condemned. It was high treason "to do any thing by word, writing, or deed, to the scandal or peril of the established succession to the crown." The first question in the state paper is as follows: "If a man, coming of the collateral line to the heir of the crown, who ought not to bear the arms of England but on the second quarter, do presume to change his right place, and bear them in the first quarter, leaving out the true difference of the ancestry; and, in the lieu thereof, use the very place only of the heir-male apparent; how this man's intent is to be judged; and whether this import any danger, peril, or slander, to the title of the prince or very heir-apparent; and how it weigheth in our laws?" The same inference is made in the second question, "If a man presume to take into his arms an old coat of the crown, which his ancestor never bare, nor he of right ought to bear, and use it with a difference; whether it may be to the peril or slander of the ver heir of the crown?" * The sister of Surrey, the widow of the duk of Richmond, who spoke of her brother as "a rash man," and Mrs Holland, a mistress of the duke of Norfolk, were witnesses again the Howards; but they only testified to their dislike of the Seymou and "the new nobility," with something about the royal arms. Th "old coat"—that of Edward the Confessor—and the lions of Eng land "in the first quarter," were the evidence for their condemnatio Wotton, the ambassador to Francis I., told that king, on the 22d December, that the matter was sufficiently proved, by the confessio of Surrey, "both against himself and his father too." † What Surre confessed is not recorded. He was tried by a jury, after the fashio of those times; and though he showed that he had borne the sam arms for many years by a decision of the heralds, he was co demned; and on the 19th of January he went to the block. Norfol was attainted, upon his confession of having borne the obnoxiou arms; and the royal assent to the bill was given by commissio His execution was to have taken place on the 28th of January. B fore that day dawned Henry lay dead. His last moments were n soothed by an act of mercy to his aged servant. But Norfolk e caped, if escape it were, to linger in prison, while the Reformatio which he opposed, held on its inevitable course.

Henry the Eighth died at two o'clock in the morning of the 28t of January, in his palace at Westminster. His death was conceale for three days. On the 31st of January the Commons were sum moned to the House of Lords, and Wriothesley wept while he a nounced the event. The will of the king, by which the successio was defined, and the government of the realm during the minority his son was regulated, was then read in part. Hertford and Pag had employed the three days of secrecy in determining the course be pursued under the will, which was in their private keeping. Some suspicions have arisen that the will was forged. The natio did not, in all likelihood, feel the loss of the most arbitrary monarc that had ever filled the English throne as a great calamity. On th 5th of February the bishop of Winchester wrote to Sir W. Page secretary of state, "To-morrow, the parishioners of this parish and have agreed to have a solemn dirige for our late sovereign lord an master, in earnest, as becometh us; and, to-morrow, certain playe of my lord of Oxford's, as they say, intend, on the other side, withi this burgh of Southwark, to have a solemn play, to try who sha have most resort, they in game or I in earnest." § The sorrow coul not have been very violent when the players thought that a diversio would be welcome, even before the king's body was conveyed t earth at Windsor. Though Henry is said to have wrung Cranmer' hand on his death-bed, his last religious exercises were in accordanc with the practice of the Romish Church. In the same spirit were h funeral solemnities conducted: "The body lay in state in the chap of Whitehall for twelve days, with masses and dirge sung and sai every day; Norroy standing at the choir door, and beginning wit these words, pronounced aloud, 'Of your charity, pray for the sou of the high and mighty prince our late sovereign lord, King Henr the Eighth.'" ‖

CHAPTER LIX.

General notice of the condition of England, about the middle of th sixteenth century — Sources of information—Population—Paris Registers—Capital—Taxation—England a lightly taxed nation i these times—Evasions of subsidies—Sources of revenue—The roya household—Military expenditure—Military organization—Archer —The navy—Defence of the coasts—Civil administration—Des potism of the government—Bribery—Small salaries of officers— Parliaments — Their subserviency — The nobility and gentry— Justices of the Peace—Merchants become landed men—Commercia spirit entering into rural affairs—Aspect of the country districts— Inclosures—Monastic lands let as copyholds—New distribution o land—Effects upon the laboring population—Common and Severs —Inclosures defended—The Statute of Vagabonds indicates an ex ceptional state of society—Its horrible enactments—The statut

* Fox.

* "State Papers," vol. i. p. 891.
† Dispatch to the King, ibid., vol. xi. p. 388.
‡ Tytler, "Original Letters," vol. i. p. 18.
§ Ibid., p. 21.
‖ Hayward, "Life of Edward VI."

repealed—Offences against property—Impostors—Agricultural industry—Distribution of the produce of land—Dearth—Rise of rents and prices of commodities—Attempts to keep down prices and force sales—Debasement of the coinage—Effects upon prices at home and upon exchange abroad—Sufferings of the laborers.

BEFORE we proceed in our narrative of the historical events of the reign of Edward VI., we propose to offer a general notice of the condition of England at the close of the long reign of Henry VIII. ; including some aspects of society of which the features had become more distinct a few years later.

Between this state of social existence and our only possible point of view, the veil of three hundred years is interposed. Those whose lives were contemporary with the middle, or even with the close of the sixteenth century, might have beheld some things under a stronger light than we do ; but even they saw only a part, and that part very indistinctly. If there had been no great social movement at that period, they might have formed a clearer judgment of many circumstances of which they have left us a confused opinion. So the task of the historian would be more defined, if he could now look upon "each change of many-colored life," and even upon the external face of nature in wilds and solitudes, without being disturbed by rapid transitions, which, like a shifting object in a photographic camera, preclude a distinct image. As it is, he is compelled, out of the most fragmentary and ill-assorted materials, to piece out a rough and imperfect picture, having the want of proportion and harmony which essentially belongs to such mosaic work. That was an age in which the foundations of all statistical inquiries was laid by the establishment of parish registers ; but many generations had left in those books the brief records of their comings and their goings, before the larger uses of registration were discovered. It was an age when statutes contained long preambles, out of which we may draw conclusions as uncertain as those derived from some modern parliamentary reports ; but in the statutes themselves are to be found the best materials for a correct though limited account of life in England, from the peer to the beggar. Proclamations, minutes of council, letters of ministers—furnish incidental glimpses of society beyond the verge of chambers of state. The chroniclers have their occasional value in addition to that of political annalists ; but it is not from them that we must principally seek to trace the course of industry or the tone of morals. The foreign visitors, who note what seemed to them remarkable, too often deal in generalities ; but they sometimes give minute touches which are of lasting interest. Our ambassadors to foreign courts present us contrasts with the state of their own country. The poets of manners were not as yet ; for the drama, properly so called, had not risen into its office of a mirror of nature. Yet we may discover the routine life of the husbandman in one homely poet, who had the rare merit of describing what he knew. With a diary or two, equally trustworthy whether the journal of a king or of a funeral-furnisher—with wills, trials—last, but not least valuable, sermons—we may further obtain facts or suggestions. With these aids, then, let us pick our way through somewhat difficult ground, and endeavor to leave some review of our footsteps, not wholly without accuracy. We can pretend to no completeness.

We have stated that at the beginning of the sixteenth century the population was estimated, upon very uncertain data, at four millions.* We have no distinct materials for any such guess in the middle of that century ; but twenty-five years later we have a precise statement, which enables us to form some judgment. Harrison records that, in the muster of able men for service in 1574 and 1575, the number amounted to 1,172,674. † Taking the able men as a fourth of the entire population, we have a total of upward of four millions and a half. In the injunctions of Cromwell to the clergy, a book, or register, was directed to be kept by every parson, vicar, or curate, for every church ; in which, on each succeeding Sunday, the clergyman should enter the particulars of the weddings, christenings, and burials made the whole week before. This injunction was evidently neglected ; for in the reigns of Edward VI. and of Elizabeth, the injunction was repeated. On the first attempt to enforce this most salutary measure, the people were "in great fear and mistrust," as Sir Piers Edgecombe wrote to Cromwell. "Their mistrust is," he says, "that some charges, more than hath been in times past, shall grow to them by this occasion of registering these things." * It was the same fear which excited hostility to the census of 1801. The parish registers, of inestimable value as local and family records, were never regarded as the foundation of national statistics ; and it was not till the Registration Act of 1836 was brought into full exercise by the most skilful organization, and its deductions made available for the general benefit by scientific analysis, that we could ascertain the amount of one of the great elements of progress, the increase of population ; and form a right judgment of the causes by which such increase was accelerated or retarded. As we proceed in our view of the condition of the people in the middle of the sixteenth century, we shall meet with constant complaints of the decrease of population. These are founded upon the most extravagant estimates of the number of the more ancient inhabitants ; and an equally blind confidence in an alleged decrease "by laying house to house and land to land, whereby many men's occupyings were converted into one, and the breed of people not a little thereby diminished." † Henry VIII., we are thus informed, "lamented oft that he was constrained to hire foreign aid, for want of competent store of soldiers here at home. . . . He would oft marvel in private talk, how that, when seven or eight princes ruled here at once, one of them could lead thirty or forty thousand men to the field against another, or two of them a hundred thousand against a third, and these taken out only of their own dominions." ‡ It might have occurred to the king, if he had been less engrossed with matters beyond reason, to have also marvelled how such vast armies subsisted in the Saxon land of woods and morasses ; especially when we find him, in his own days of improved cultivation, forbidding the Scottish king to pass with his train from France through the north of England, as "his highness could not have there victuals and other necessaries, for the furniture of his own train, when he should repair into those parts." §

The direct taxation of a people will always, to some extent, enable us to form a notion of their available capital. The rate of subsidy in the time of Henry VIII. will show at how low an estimate the government fixed the power of the saving classes to contribute. By the "Act for the Subsidy of the Temporalty" in 1542-3, ‖ a grant payable in three years was made upon personalties. Upon subjects not worth more than five pounds, in coin, plate, stock, merchandise, corn in store, household stuff, and other movable goods, and money owing above just debts, four pence in the pound was to be paid ; with a rising scale of eight pence, sixteen pence, and two shillings, to twenty pounds and upward. There was a double rate upon aliens. On real estates of one pound to five pounds annual value, eight pence in the pound was levied ; from five pounds to ten pounds, sixteen pence ; from ten pounds to twenty pounds, two shillings ; above twenty pounds, three shillings. In 1545 there was another subsidy of two whole fifteenths and tenths, levied in the same manner. And yet this income and property tax, going as low as the persons who had only accumulated five pounds beyond their average earnings, produced a sum so inconsiderable, when compared with our modern experience of the extent of taxation, that we might wonder where the accumulation existed to enable the industry of the country regularly to go forward in a course of improvement. Wriothesley, the chancellor, writes to the council in 1545, "You see the king's majesty hath, this year and the last year, spent 1,300,000*l.*, or thereabouts ; and his subsidy and benevolence ministering scant 300,000*l.* thereof, I muse sometime, where the rest, being so great a sum, hath been gotten." ¶ Having regard to the altered value of money, partly by the influx of silver into Europe, and partly by the debasement of the coin, we can scarcely reckon this three hundred thousand pounds at more than three millions. And yet that is a large revenue from taxation during two years. It is especially to be considered large when compared with the amount annually raised by taxes in the time of Charles II., which did not much exceed a million and a quarter, when the difference in the value of money was much less than at a hundred years previous. ** Compared with other countries, England was always a lightly-taxed nation, even up to the days of Sir Robert Walpole. With the exception of these occasional subsidies, and the duties upon

* *Ante*, p. 223. † "Description of England," book ii. c. 16.

* "State Papers," vol. i. p. 612. † Harrison, book ii. c. 19.
‡ Ibid. § "State Papers," vol. i. p. 536.
‖ 34 and 35 Hen. VIII. c. 27. ¶ "State Papers," vol. i. p. 831.
** See Macaulay, vol. i. p. 287.

goods exported and imported, the revenue was wholly derived from resources which Henry VIII. constantly asserted were his private possessions, but which the parliament as constantly took care should be applied, as far as possible, to public uses. The Venetian ambassador, Micheli, in a luminous description of England in 1557, addressed to his Senate, says, "The liberty of this country is really singular and wonderful; indeed, there is no other country, in my opinion, less burdened and more free. For they have not only no taxes of any kind, but they are not even thought of: no tax on salt, wine, beer, flour, meat, cloth, and other necessaries of life, which, in all parts of Italy especially, and in Flanders, are the more productive the greater is the number of inhabitants which consume them." * It was this absence of taxation upon the necessaries of life, and upon the materials of industry, which enabled England to go so rapidly in advance of other nations in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. She still went forward, but with comparative slowness, in the eighteenth; and it was not till the nineteenth century had far advanced that the great obstacles to national prosperity were cast off, and we saw the wisdom of making the producer work under a lighter load, and the consumer enjoy at a diminished cost. The problem of reduced individual taxation and increased national revenue was only solved three hundred years after the times of which we are writing.

The amount produced by a subsidy will scarcely enable us to form any estimate of the available capital of the country. The one divine of the age who boldly assails every moral delinquency, tells us that a fraudulent return of property was a customary sin: "When the parliament, the high court of this realm, is gathered together, and there it is determined that every man shall pay a fifteenth part of his goods to the king, then commissions come forth, and he that in sight of men, in his cattle, corn, sheep, and other goods, is worth an hundred marks, or an hundred pound, will set himself at ten pound; he will be worth no more to the king but after ten pound. Tell me, now, whether this be theft or no?" † "He will marry his daughter," says the preacher, "and give with her four or five hundred marks, and yet at the valuation he will be a twenty pound man." The salve for the conscience, probably, was the general belief that the king was very well supplied with money without intrenching upon a daughter's marriage-portion. Henry VIII. had told his people that when he had driven the idle and luxurious monks from their possessions, he would apply their revenues to great public uses. He had absorbed those revenues. He was richer than any king of England before his time. His ordinary income—from the guardianship of wards, of whose property while they were minors the crown had the usufruct; from livery, or one year's income upon their succession, of those who held lands under the crown, from reliefs, or sums paid on the renewal of military fiefs, from the duchy of Lancaster, from the first-fruits of bishoprics, and from various other ancient sources—amounted to about 150,000*l.* per annum. The seizure of church property was held to have doubled this permanent income. And yet we may wonder, with the prudent chancellor, how the king contrived to spend 1,300,000*l.* in two years, if we did not know that the crown was always in debt, and that it sometimes applied the sponge to its debts. Edward VI. was overwhelmed with debt, upon which he paid fourteen per cent interest.‡ We shall have to notice, hereafter, some of the effects of one of the notable expedients of his reign, and of that of his father, for diminishing the debt by debasement of the coin—an expedient which, in the strictest sense of the image, could do nothing but commend the ingredients of the poisoned chalice to their own lips.

The household expenditure of the second Tudor sovereign was upon a larger scale than that of any of his predecessors. The Venetian ambassador says, "There is no nation which in its manner of living and ordinary expenditure is more extravagant than the English; because they keep more servants, with a greater distinction of offices and degrees in which such servants are placed. In this manner, to mention only one particular, in order to give an idea of other expenses of greater moment, the expense of the court in the mere article of living, that is, of eating and drinking, and of what solely relates to the table, amounts to from fifty-four to fifty-six thousand pounds sterling a year." He is speaking of the time of Queen Mary, and says that not the fourth part was then expended as in the time of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. The cost of national defence, of ambassadors, judges, and other public servants, he holds to be small in comparison with the enormous household expenditure. * We may judge from later times of the cost of the great officers about the royal person—the lord steward, lord treasurer, lord great chamberlain, earl marshal, lord chamberlain, treasurer of the household, comptroller of the household, vice-chamberlain, cofferer, master of the horse. But we can form no idea from modern experience of the array of inferior officers. We know that Burke, in his great speech on economical reform, said that every attempt to regulate the civil list had failed, because the turnspit in the king's kitchen was a member of parliament. A statute of Henry VIII., which clearly bears the mark of his own master mind, regulates, with a tragi-comic attention to parade, the execution of a sentence by the lord steward upon an offender convicted on the verdict of a jury of the household for striking within the precincts of the palace. The offender is to lose his hand. The chief surgeon is to be present, to sear the stump when the hand is stricken off. The sergeant of the pantry is to give bread to the maimed man. The sergeant of the cellar is to be ready, with the same tenderness, with a pot of red wine. The sergeant of the ewry is to bring linen for the surgeon. The yeoman of the chandry is to bring seared cloths. The master cook is to be present with a dressing-knife, which he is to deliver to the sergeant of the larder, who is to hold the knife till execution be done. The sergeant of the poultry is to be ready with a cock for the surgeon to wrap about the stump. The yeoman of the scullery is to prepare a fire of coals, and the searing-irons. The chief farrier is to heat the searing-irons. The groom of the salcery is to bring vinegar. The sergeant of the woodyard is to provide the fatal block and beetle.† We may judge from this terrible array of household potentates, to give solemnity to the maiming of an unhappy offender against the sanctity of the king's palace, what an army of deputies there must have been to do the real work of the kitchen and the larder.

The parliament, in enacting the subsidy of 1545, for the prosecution of the war against France and Scotland, employ the most humble language in presenting the grant to the king, beseeching him to accept their gift, even "as it pleased the great King Alexander to receive thankfully a cup of water of a poor man by the highway side." Wars did not touch the people of England, they justly say, as other nations not so happily situated. They were not afflicted with "spoils, burnings, and depopulations." "We," they declare, "so live out of all fear and danger as if there were no war at all; even as the small fishes of the sea in the most tempestuous and stormy weather do lie quietly under the rock or bank-side, and are not moved with the surges of the water, nor stirred out of their quiet place, howsoever the wind bloweth." ‡ This flowery language expresses a great practical truth. To her wall of the silver sea, England owed her security from "the hand of war," during the five hundred years which had preceded the Tudor rule; and to this, more than to any other of her happy conditions, we are indebted for the constant progress of her industry, and the comparative lightness of her burdens. But, nevertheless, the cost of her defence, and her foreign armaments, was not inconsiderable, in the years when her government was not restrained by poverty or prudence from rushing into war. In the State Paper Office there is "a brief declaration of the whole military and naval expenses incurred by Henry VIII. and Edward VI. during their wars with France and Scotland." This abstract also includes the cost of suppressing the insurrection of 1549, and the charges of castles and garrisons. The total amount from September, 1542, to September, 1552, is 3,491,471*l.*§ This gives an annual military expenditure of 350,000*l.* The government was always embarrassed during these seasons of hostility. "The poor laborers"—says Latimer, preaching before Edward VI. in 1550—"gun-makers, powdermen, bow-makers, arrow-makers, smiths, carpenters, soldiers, and other crafts, cry out for their dues. They be unpaid, some of them three or four months; yea, some of them half a year; yea, some of them put up bills this time twelve months for their money,

* Ellis, Second Series, vol. ii. † Latimer, Sermon at Stamford.
‡ King Edward's Journal, in Burnet, p. 51, ed. 1683.

* Ellis, Second Series, vol. ii. † 33 Hen. VIII. c. 12, clause iii.
‡ 37 Hen. VIII., c. 25, Preamble.
§ "Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series," 1547–1580. Edited by Robert Lemon, p. 44. Published by authority, 1856.

and cannot be paid yet." There was a large cost, and there were heavy arrears, although England had no standing army.

The military organization of the sixteenth century did not materially differ from that of the fifteenth.* The nobles were still called upon, each to bring his quota of armed men into the field, when the king demanded their services. Cromwell was showing his private armory to the Marshal de Castillon; and, when the marshal wondered at the store of harness and weapons, Cromwell said, "there were other particular armories of the lords and gentlemen of this realm, more than the number of twenty, as well or better furnished than mine was."† Micheli conjectured that, in the time of Mary, twenty-five thousand troops could be raised, all provided with cuirasses and polished arms. But in all cases of apprehended danger, or for foreign service, the muster-roll was taken in every county, and in every city. England then possessed an armed population. Perlin, a French physician who came to England at the time of Queen Mary's accession, says, "The laborer, when he cultivates the land, leaves in a corner of the field his buckler and sword, and sometimes his bow; for in this country it is as if all the world carried arms."‡ There may be some exaggeration in this; but, without doubt, the bow, if not the sword and shield, was among the possessions of every man who had a recognized station in the commonwealth. In all emergencies the crown summoned the national force to its assistance. In 1549 King Edward, being with Somerset at Windsor, when the lords were seeking to drive the Protector from his sway, sends to the bailiff and constables of Uxbridge, "to levy all the force in their power, especially archers, and to bring them well victualled to Windsor Castle."§ Archery was the national sport; and all other games were forbidden by statute ‖ Complaining of the decay of archery, Latimer says, "In my time my poor father was as diligent to teach me to shoot, as to learn me any other thing; and so I think other men did their children. He taught me how to draw, how to lay my body in my bow, and not to draw with strength of arms, as other nations do." The good bishop exclaims, with the enthusiasm of a patriot, "It is a gift of God that he hath given us to excel all other nations withal: it hath been God's instrument, whereby he hath given us many victories against our enemies." It was not the weapon alone that made the English formidable. Micheli, speaking of the means of defence possessed by us, says, "The ardor in fighting would be shared by all, the veterans as well as the raw levies; because, as everybody knows, there is not a nation in the world that esteems danger and death more lightly than the English." Roger Ascham, writing from the Continent, declares that "England need fear no outward enemies. The lusty lads verily be in England. I have seen on a Sunday more likely men walking in St. Paul's Church than I ever yet saw in Augsburgh, where lieth an emperor with a garrison." The lusty lads held to the bow. The harquebuss came very slowly into use in England. To discharge the original hand-gun the match was held in the hand. The harquebuss had a trigger conveying the match to the priming. The musket was an improved harquebuss. Somerset had his musqueteers; but they were foreigners. Nor was our cavalry of so great importance as the vast body who could be called into the field at a day's notice, with the light skull-cap and the quilted jacket, the long-bow and the pike. There was a general assessment in time of war for providing light horsemen and demi-lances; but, if we are to rely upon the intelligent Venetian, who presents such clear statistics of this period, the horses of England, though produced in greater number than in any other country of Europe, were "weak and of bad wind." They were fed merely on grass, he says. Horses fit for heavy cavalry, he adds, were not bred in England, but were imported from Flanders. The navy of this period has been noticed in the last chapter. The constant expense of keeping ships afloat was a bar to our early maritime efficiency. The hundred ships of Henry VIII. were dwindled to forty in the reign of Mary. But there were merchant vessels in every port, which could easily be armed in time of need. The royal ships were larger than those of other nations. When Philip of Spain came to wed Mary, the English admiral affronted the Spaniards by calling their ships mussel-shells.* The English shores were never unguarded. On every eminence there was a beacon and a flag-staff. If an enemy approached in the daytime, the signal fluttered from hill to hill. If in the night, a thousand watch-fires were ready to spread the alarm from the North Foreland to the Lizard, from the Naze to the Tyne. The people gathered at the point of danger from town and village. The noble and the esquire were at the head of their tenants. The portly alderman led forth his stout burghers and his nimble apprentices. Whatever was the discontent at home, Englishmen would fight to the death against the foreign enemy. The foreigner knew this; and left us to decide our quarrels among ourselves.

The ambassador of the Venetian Senate regarded the government of the Tudors as a despotism. The kings, he says, are absolute lords and masters. They govern through a Council as the Grand Turk governs through the Bashaws. The Council, composed of the great household officers, and of other persons of rank, follow the king's person wherever he goes. Their mandates are obeyed as though they proceeded from the king himself. The "State Papers" of the reign of Henry VIII. show, however, how constantly the king himself attended to the administration of affairs. Undoubtedly Henry was a sovereign of great industry, of considerable talent, of various knowledge. But his inordinate self-love, his desire for personal display, his jealousy of every servant who was not a slave to his will, in the most unlimited abnegation of a free judgment—these qualities, as he advanced in life, drove him into the most heartless and cruel despotism. By the force of terror, or the avidity for gain, every civil officer, whatever his rank—a Cromwell or a Cranmer, a Norfolk or a Russell—was a crouching menial. The ecclesiastics who filled civil offices were among the most abject, with the sole exception of Wolsey, who, by the extraordinary power of his intellect, held a divided sway with his master. That position Wolsey reached as the supereminent churchman as much as the accomplished statesman. After the domination of the Romish Church had been destroyed, the bishops who discharged civil functions were little more than ambitious sycophants. Latimer has given a striking picture of "unpreaching prelates" holding civil offices—"placed in palaces, couched in courts, burdened with ambassages"—lords of parliament, presidents, comptrollers of mints. The bold bishop says, "I would fain know who controlleth the devil at home in his parish while he [the priest] controlleth the mint?"† The comptroller of the mint was usually a jobber of the rankest character. But all the civil officers were underpaid in their salaries. They all looked to grants and leases for their reward; and they all lived upon something even better than expectancy, for they all were bribed. The secondary offices were openly bought. There was small pay, but large peculation. It was in vain that Latimer cried out to the young King Edward, "Such as be meet to bear office, seek them out, hire them, give them competent and liberal fees, that they shall not need to take any bribes."‡ In the letters of ambassadors we constantly find them complaining of the insufficiency of their pay. If they could bide their time, they received some place in which they might pillage without offence. The high places of the law were those in which the bribe was most regularly administered. When Bacon fell, in the next half century, for receiving bribes, he followed the most approved precedents according to which chancellors and chief-justices before him maintained their state and ennobled their posterity. The system went much lower. The bribery of juries was so common that a man-killer with rich friends could escape for a crown properly administered to each quest-monger; for so the vendor of a verdict was called.

The later history of the reign of Henry VIII. is the history of the subserviency of parliaments. The degradation of this great bulwark of English liberty in earlier times was now manifest to foreign observers. "In the beginning, and, indeed, many years after the introduction of parliaments, the liberty and security of those three estates [clergy, nobles, and commons] were such that even the lowest person of them might, without any danger, were it even against the king's person, give free utterance to any expressions calculated for the public good, or dictated by zeal for his country; the kings in

* See *ante*, p. 179.
† Letter in Cotton Library; quoted in Ellis, Second Series, vol. ii.
‡ "Description des Royaulmes d'Angleterre et d'Escosse," Paris, 1558. Reprint, p. 29.
§ "Calendar of State Papers," p. 24. ‖ 33 Hen. VIII. c. 9.

* Tytler, "Original Letters," vol. i. p. 414.
† Sermon of the Plough. ‡ Fifth Sermon before Edward VI.

those times being looked upon rather as political and civil chiefs than as lords and masters, or monarchs, as they are at the present day." The Venetian who writes thus had accurately read English history. But he adds, with an equally accurate observation of matters of his own day, that the kings could keep out or bring in whoever they pleased as representatives. "They are at this time become so formidable and powerful that they may do even as they please; nor can anybody, whether it be in parliament or out of it, impunely, and, indeed, without utter ruin to himself, venture to stand up in opposition, or even to make the least show of resistance, to their pleasure. In short, servants they enter parliament, and servile are their proceedings therein."* The addition of thirty-one members to the House of Commons, in 1536, by the legislative incorporation of Wales with England, though a measure of justice and of ultimate national benefit, necessarily secured a larger number of subservient representatives. The influence of the crown in the principality had been so long predominant that few Welsh members could have entered St. Stephen's chapel—for there, about the middle of this century, did the Commons sit—with any disposition to assert an independence which they did not find among their English fellows. By a special statute the knights of the Welsh counties were to be paid wages of four shillings a day, and the burgesses two shillings, during the continuance of the parliament, and during their journeys to and from the place of sitting. These were the wages of the English members, and they were levied by the sheriffs and mayors; but it appears from this act for Wales that the assessment and the payment had in some cases been neglected.† The wages were a just payment for the loss of time in public service. The wages were not the cause of the general corruption. The crown was supreme, because the king's displeasure was death, and the king's smile promised a golden harvest.

The nobility and gentry for the most part dwelt in their respective counties. The more ambitious hovered about the court, and had their houses in London and Westminster. "There be some gentlemen in England," says Latimer, "which think themselves born to nothing else, but to have good cheer in this world; to go a hawking and hunting."‡ There were public duties for all of them to perform, besides offices of hospitality and charity to their tenants and poor neighbors. The times were changed when there was only one of the high-born in a wide parish, who was the absolute lord of the district. In that curious paper ascribed to Edward VI., entitled "A Discourse about the reformation of my abuses," he says, "The grazier, the farmer, the merchant, become landed men, and call themselves gentlemen, though they be churls. . . . The artificer will leave the town, and, for his more pastime, will live in the country; yea, and more than that, will be a justice of peace, and will think scorn to have it denied him."§ The great nobles knew the potency of that industrial strength that was quietly laying new foundations of civil liberty and equality of rights, even under a government that was destroying the old. The proud admiral, Lord Seymour, said to the marquis of Dorset, "I advise you to make much of the head yeomen and franklins of the country, specially those that be the ringleaders, for they be men that be best able to persuade the multitude, and may best bring the number; and therefore I will wish you to make much of them, and to go to their houses, now to one, now to another, carrying with you a flagon or two of wine and a pasty of venison, and to use a familiarity with them, for so shall you cause them to love you."‖ The artificer wanted to be a justice of the peace. He saw the commonalty exercising judicial functions in towns—mayors, aldermen, sheriffs—and why not in the country? He had his desire when he gained the money-qualification. The office of justice of the peace was originally one of high dignity and power. The regular administration of the law by the judges in circuit abated the local authority which was often abused. An attempt was made by the government of Henry VIII. to extend the functions of the justices of the peace beyond their ancient courts of Quarter Session, by allowing them to divide themselves into districts, two at least in each district, and hold Petty Sessions. The statute of 1541-2, which gave this power, indicates how wide a field was presented to the local magistracy, for honest and intelligent or dishonest and ignorant action. They were to put in execution the laws against vagabonds against retainers and giving liveries; they were to enforce archery and put down other games, called unlawful; they were to proceed against forestallers and regrators; all matters concerning victuallers and inn-holders came within their province. It was soon discovered that magisterial vigilance in excess might be as great an evil as magisterial supineness. In 1545 the six-weeks' sessions were abolished by statute, and the functions of the justices were again confined to their ancient Quarter Sessions; "as the king's most loving subjects are much travailed and otherwise encumbered by the keeping of the said six-weeks' sessions."*

"The merchants become landed men. The artificer will leave the town." If we assign their due import to these words of Edward VI., we may be enabled, with the aid of some illustrative facts, to understand the material condition of England at this period. M. Guizot has indicated one of the great principles out of which a new state of things had arisen: "In the course of the sixteenth century the commercial prosperity of England had increased with extreme rapidity; and in the same period territorial wealth, landed property, had in great measure changed hands. This progress of the division of land in England during the sixteenth century, through the ruin of the feudal aristocracy and other causes, is a fact to which sufficient attention has scarcely been given. All documents of that period show us the number of landed proprietors prodigiously increasing; and great part of the lands passing into the possession of the gentry, or lesser nobility [petite noblesse], and of the citizens [des bourgeois]."† What had taken place at an earlier period in the towns, was now taking place in the country districts. As the feudal tenants who had clustered round the baronial castle were now grown into independent burgesses, so the villeins, having substituted rent for service, had grown into farmers and graziers, and so on to landed proprietors. Those of the towns, who had saved money as artificers or dealers, came to share the advantages which they saw were derived from the judicious occupation of land. There were some of the richest soils in the kingdom ready for occupation. There were some of the abbey lands to be sold or let, where flocks and herds had cropped the richest pastures, and the barns had been filled with the finest wheat. There were vast uninclosed grounds, which the manorial lords would gladly grant as copyhold to the provident burgess who had been dealing in broadcloth, and now wanted to become richer by raising the great material for its production. Rents were everywhere rising, which circumstance encouraged the diligent man who had saved money to invest it in land for profit. The commercial spirit had deeply penetrated into the whole system of rural affairs; and the old iron bond of feudal protection and dependence was changed for the lighter link of mutual interest. Let us endeavor to form some notion of the aspect of rural England at this epoch.

The French physician who came to look upon England, and abuse it, in the time of Queen Mary, describes the country as inclosed with all sorts of trees, "so that you might think in passing along that you were in a perpetual wood."‡ The foot-people, he says, can get into the foot-paths in the grounds [sentiers] by climbing up ladders [escaliers], but horsemen must keep on the highway. A messenger of Cecil, travelling post to Stamford in 1548, describes how he was caught in a storm; and by way of a shorter cut made a hole to squeeze through my Lord Privy Seal's hedge at Thornhaws.§ But there were vast tracts of marsh-land in every county and not only in the fenny countries. These were abandoned to the crane and the bustard, the bittern, the heron, the shovelard, and the mallard. A statute of 1543-4 laments that there were formerly within the realm great plenty of wild-fowl, whereby the king's household, and those of noblemen and prelates, were furnished, and markets abundantly supplied; and it forbids the use of nets and the taking of eggs at certain seasons. Ducks, mallards, widgeon, teal, and wild-geese are herein enumerated, in addition to those birds above recited, now almost unknown. In the last century the crane had forsaken the island. In the time of Henry VIII. the eggs of the larger and smaller wild-fowl were not only destroyed, and the birds taken in unlawful nets, but the breeding-places had been partially obliter-

* Micheli, Ellis, Second Series, vol. ii. † 35 Hen. VIII., c. 11.
‡ Sermon on the Beatitudes. § Burnet, "Records," vol. ii. p. 71.
‖ Tytler, "Original Letters," vol. i. p. 140.

* 37 Hen. VIII., c. 7. † "Civilization in Europe," Leçon xiii.
‡ Perlin, p. 25. § Tytler, "Letters," vol. i. p. 118.

ed by the progress of cultivation. When the marshes were ade profitable in the neighborhood of towns, the floors of ouses ceased to be strewed with rushes. Still, there were thou- nds of acres of marsh-land, and thousands of acres of heath. he statutes indicate the advance of man in subjecting the nd to his use. One act of parliament encourages roads to be made rough the Weald of Kent.* Another provides for the inclosure of 93 acres of Hounslow Heath, extending not only over the districts at in recent times comprised Hounslow Heath, but to the parishes Brentford, Isleworth, Twickenham, and Teddington. The bar- nness and infertility thereof are ascribed to the want of diligence d industry of men.† In the inclosure of Hounslow Heath com- issioners were appointed to view the ground, and to allot certain ortions of the same to the inhabitants of the various parishes, to be eld in severalty as copyholds, and to be converted into tillage and asture. What the king could do with Hounslow Heath was done y the lords of manors throughout the country. There was in many ases a similar division of the lands of the suppressed monasteries. A Bill concerning the houses, tenements, and lands lying in Wal- ngham, to be letten by Copy, which late were belonging to the Pri- ry," recites that the town, formerly "populous, wealthy, and beau- fully builded, is at the present time, by great decay, and by the ithdrawing of the trades of merchandise there, and by divers other ndry occasions of late happened, like to fall to utter ruin, and to e barren, desolate, and unpeopled." The act therefore provides at all the lands and granges shall be declared copyhold, and anted by the stewards of the manors to any persons who would pay e rents, heriots, and fines prescribed.‡ The town of Walsingham ad fallen into decay, "by sundry occasions of late happened," hen no pilgrims resorted thither; when the monks ceased to employ rtisans about their house, laborers to dig, retailers to provide many omforts and luxuries, servants to wait upon them. The like pro- ess of inclosure of waste lands, and division of large feudal prop- rty, had been going on throughout the kingdom, from the time of Henry VII.; but the system proceeded much more rapidly and uni- ersally after the dissolution of the monasteries. So entire a revolu- on in the distribution of property never before occurred in Eng- nd, and has never occurred since. That it was ultimately produc- ve of incalculable benefit cannot be doubted; but it was also the ause of enormous misery for a season to the humblest classes of so- iety. The attempts of the state to remedy or even control this in- vitable evil were always futile; and it was aggravated by proceed- ngs of the government, of which few saw the consequences and hich fewer dared to expose.

The complaint against the conversion of arable land into pasture or the breeding of sheep, forty years before this period, has been fully oticed in a previous chapter.§ As the process went on, more land as demanded. The capital of the country sought employment in n extension of cultivation; and the extension came through the sys- em of inclosures. The general desire to invest capital in land and ural occupations, and the facilities now opened for its investment, lso led to the quickest profitable employment of capital. The in- reasing population, demanding increased clothing, and one of the reatest exports of native produce being wool, immense flocks of heep were kept upon the newly-inclosed lands, and upon many of he farms where the old cottier tenants had given place to a farmer r grazier who conducted his business upon a larger scale. The onastic houses had been invariably surrounded by small holders of hurch lands; and their own wants had required that they should ave a due proportion of grass land and corn land. At the dissolu- on of Fountains Abbey, an inventory of their effects showed that the onks possessed 2356 horned cattle, 1326 sheep, 86 horses, 79 swine, 91 quarters of wheat, oats, rye, barley and malt, and 392 loads of hay. o conduct their various farming operations a large number of labor- rs were necessarily required. When the tenure of these great prop- rties was wholly changed, when the monastic domains fell into the ands of those who only sought to obtain the best rents, there was a isturbance of the laboring population of which we have ample evi- ence in the undoubted increase of pauperism and vagabondage. The ffect of the dissolution of the abbeys upon this increase of misery, clamoring for aid, has been usually limited to the supposed absence of the relief which those houses afforded to the local poor, by doles out of their abundance. Upon this it has been argued that the mon- asteries encouraged idle and improvident habits, and that their sup- pression was a real benefit to the laborers. This was only true in part. There was many a small town and village that fell into decay, besides the town of Walsingham, when these large revenues were wholly diverted to other channels, and were applied, however in ac- cordance with sound commercial principles, to the support of other modes of industry than those which had become habitual to many generations of herdsmen and earth-tillers. But in some cases the change was even more complete, and the results more grievous to the poor. Sir Arthur Darcy writes to Cromwell that he was present at the suppression of Jervaulx Abbey, and looked upon its fair mead- ows, and great demesne, and surrounding granges. Let the king, he says, take possession, and send his studs of mares here, to occupy the large and high grounds in the summer, and the woods and low grounds in the winter. The breed of men was to give place to the brood-mares.* It was not with the lands of all monastic houses, de- serted by the ancient employers and servants, that the same sensible system was pursued as with the rich fields and substantial granges of Walsingham. The grantees of the abbey lands did not in general divide them among small copyholders. The lordly mansion often grew up, very commonly near the spot where the chapel and the cloister were soon mouldering into shapeless ruin—a ruin not then made beautiful by time. The sober refectory, with carved roof and lancet windows, was transformed into the tapestried banqueting hall. The pastures and the plough land were thrown together, and became the vast deer-park. The monks wandered about the country, asking the alms which they formerly bestowed. Their servants and labor- ers swelled the number of the roving population. Thus the system which was raising the middle class into "landed men," and adding largely to the possessions of the higher proprietors, went inexorably forward to embarrass the man who had no possession but his power of labor. The course of industry was changed, with serious damage to the living generation. The effects became more alarming when the growing system of inclosures dispossessed the irregular laborer of his hovel and his patch of waste; and flocks of sheep fed where his half-starved cow had browsed upon the heath, and his scanty crop of cabbages and parsnips had eked out his miserable existence.† But the squatter upon the commons clung to this life of penury and free- dom. When the system of inclosures forcibly applied the land to more profitable uses he became a vagabond and a thief.

The miserable laborers who eked out a scanty subsistence upon a barren heath were not the only people who were necessarily hostile to inclosures. The ancient race of small farmers had a deep interest in the preservation of unallotted land. Latimer, who was perfectly acquainted with country affairs, tells us of the old time, in a well- known passage: "My father was a yeoman, and had no lands of his own, only he had a farm of three or four pound by year at the uttermost, and hereupon he tilled so much as kept half a dozen men. He had walk for a hundred sheep; and my mother milked thirty kine."‡ The kine and the sheep fed on the common pasture-land. In another passage he describes how a ploughman must have sheep to manure the ground. The turnip husbandry was then undreamed of. He must have hogs, and horses, and kine for milk and cheese. "These cattle must have pasture, which pasture if they lack the rest must needs fail them. And pasture they cannot have if the land be taken in and inclosed from them."§ There is a proposal for a tax on sheep, in 1551, in which it is estimated that a million and a half are kept in the commons, and a million and a half in inclosed pas- tures. The extension of these inclosed pastures irritated the people. The protector Somerset appointed a commission in 1548 to inquire into the decay of tillage, and the excessive inclosure of land for pas- turage; which system, it is alleged, has brought the land to a mar- vellous desolation. In the same year the government was issuing proclamations "against the assembling of lewd persons to pull down inclosures."¶ In 1549 the people of Devon, Cornwall, Somerset,

* 14 & 15 Hen. VIII. c. 6.
‡ 35 Henry VIII. c. 13.
† 37 Hen. VIII. c. 2.
§ *Ante*, p. 223.

* "Suppression," p. 158. † See Harrison, in Holinshed, p. 193.
‡ First Sermon before Edward VI.
§ Last Sermon before Edward VI.
¶ "Calendar of State Papers," p. 18.

Dorset, Norfolk, and other counties were in rebellion for redress of this their grievance. But even then there was a sensible farmer who saw the evil of these common-lands, and the benefits of the improved cultivation which belonged to inclosures. Look at Essex and Suffolk, says Tusser, where inclosure is most. There, is most abundance; most work for the laborer; there, are the fewest beggars. The champion—that is, the dweller on commons, he says, robbeth by night and prowleth and filcheth by day. He is indignant at the outcry against inclosures from those who will not "live by their work," and are banded together to do lawless acts without fear. He stands up boldly for the profit of "pastures in several;" of the superior comfort of the poor man who has even two acres of inclosed land, as compared with the "commoner."* Tusser was no doubt a better economist than Somerset or Latimer. But the statesman and the preacher had witnessed a terrible social convulsion, which manifested itself in a way which bewildered legislators, and which they attempted to control by one of the most savage laws that ever disgraced our statute book. The Statute of Vagabonds, of the first year of Edward VI., opens to our view a picture of society in England which was certainly an exceptional state, but was also a natural result of the momentous changes of that period of transition.

We have already pointed to the significant fact that the laws against beggars and vagabonds had been written in letters of blood, after the fifteenth century. During the hundred and forty-seven years which had elapsed from the seventh year of Richard II. (1384), to the twenty-second year of Henry VIII. (1531), vagabonds were put in the stocks. Then the whip was added to the stocks. In 1536 the whip was a mild punishment; to which mutilation and death were supplemented.† But even the cart's tail, the butcher's knife, and the hangman's noose, inspired no adequate dread, and were regarded by the government as feeble remedies when Edward VI. came to the throne. The system of terror had wholly failed; and so it was to be carried as much farther as the cruelty of man could devise. In 1548, one who was going about among the rural population says, "The people confess themselves most bound to God that he hath sent them such a king, in whose so tender age so much good is intended toward them; and have a great hope that the Iron world is now at an end, and the Golden is returning again."‡ Certainly those who a few years later had acquired the name of "the thriftless poor"—those who ran "to and fro over all the realm, chiefly keeping the champain soils in summer to avoid the scorching heat, and the woodland grounds in winter to eschew the blustering winds"§—certainly this class could not think that the golden world was come for them. The king of "so tender age" was taught to consider these unhappy people as weeds to be rooted out. He speaks of them as the "filth" of the body politic. "The vagabonds ought clearly to be banished."‖ And so, in 1547, there is no hesitation in passing "An Act for the punishment of Vagabonds," of which the following are the chief provisions:

All the former acts against vagabonds and sturdy beggars being repealed, it is provided that every man or woman, not being prevented from working by old age, lameness, or disease, who shall be found loitering or wandering, and not seeking work, during three days, or who shall leave work when engaged, may be lawfully apprehended, and brought before two justices of the peace; who, upon confession, or on the proof of two witnesses, "shall immediately cause the said loiterer to be marked, with a hot iron in the breast, the mark of V., and adjudge the said person, living so idly, to his presentor, to be his slave." The presentor, as he is called, is to have and hold the slave for two years; and only giving him bread and water and refuse food, to "cause the said slave to work, by beating, chaining, or otherwise, in such work and labor, how vile soever it be, as he shall put him unto." If the slave, during the two years, shall run away, he is to be pursued; and any person detaining him is to be liable to a penalty of ten pounds. Convicted of running away, the justices shall cause such slave to be marked on the forehead or ball of the cheek with a hot iron, with the sign of S.; and then adjudged to his master as a slave forever. If he run away a second time, he is to suffer death as a felon. The person to whom the slave is adjudged may put a ring of iron about his neck or on his limbs. If there is no man found who will take the loiterer as his slave, he is to be sent to the place where he was born, to be kept in slavery on the public roads; or he may be let or sold to any private person who will chain, starve, and beat, according to the tenor of this statute. There is an especial provision for committing clerks convict—clergymen convicted of offences—to limited periods of slavery. Infant beggars may be bound to the service of any person who will take them, to use their services till the males be twenty-four years of age, and the females twenty; and if they run away, they are to be brought back, and receive the discipline of slavery.

This statute of vagabonds, in which the very revival of a name that had wholly fallen into disuse in England is sufficient proof of a most extraordinary condition of society, was repealed in little more than two years after its enactment. The insurrections of 1549 probably forced the government into the acknowledgment that "the extremity" of the penalties had prevented their execution. The legislature then went back to the comparatively mild provisions of the act of 1532, passing over the heavier inflictions contemplated by that of 1536. Of all these statutes it has been most truly observed that "each gradation in the scale of punishment was tried, abandoned, re-established with added stringency, and again abandoned, with a lingering pertinacity which can only be accounted for by the struggle between experience and preconceived notions."* The parishes were called upon to relieve the sick and aged; and the justices to punish strong beggars, according to the regulations of the first statute of Henry VIII. The time was approaching when a compulsory provision for the poor would place this great and difficult question upon the basis of all subsequent legislation; but for years vagabondage was the great evil of English society. The constant cry was against the "covetous man," who daily made beggars by "wiping many out of their occupyings, to turn the same into his private gains."† The extraordinary provisons of the first statute of Edward VI., for making slaves of unwilling laborers, offers a distinct proof that there was a demand for labor; but that the lowest of the rural population, who had been long accustomed to an unsettled and irregular industry, which had about it a sort of wild independence, would not work for the masters who pulled down their hovels, and made the waste lands profitable. It appears that "the wise and better-minded of these emigrated, and sought to live in other countries, as France, Germany, Barbary, India, Muscovy, and very Calicut; complaining of no room to be left for them at home."‡ The extension of that commercial principle which drove these poor people to distant countries has provided profitable labor for five times the amount of the population that then derived a meagre subsistence from the land. It was the horrible fate of those who held to what they called their "liberty"—to wander about, "under the terror of the whip," or "to continue stark thieves, till the gallows do eat them up." In 1545 we can trace, in a very remarkable statute, how the disposition to destroy private possessions, like the rick-burnings of our own times, manifested the feeling of the laborers that they were suffering under injustice. The statute recites that malicious and envious persons "have of late invented and practised a new damnable kind of vice," which consisted in various offences against person and property.§ "Cutting off the ears of the king's subjects" appears to have been a dire revenge for the legal severities of the statute against vagabonds of 1536. "The secret burning of frames of timber, prepared and made by the owners thereof, ready to be set up and edified for houses," was the malicious assertion of the imaginary rights of the squatters upon waste lands to hold to their own hovels of sticks and dirt. Such, also, was the war against civilization of those who cut the heads of ponds and conduits, burned carts laden with charcoal, set fire to heaps of felled wood, barked apple and pear trees, and cut out the tongues of cattle. It was the war of the savage against the settler—a war which always contains some rude principle of imaginary right, but which must be repressed with heavy penalties, unless a barrier is to be set up against human progress.

The generally accepted statement that during the reign of Henry VIII. there were seventy-two thousand thieves and vagabonds

* "Champion and Several."
† *Ante*, p. 252.
‡ John Hales to Somerset, Tytler, vol. i. p. 114.
§ Harrison, chap. x. p. 182. ‖ Burnet, "Records," vol. ii. p. 70.

* Sir G. Nicholls, "History of the English Poor-law," vol. i. p. 201.
† Harrison, chap. x. ‡ Ibid. § 37 Hen. VIII. c. 6.

hanged, appears to have been founded upon the loose estimate that about two thousand were hanged in each year of that reign. During the latter years of this king the army of robbers and cheats seems to have acquired something of a professional organization. In Thomas Harman's "Caveat for Cursetors," first printed in 1566, we are informed that "their language, which they term Pedlers' French, or Canting, began but within these thirty years, or little about."* This historian of vagabonds, dignified with the name of Cursetors, shows the long continuance of the fraternity, by describing, upon the report of an aged man, a burial of a man of worship in Kent, in 1521, "where there was such a number of beggars, besides poor householders dwelling thereabouts, that scarcely they might lie or stand about the house;" and for these was prepared a great barn; a fat ox was served out, with drink; and a dole of twopence was given to each. When these habits of feudal hospitality were fast passing away, the beggars lost what is called "their bousing and belly cheer," and took to helping themselves. The world was being remodelled; and there was no place for the vast numbers that were shifting about on the outskirts of civilization. Edward VI. writes, "For idle persons, there were never, I think, more than be now." And yet it was quite impossible that cultivation should have been improved, manufactures developed, and commerce extended, without producing a larger permanent demand for profitable labor. But, at the same time, there were no facilities for helping those who were obliged to seek a change of occupation, to turn from irregular employments, to a certain extent predatory employments, to become diligent and trustworthy servants. The exclusive system under which the artificers of the town had grown up in casts, under the most rigid conditions of apprenticeships and guilds, forbade the wanderer obtaining a living in trading communities. If he approached the porch of the farmer, who had his homestead amid his plough-land and his meadows, the door would be doubly barred and the ban-dog let loose. The farmer had his own hereditary in-door laborers, each in his appointed station—frugally but abundantly fed upon salted fish and salted beef; with veal and bacon, grass-beef and peas, roast meat on Sundays, and on Thursdays at night:

> "With sometimes fish, and sometimes fast,
> That household store may longer last."†

The farmer's year was one of unvarying routine: his people had many occupations that demanded more skill than usually belongs to the agricultural laborer under the modern division of employments. To plough, to fence, to sow, to reap, to thrash, to tend cattle and sheep, to gather up mast for the hogs: these were common services. But the farmer of the sixteenth century pursued many trades in his little homestead. He had eels in his stew, and bees in his garden. He grew his own hops and made his own malt. Many of his rough implements were of his own construction. He raised his own hemp, and twisted his own cart-ropes. His flax was cleaned and spun at home. Some of his wool he sold to the "webster," and some kept the spindles moving on his kitchen floor. He sawed out his own timber. He made his own mud-walls round his cattle-yard. He was his own farrier. He killed his sheep or his calf without the aid of the butcher. He made his own candles, and burned his own wood into charcoal. He cultivated herbs for physic, which his wife dried or distilled. His cheese was manufactured in his own press. His corn-crops were varied by the culture of saffron and mustard-seed.‡ The scientific cultivator of our days may smile at these simple employments, whose success depended upon traditionary observation and unwearied thrift. The honest farmer labored on contentedly, in the assured belief that his success depended upon the All-giver—

> "Man taketh pain, God giveth gain,
> Man doth his best, God doth the rest."

Having, thus, so many various resources for the maintenance of his family, it might be supposed that the agriculturist of this age would grow rich out of the produce of his arable land. Tusser divides his corn-harvest into ten parts—one for rent, one for seed, one for tithe, two for implements, one for teams, one for wages, one for the food of his house, one for needful things for his wife, and one for himself. The tenfold produce which this passage indicates shows that husbandry was greatly improving. The complaint, so often repeated, that pasture was driving out tillage, does not seem to be sustained by the fact that the Emperor Charles V., in August, 1542, writes to Henry VIII. to request that he would permit corn from England to be exported to Spain, where the crop had failed through the dryness of the season.* The ancient regulations under which the tenant could only grind at the lord's mill were necessarily relaxed, as the produce of the country increased. A statute of 154[illegible] gives permission to erect a windmill upon waste ground at Poole and sets forth that the inhabitants, time out of mind, had been compelled to carry and recarry their corn to mills four miles distant. The produce generally, whether of corn or cattle, was, we may believe in spite of many complaints, comparatively abundant. Roger Ascham, writing from the Netherlands, in 1550, says, "This know there is no country here to be compared for all things with England. Beef is little, lean, tough, and dear. Mutton likewise."‡ And yet about the end of the first half of the sixteenth century, we are constantly led to reflect upon the perpetual occurrence, in letters and other sources of information, of the word dearth. We must, however, accept this word in its sense of dearness, rather than of scarcity, although the meaning is often confounded in these contemporary authorities. Latimer complains of rents being more than doubled. "Of this, too much cometh [that] this monstrous and portentous dearth is made by man; notwithstanding God doth send us plentifully the fruits of the earth. . . . . Poor men, which live of their labor, cannot with the sweat of their face have a living, all kind of victuals is so dear; pigs, geese, capons, chickens, eggs."§ Bishop Hooper, in 1551, writes to Cecil, from Gloucester, "For the love and tender mercy of God, persuade and cause some order to be taken upon the price of things, or else the ire of God will shortly punish. All things be here so dear, that the most part of people lacketh, and yet more will lack, necessary food."‖ The council, at the end of 1549, commanded the justices to search all barns for corn; to compel a supply to be brought to market; and to apprehend all regrators and forestallers.¶ In November, 1550, special commissioners were appointed in each country to enforce the same commands. We are told that in these happy times the "laws of supply and demand, which we are now taught to regard as immutable ordinances of nature, were absorbed or superseded by a higher code."** A higher code! There was a statesman of that day who had learned no system of political economy from books, but who derived his notions from the dictates of common sense. Sir John Mason, one of the most sagacious of diplomatists, wrote thus to Secretary Cecil, from France, on the 4th of December, 1550, as to the efforts of the council, to "cause some order to be taken about the price of things:" "I have seen so many experiences of such ordinances; and ever the end is dearth, and lack of the thing that we seek to make good cheap. Nature will have her course, etiam si furcâ expellatur;†† and never shall you drive her to consent that a pennyworth of new [produce] shall be sold for a farthing. . . . For who will keep a cow that may not sell the milk for so much as the merchants and he can agree upon?"‡‡ There were perhaps others in the council who saw the tendency of such proceedings to check the supply of commodities, and thus to raise the price, as clearly as Sir John Mason did; for on the 6th of December, 1550, the proclamation relative to grain, butter, and cheese, was revoked, and the matter left to the discretion of buyers and sellers.§§ Nature had been driven out; but she was stronger than the ignorance of lawgivers.

In addition to the natural causes that affected the market-value of the necessaries of life, there was a cause, not to be overcome by proclamation and threat of fine or imprisonment, that kept the corn in the barn of every man who was not pressed to sell by the direst necessity. The value of money was so debased at this especial period, that an excessive rise in the prices of all commodities was

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* Reprint, 1814, p. 5. † Tusser.
‡ These, and many other minute operations, may be traced in "Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry."

* "State Papers," vol. ix. p. 125. † 34 & 35 Hen. VIII. c. 25.
‡ Tytler, vol. ii. p. 128. § First Sermon before Edward VI.
‖ Tytler, vol. i. p. 365. ¶ "Calendar of State Papers," p. 26.
** Froude, vol. i. p. 79.
†† "Naturam expelles furcâ, tamen usque recurret." You may with a fork [with violence] expel Nature, but she will come back.—*Horace.*
‡‡ Tytler, vol. i. p. 341. §§ "Calendar of State Papers," p. 31.

inevitable; and the great body of consumers, the laborers and artificers, not receiving a proportionate advance of wages, all the ordinary relations of supply and demand were disturbed to a fearful extent. This abominable process for the relief of the king's necessities had been going on for a long period; but Henry VIII. carried it to a disgraceful excess. He introduced copper into his gold and silver coin, not as a necessary alloy, but as a fraudulent diminution of its intrinsic value. He began, in 1543, with two ounces of alloy to ten ounces of silver; in 1545 he made his so-called silver pieces half of pure metal and half of alloy; and in 1546 had eight ounces of alloy to four ounces of silver. He not only perpetrated this deceit, but he coined the pound of mixed metal, first into 540 pennies, and then into 576 pennies, instead of 450, as had been the proportion from the time of Edward IV. But the first years of the reign of Edward VI. saw the alloy increased to the proportion of nine ounces of base metal to three ounces of silver; and this pound of mixed metal was coined into 864 pennies. The young king records these proceedings in his journal, with the most perfect unconsciousness of the evil that his counsellors were perpetrating. "It was appointed," he writes in April, 1550, "to make 20,000 pound weight, for necessity, somewhat baser, to get gains 16,000*l.* clear." In June it was found that they were going a little too fast: "Whereas before, commandment was given that 160,000*l.* should be coined of three ounces in the pound fine, for discharge of debts, and to get some treasure, to be able to alter all; now was it stopped, saving only 80,000*l.* to discharge my debts."* Latimer, preaching before Edward in 1549, has a sentence of the bitterest sarcasm: "We have now a pretty little shilling indeed, a very pretty one. I have but one, I think, in my purse; and the last day I had put it away almost for an old groat; and so, I trust some will take them. The fineness of the silver I cannot see: but therein is printed a fine sentence, that is '*Timor Domini fons vitæ vel sapientiæ*'" (the fear of the Lord is the fountain of life or wisdom). The sturdy bishop fell into some trouble about his "merry word of the new shilling:" he was accused of speaking seditiously. The council, however, tried to retrace their steps, by what was termed "calling down the money." The base shilling was issued for twelve pence, and the groat for four pence. They were, in 1551, called down to threepence and ninepence. But this was useless. The government could not remedy the artificial high prices of home produce, nor preserve a due rate of foreign exchange, till they became honest. Sir Thomas Chamberlayne, our ambassador, writes from Brussels to the council, in June, 1551, that where formerly the English pound was exchanged for thirty shillings of the money there, it would now only obtain fourteen shillings. He warns the government that while the money was "called down" by little and little, large sums, forged and counterfeited in foreign parts, would be carried into the realm. He says that the true value of English goods could never be ascertained, "until such time as the money were called down to the very value in sterling silver which is in each piece thereof."† Such were the inconsistent proceedings of a government which was endeavoring to force sales at low prices, when its long-continued acts of fraud had been the main cause of the excessive rise of prices. We are required to believe "the penny, in terms of a laborer's necessities, to have been equal in the reign of Henry VIII. to the present shilling." But what was the laborer's position, when the three pennies a day which he was to receive under the act for wages of 1515, were so debased in real value that they would only be equal to three halfpence in 1545, and to three farthings in 1550. The sufferings of the people from the consequent rise of prices were attributed to inclosures, to the increase of pasture, to higher rents; few saw the inevitable effects of the debasement of the coin. The advance of all vendible things was unequal. The advance of wages, which could not depend upon the price of food or other necessaries, was necessarily disproportionate. The wretched workmen—clothiers of the west and agriculturists of the east—rushed into insurrections, and were slaughtered by thousands. It has been usual to attribute the rise of rents and of the price of commodities at this period to the influx of silver from the American mines. But the effect of that increase of the metallic currency of Europe was undoubtedly much more gradual. The evil course of the governments of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. was remedied under that of Elizabeth, upon whose tomb was inscribed, as one of the glories of her reign, "*Moneta in justum valorem reducta.*"*

* "Remains," in Burnet, vol. ii. p. 27. † Tytler, vol. i. p. 380.

CHAPTER LX.

General notice of England—Decay of towns—Growth of villages—Ports—Coal trade—Building—Paving in London—Sewers—Highways—Conduits—Washing-grounds—Lighting of London—Watermen of London—Burying in towns—Wholesale traders—Foreign trade—Fairs and markets—Inns—Insecurity of travelling—Frauds—Increase of luxury—Moral and intellectual progress—Various forms of church service—Dissensions and scoffings—Holidays—Popular sports—Prohibited books—Popular reading—Mysteries and miracle plays—The drama—Education of the young—Schools—Universities—Physicians and surgeons—Barber-surgeons—Empirical remedies—Painting—Holbein.

With the unquestionable evidence that the industry of England had been rapidly advancing in productiveness from the beginning of the sixteenth century, there is nothing more startling than the systematic averment of the decay of towns. A statute of the 3d of Henry VIII. (1512) providing for a difficulty which had arisen out of a statute of Edward II., that no victualler should fix the assize during his term of office, says that "the most part of all the cities, boroughs, and towns corporate, within the realm of England, are fallen in ruin and decay, and are not inhabited by merchants and men of such substance as at the time of making that statute." Bakers, vintners, fishmongers, and other victuallers are the chief inhabitants, and there remain few others to bear the offices. This theory of the decay of towns assumes a more distinct shape, in acts of parliament of the later years of Henry VIII. In four statutes passed from 1540 to 1544, the preamble is uniformly in these words: "Forasmuch as there have been in times past divers and many beautiful houses of habitation within the walls and liberties of the cities, boroughs, and towns of [reciting names], and now are fallen down, decayed, and at this day remain unre-edified, and do lie as desolate and vacant grounds." The difficulty of giving credit to this distinct complaint is not wholly solved by the statement of a quarter of a century later, that, in past times, "stately building was less in use. For albeit that there were then greater number of messuages and mansions almost in every place, yet were their frames so slight and slender that one mean dwelling-house in our time is able to countervail very many of them."† The statutes of Henry VIII. only provide that if the owners of the decayed houses do not rebuild within three years, the lords of whom they are holden, or the mayors of the towns, may reconstruct them. If it had been profitable for the "men of substance" to have remained within the "cities, boroughs, and towns corporate," their "beautiful houses of habitation" would not have fallen into ruin. The corporate privileges had become as oppressive as the old feudal services. Those who had capital bought land when the ancient difficulties of purchase were removed. They fixed themselves in the country with their flocks. A home-manufacture grew up around the grazier's domain. Cottages were built by the side of the mansion, where the shuttle was thrown and the spinning-wheel went round. These in time became populous villages; and acts of parliament were passed, but passed in vain, to confine the clothing industries to their old seats, or to make the smaller places dependent upon those seats. Yarmouth and Lynn had adopted the worsted trade; but no one in Norfolk was to dye, shear, and calendar cloth but in Norwich.‡ The woollen-cloth manufacture had extended from Worcester to Evesham, Droitwich, Kidderminster, and Bromsgrove. The statute which attempts to control its further extension tells the whole history of this alleged decay of towns: "Divers persons inhabiting and dwelling in the hamlets, thorpes, and villages adjoining to the said city, boroughs, and towns within the said shire, for their private wealth, singular advantages, and commodities, etc., have not only engrossed and taken into their hands divers and sundry farms, and become farmers, graziers, and husbandmen, but also do exercise, use, and occupy the mysteries of cloth-making, weaving, fulling, and shearing within their said houses, . . . to the great

* See Sir R. Peel's speech on Resumption of Cash Payments, Hansard, vol. xl. p. 694.

† Harrison, p. 212. ‡ 14 & 15 Henry VIII. c. 1.

decay, depopulation, and ruin of the said city, towns, and boroughs." The manufacture in the hamlets, thorpes, and villages, is therefore forbidden under penalties.* An act of 1542 declares that none shall make worsted coverlets except in the city of York; apprentices withdrawing themselves from the city, and other persons inhabiting in neighboring villages and houses, having intermeddled with the same craft.† These statutes, and many others, were ineffectual attempts of the corporate towns to retain a monopoly of certain great branches of manufacture. At this period, Manchester, an unwalled town, had asserted the vigor of its commercial industry, as "a town well set a work in making of cloths, as well of linen as of woollen." A special statute was therefore passed to protect its manufactures from depredation, by the abolition of sanctuary there. "Cottons" are mentioned in this act; but they were woollen garments. The age of cotton, properly so called, was two centuries distant.

Among the ancient decayed places, the towns of the Cinque Ports are enumerated in the statute of 1541–2. Of the coast towns, Portsmouth, Plymouth, Poole, Lyme, Southampton, Yarmouth, are also mentioned. It seems clear that the decay of these ports had been produced by the neglect of the fisheries; and, in some degree, by the monopoly of foreign commerce by a great company of merchants in London. Thomas Barnabe, who writes to Cecil in 1552, complains of the small number of mariners on the English coast, compared with those on the coast of France: "I have seen come out at one tide in Dieppe five hundred and five boats, and in every boat ten or twelve men; the which was a marvellous matter to see, how they be maintained by fishing, and what riches they get by the sea, and how they maintain their towns and ports. And as for us, let us begin at Sandwich, and go to Dover, Hythe, and Hastings, and to Winchelsea, and see how they go down for lack of maintenance, and, in a manner, no mariners in them, which is for lack of good policy to set them a work." ‡ He had a scheme for their employment. It was to fetch Newcastle coals to the coast of Kent, and there make a staple, for the king's benefit, to supply them to France, which "France can live no more without than a fish out of water," for the manufacture of everything "that passeth the fire." It appears from this that Norman and Breton ships carried on this trade; buying coals at two shillings and two pence a chaldron at Newcastle, and selling them at an enormous profit. For three centuries the exportation of coals to foreign countries was almost prohibited by excessive duties, lest the mines should be exhausted, and our own manufacturing superiority endangered. England, at this period, had very little employment for this great source of her wealth. There were no machines to raise the water out of the pits, or to lift the coal to the surface. Iron works were few, and chiefly confined to the wooded districts. Pottery there was none. The varieties of the woollen manufacture were of the simplest character, and performed with the rudest mechanical power. The linen fabrics were chiefly of domestic production. But there were skilled artificers in London and the principal towns, although factories were unknown. These were principally connected with the arts of building and of clothing. Elaborately carved fronts, in which each story of the timber houses overhung the lower for protection, still attest the ingenuity of the joiner. "Our workmen," says Harrison, "are grown generally to such an excellency of device in the frames now made that they far pass the finest of the old." Throughout the country there was a more solid mode of building than in previous periods, and oak had taken the place of the less durable woods. The ambitious citizens of London raised high towers of brick, at which Stow is indignant; for he holds that they were constructed that the owner might overlook his neighbors. The plain brick-work of this period may still be seen in the gateway of Lincoln's Inn. The progress of improvements in towns was necessarily most rapid in London—the chief city of commerce, the seat of government and of law—with a population estimated at a hundred and fifty thousand.§ The paving acts for the metropolis in the time of Henry VIII. indicate something of the vigilant superintendence of the general government; but they also show the chief cause of local neglect. The common highway between Charing Cross and the Strand Cross is very foul and jeopardous, and the owners of lands are required to pave the same under a penalty of sixpence for every square yard not sufficiently paved by a certain day.* Holborn, which is described as the common passage from the west and north-west parts of the realm, is full of sloughs, from the same neglect.†

The highways from Aldgate to Whitechapel, in Chancery Lane, Shoe Lane, Fetter Lane, and Gray's Inn Lane, are in the same dangerous condition. ‡ At a later period, numerous streets in London and Westminster, recited in the statute, are perilous to all the king's subjects passing on horseback or on foot.§ But to remedy these evils no system of co-operation is proposed. There is no general rating to accomplish at once, and effectually, what every owner of property could only slowly and imperfectly accomplish. The principle of equal assessment for public objects was not then understood. Until that principle was fully applied in the relief of the poor, the people of England were not familiarized to a system which was especially adapted to their parochial and municipal organization, and which has enabled them to carry all the appliances of civilization more effectually forward than, in any other country, has been accomplished by individual energy or state control. The first large attempt to organize labor for public improvements is to be found in the Statute of Sewers of 1427, under which commissioners were appointed, by whose authority all damages caused by breaches of the sea were to be repaired, and collections made to uphold the sewers and causeways in marsh lands. Out of such collections laborers were to be employed upon competent wages. ‖ The first general Highway Act is that of 1555, under which two surveyors are annually appointed, to employ the occupiers in repairing the roads of a parish, upon the system still known as statute-labor.

"The Bill concerning the Conduits in London" recognizes the necessity that all cities and towns should be supplied "with sweet and wholesome running waters and fresh springs." But it complains that the old springs and ancient conduit-heads are failing, and that the old abundance of water is diminished. The act therefore empowers the corporation to lay new pipes, and form new conduits, for the conveyance of water to the city from springs discovered at Hampstead Heath, and other places within five miles.¶ The great thoroughfares of London had their ornamented fountains, to which the water from the conduit-heads was conveyed by leaden pipes. It was the duty of the mayor and aldermen to visit these heads of the fresh springs; and to give a spirit to their country excursions, they hunted the hare and the fox on these occasions. Grafton records as a matter of historical interest in the reign of Henry VIII.—in this respect a wise chronicler—that "the manner of casting pipes of lead for the conveyance of water under the ground, without occupying of solder for the same, was invented by Robert Brock, clerk, one of the king's chaplains—an invention right necessary for the saving of expenses." Public washing-grounds, on the banks of rivers, were established in every town; where the linen cleansed in the stream, or in the buck, was spread upon the turf, or hung upon the hair-line. In writing to Cromwell from Reading, Dr. London recommends that the church of the Grey Friars should be given to the corporation for public purposes: "Their town-hall is a very small house, and standeth upon the river, where is the common washing-place of the most part of the town; and in the session days and other court days there is such beating with battledores, as one man cannot hear another, nor the quest hear the charge given." ** The lighting of London and its suburbs was indifferently provided for. The steeple of Bow Church, erected in 1512, had lanterns, which "were meant to have been glazed," says Stow, "and lights in them placed nightly in the winter, whereby travellers to the city might have the better sight thereof, and not to miss of their ways." The mayor commanded, a century earlier, that lanterns and lights should be suspended in front of the houses, on winter evenings. "Hang out your lights," was the cry of the ancient watchman. A statute of 1515, "concerning watermen on the Thames," shows us the usual course of the traffic on this "silent highway," and the low fares, which the watermen were forbidden to exceed. There was a daily boat, to and from Gravesend, at twopence each passenger, provided that there was a load of twenty-four persons; to Erith for a penny; to Greenwich and Wool-

* 25 Henry VIII. c. 18. † 33 & 34 Henry VIII. c. 10.
‡ Ellis, Second Series, vol. ii. p. 198. § Micheli.

* 24 Henry VIII. c. 11. † 25 Henry VIII. c. 8.
‡ 32 Henry VIII. c. 17. § 34 & 35 Henry VIII. c. 12.
‖ 6 Henry VI. c. 5. ¶ 35 Henry VIII. c. 10.
** "Suppression of the Monasteries," p. 223.

wich for a farthing; to all places between Lambeth and St. Mary Overies, a farthing. But the watermen rebelled at these fares; and the act says that assaults and frays daily ensued, and oftentimes manslaughter. * The introduction of hackney-carriages was a century distant. In 1552 the Londoners were as indifferent to one of the great causes of sickness and mortality as they were previous to the passing of the Burial Acts of our immediate times. Latimer saw the evil: "I do much marvel that London, being so rich a city, hath not a burying-place without; for no doubt it is an unwholesome thing to bury within the city, specially at such a time when there be great sicknesses, so that many die together. I think verily that many a man taketh his death in Paul's churchyard." †

The wealth of individual traders in London was the amazement of foreigners. The Venetian ambassador says that many citizens possessed from fifty to sixty thousand pounds sterling. He is astonished at the riches of some of those who deal in salt fish. All large fortunes are made by the supply of articles in universal demand; and it was so, especially at this period, when the consumers were rapidly increasing, and competition was slowly growing. Commerce was putting out its long arms in large wholesale dealings. The moralists were scandalized, and called the great traders regrators. It was imagined that these large dealings tended to raise the price of commodities, and to oppress the poor. In a letter of Edward VI. to the bishops, in 1551, on the alarm of the sweating-sickness, he specially tells them that they and the clergy should exhort men "to refrain their greedy appetites from that insatiable serpent of covetousness, wherewith most men are so infected that it seemeth the one would devour another without any charity, or any godly respect to the poor, to their neighbors, or to their commonwealth." ‡ Latimer bitterly complains of a merchant who told him that if he were licensed so to do, "he would get a thousand pound a year, by only buying and selling grain here within this realm." The dealers in fuel come in for his anger: "As I hear say, aldermen nowadays are become colliers. They be both woodmongers and makers of coals. I would wish he might eat nothing but coals for a while, till he had amended it. There cannot a poor body buy a sack of coals, but it must come through their hands." § Such complaints were natural, however opposed to the sounder principles upon which the great merchant, who buys cheaply, and holds his purchase till a season of profit arrive, is to be held as a benefactor to the community. Those only were injurious to the public who made fortunes out of monopolies. Such were the privileges which had been granted by successive sovereigns to the Almayn merchants, or Germans of the Stillyard; whose "rights," as they called their exemption from duties imposed upon others, were effectually resisted by the commercial genius of Gresham, in 1552. The Merchants Adventurers then became their successful rivals. The great article of export was English cloth; and of this staple branch of commerce these foreigners had almost an exclusive command, till the trade was equalized by equal imposts.

Those energies of Englishmen, which have made them the great discoverers and colonizers of distant regions, were struggling into activity in the reign of Henry VIII. and of Edward VI. Sebastian Cabot had been pensioned by the government of Edward. In 1553 Sir Hugh Willoughby had perished on the coast of Nova Zembla, in the attempt to discover a north-east passage to China. Richard Chancellor, who commanded one of the vessels in Willoughby's expedition, had made the harbor where Archangel was afterward built, and had negotiated with the Russian czar, the ferocious Ivan, at Moscow. Anthony Jenkinson, at the same period, had obtained a license from Sultan Selim to trade with the Ottomans. But the great expansion of English commerce belongs to the reign of Elizabeth. Still, the commercial principle was asserting itself. In the time of Henry VIII. one great impediment to the operation of accumulated capital was removed in the practical repeal of the laws against usury, by limiting the rate of interest to 10 per cent. ‖ A law of bankruptcy was passed, which provided for the equal distribution of the property of debtors. ¶ The principle of the earlier Navigation Acts was held to by Henry VIII.; but while goods were required to be shipped in English vessels, the cost of freight from the port of London to foreign ports was strictly regulated. The trade of London appears from this act to have been principally with ports of Flanders, Denmark, the south of France, Portugal, and Spain. The trade with Calais was under other regulations. *

Much of the interchange of the country was transacted, as in earlier times, at fairs and markets. The farmer had no price-current to guide him as to the rise or fall of corn and cattle. He went to market for knowledge how to buy and sell:

> "This lesson is learned, by riding about,
> The prices of victuals, the year throughout." †

He went to fairs, to lay in his annual stores:

> "At Bartlemew tide, or at Sturbridge fair,
> Buy that as is needful thy house to repair." ‡

At the corn-markets the great complaint was of the inequality of measures. "Every market-town hath in manner a several bushel; and the lesser it be, the more sellers it draweth to resort unto the same." § Laws there were, as we have seen, for one standard; but the laws were disregarded, and the principle of uniformity despised, even as in some places at the present day. The laws which limited the infamous system of purveyance were also held in contempt by the hosts of oppressors, who came into every market with the plea that they required provisions for the king's use. "The purveyor alloweth for a lamb worth two shillings but twelvepence; for a capon worth twelvepence sixpence, and so after that rate." ‖ There was loss in the price, and the payment for the commodity was often delayed, and not recovered till "after long suit to the officers, and great costs suing for it." The great fairs were Sturbridge, Bristol, Bartholomew (in London), and Lynton. But there were fairs throughout the land. "There is almost no town in England but hath one or more such marts holden yearly in the same." ¶ The constant resort to markets and fairs made the inns flourish, especially on the great high roads. They were under better regulation than those of the continent. The host was not a despot among his guests. Every man might have what he called for, and be lodged in a clean chamber, of which he kept the key. The rooms were abundantly furnished, especially with linen. If the traveller lost anything while in the inn, the landlord was responsible. But it was believed that although the host was honest, the tapsters and chamberlains had a private understanding with thieves. ** The robber on the highway was the terror of the solitary traveller; and he was glad to ride in company, however doubtful of the stranger who rode by his side. There is no more curious picture of the insecurity of the country and the town than is presented in the narrative of Holinshed, of the circumstances which attended the murder of Arden, of Feversham, in 1551. †† Alice, the wife of Arden, desired to take away the life of her husband. She first attempted to poison him; and then openly proposed to one Green, a serving-man, who had a cause of hatred against Arden, to procure his death. Green had business in London, where Arden was staying; and having to ride thither, with valuables about him, desired a neighbor of Feversham to accompany him to Gravesend; and so they rode on together. "And when they came to Rainham Down they chanced to see three or four serving-men, who were coming from Leeds [a village with a castle, in Kent]; and therewith Bradshaw espied, coming up the hill from Rochester, one Black Will, a terrible cruel ruffian with a sword and a buckler, and another with a great staff on his neck." Bradshaw knew the ruffian, for he had served with him at Boulogne; and when he described his villainies to Green, the revengeful serving-man thought that he had now found one to his purpose. At an inn at Gravesend at night, the business was arranged over "sack and sugar," for a promise of ten pounds. They reached London; and there the victim was pointed out to the blood-seeker, walking in Paul's. He would have met his death in the churchyard there, but for the crowd of friends who surrounded him. Arden's servant conspired against his master, and agreed to let Black Will into the house where they slept. But his heart failed him; and the ruffian in vain tried the bolted door. Arden was then to have been murdered as he rode home by Rainham Down; but a

* 6 Henry VIII. c. 7.
† Sermon, 1552.
‡ Tytler, i. p. 405.
§ Sermon before Edward VI., 1550.
‖ 37 Henry VIII. c. 9.
¶ 34 & 35 Henry VIII. c. 4.

* 32 Henry VIII. c. 14.
† Tusser.
‡ Ibid.
§ Harrison.
‖ Tytler, vol. i. p. 369.
¶ Harrison.
** Harrison. The chapter on inns is very curious.
†† Chronicle, vol. iii. p. 1062.

third time he was saved by meeting with acquaintance, who rode with him; and he reached home safely. Black Will, who had followed Arden, was to have accomplished the murder the next morning, and was up betimes to waylay him; but he missed him as he went forth, and again missed him at night, for he returned not "by the broom close," for it was late. Arden is at last killed in his own house, by his wife and her paramour, assisted by the persevering ruffian. From the extreme minuteness with which the chronicler tells this story, we may conclude that such premeditated guilt was not common. The English were too prone to deeds of violence in moments of passion; but crimes like this were foreign to the character of the people. The murderess was burned, and some of her accomplices were hanged. Green and Black Will fled; but they eventually met the doom of the shedders of blood.

As wealth extends, and the commercial relations of society are more complicated, fraudulent offences gradually become more common than the violent assaults upon property which belong to an earlier period. We can trace this principle in the statute-book of Henry VIII. The deceits of manufacturers are again and again attempted to be prevented by special enactments. The preacher descants on the wickedness of those who put a strike of good malt in the bottom of the sack, two strikes of bad malt in the middle, and a good strike in the sack's mouth.* He exposes the cloth-maker, who stretches his eighteen yards of cloth to twenty-seven, and then thickens it with "flock-powder"—the "devil's dust"† of modern times. But crimes of a new character were developing themselves. Those who stole property knew the penalty of death which awaited them. They devised a mode of obtaining goods which a law, made expressly to meet the offence, only punished with the pillory. Evil persons, says this statute, "not minding to get their living by truth," have of late deceitfully contrived "privy tokens and counterfeit letters in other men's names, unto divers persons their special friends and acquaintances, by color whereof the said evil-disposed persons have gotten great substance of money, goods, cattle, and jewels into their hands."‡ This was the offence of men who, from the very nature of the crime, must have had some intimacy with the wealthy—men who kept up false appearances, like the forgers and swindlers of modern times. Such men abound in every age when the middle classes of society are pressing upward, and are imitating the luxurious habits of those who claim by birthright the privilege to waste their substance. The extravagant caprices in dress were ridiculed by the satirist, and caricatured by the engraver:

> "I am an Englishman, and naked I stand here,
> Musing in my mind what raiment I shall wear;
> For now I will wear this, and now I will wear that,
> And now I will wear—I cannot tell what."§

Few of the industrious classes had the sense to dress as the famous clothier, Jack of Newbury, who is represented to have gone before Henry VIII. "in a plain russet coat, a pair of white kersey slops [or breeches], without welt or guard [lace or border], and stockings of the same piece, sewed to his slops."‖ The people lived luxuriously in taverns. Artisans would stake a crown upon their games. The houses were gay with tapestry and painted cloth. At their banquets the guests pledged each other till they were drunken, and swore that the foreigner should drink with them, out of their silver cups. So writes the French physician, envious and spiteful.¶ One fact he mentions as characteristic of the nation that he abuses: "The English are joyous one with another, and they greatly love music."

Having attempted a brief sketch of the condition of society in the relations of the government to the people, and exhibited some characteristics of the rural and of the urban population, we proceed to complete our account by a notice of those circumstances which influenced the moral and intellectual progress of the nation. And first of the clergy, and of the state of religious instruction after the great revolution which destroyed the regular ecclesiastics—those who had absorbed so large a portion of the property of the community, and who, to a great extent, had outlived their utility. The religious teaching of the people was now in the hands of the secular clergy—bishops, vicars, and curates. The bishops had all outwardly conformed to the great change in the condition of the Church; but there were several, as will be traced in the course of our historical narrative, who were strongly opposed to the principles of the Reformation. Others were, as men in possession generally are, willing to live in quiet under the existing state of things. A few were zealous in the desire to carry forward the movement which had freed England from papal domination, into a very complete abolition of all those ceremonies and beliefs which distinguished "the old learning" from the new. The parsons, or holders of benefices, and their curates, were, in many respects, in a happier position than before this change. No lordly abbot—no full-fed monks—paraded their abundance as a contrast to the humble means of the working clergy. Whether in town or country, the "poor parson"—he who was "rich of holy thought and work;" whose parishioners "devoutly would he teach;" who visited rich and poor in sickness and misfortune, though "wide was his parish;" who "set not his benefice to hire;" who taught "Christ's lore" after "he followed it himself"—he, so beautifully described by Chaucer, was of the old English growth; and his noble character was unchanged among many when the Reformation came. One circumstance, connected with that change, more truly developed the most beautiful points of that character. He became a husband and a father. The act of 1548, "to take away all positive laws against marriage of priests," was a timid reassertion of the rights of nature against the dogma of the Church, which had produced, in old times, such perilous contentions. It were better, says this statute, that priests should live separate, and be "unburdened from the care and cost of finding wife and children;" but, nevertheless, "all canons, constitutions, and ordinances made by the authority of man only, which do prohibit or forbid marriage to any ecclesiastical or spiritual persons," should be void and of none effect.* And so to the humble parsonage, covered with the ivy of a hundred years, the priest might bring a helpmate; who would make him "less intricated and troubled with the charge of household;" who would see that his dairy was kept sweet, his wool converted into useful raiment, his strawberry-plants trimmed and watered, and his bees hived in due season. When the dissolution of the monastic houses was going forward, some of the secular clergy thought that the restrictions upon the marriage of priests would naturally be removed. There is a letter from one John Foster to Cromwell, in which he says, that he had accomplished marriage; but he learns that he has done amiss, and has "sent the woman to her friends threescore miles from me." He states that "if the king's grace could have found it lawful that priests might have been married, they would have been to the crown double and double faithful."† This fidelity was assured in many cases by the statute of Edward; but it drew a broad line of separation between those who adhered to the old discipline of the Church and those who desired a greater freedom, not incompatible with a holy life.

The "Act for the Uniformity of Service and Administration of the Sacrament throughout the realm,"‡ belongs not to the transition period of which we are treating. Before the Book of Common Prayer was prepared and issued under this statute of 1548, we learn, from its preamble, that for a long time various forms of service were used; "and, besides the same, now of late much more divers and sundry forms and fashions have been used in the cathedrals and parish churches." In June, 1544, there was a king's letter to the archbishop of Canterbury, respecting the service used in "processions;" to which "the people, partly for lack of good instruction and calling on, partly for that they understood no piece of such prayers and suffrages as were used to be sung and said, have used to come very slackly." To remedy this, the king writes, "we have set forth certain godly prayers and suffrages in our native English tongue." The learned editor of the volume from which we quote, the Rev. Joseph Hunter, says, "The prayers which accompanied the king's letter were the first body of public prayers for general use in English published with authority. They may perhaps be regarded as the original of the Book of Common Prayer."§ That there should have been the most violent dissensions among the clergy and their con-

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* Latimer, Fifth Sermon on the Lord's Prayer.
† Ibid., Third Sermon before Edward VI.
‡ 33 Henry VIII. c. 1.
§ Andrew Borde.
‖ Planché, "Costume," p. 312.
¶ Perlin, pp. 22, 24.

* 2 & 3 Edward VI. c. 21.
† "Suppression of the Monasteries, p. 161. ‡ 2 & 3 Ed. VI. c. 1.
§ "Ecclesiastical Documents," Camden Society, p. 91.

gregations, previous to the Act for the Uniformity of Service, was a necessary result of the very conditions of ecclesiastical tenure. The priests held their benefices under the ancient tenure of Frankalmoigne, or of Free Alms; by which they were bound "to make orisons, prayers, masses, and other divine services for the souls of their grantor or feoffor, and for the souls of their heirs which are dead." This is the explanation of the tenure by Littleton. The clergy who went along with the principles of the Reformation would naturally hold such prayers as contrary to their doctrines; although their tenure of lands depended upon observing the wills of the grantors. After the Reformation was established, it was maintained that the tenure by which the parochial clergy and ecclesiastical foundations held in Frankalmoigne remained undisturbed; for, says Coke, "the changing of spiritual services into other spiritual services altereth neither the name nor the effect of the tenure;" which "is now reduced to a certainty contained in the Book of Common Prayer," the change being made "by authority of Parliament." In the state of transition from the Latin mass-book to the English Common Prayer, we may picture to ourselves the disquiet that must occasionally have afforded cause of exultation to those who were opposed to change, and of grief to those who desired to see the purified worship go peacefully forward. It was a season in which the licentious brought discredit upon religion itself, by indecent scoffings at the ancient ceremonies. Even the honest enthusiasts carried their hatred of superstition into un-Christian irreverence. Coarse and profane songs against the mass were heard in streets and taverns. A preacher would ascend the pulpit, and declaim against making the host an object of idolatry, while the priest was performing the ancient ceremonies before the altar. Sometimes the magistrate would pull the preacher out of the pulpit. Sometimes the clergy would leave the church, and ancient members of the congregation would denounce him, and cry out "come from him, good people; he came from the devil." * A statute of 1551-2 shows the bitter and contentious spirit of the time: "Forasmuch as of late divers and many outrageous and barbarous behaviors and acts have been used and committed by divers ungodly and irreligious persons, by quarrelling, brawling, fraying, and fighting, openly in churches and churchyards." † Latimer complains of indecencies at burials: "In the time of popery, before the Gospel came among us, we went to burials with weeping and wailing, as though there were no God; but since the Gospel came unto us, I have heard say that in some places they go with the corses, grinning and flearing, as though they went to a bear-baiting." ‡ The people rushed from one extreme to the other, as is mostly the case in seasons of change. Some inveterately clung to the old holidays, which was a serious grief to the earnest reformers. They, like their Puritan successors, did not make sufficient allowance for the force of long-continued customs, and shut their eyes to the positive benefit, physical and moral, derived from occasional relaxation and merriment. They relied too much upon their power of making men wiser and better by instruction, and nothing but instruction. The good Latimer is not very hard upon those who slept at sermons; and he tells a story of a gentlewoman of London whose neighbor met her in the street, and said, "Mistress, whither go ye?" "Marry," said she, "I am going to St. Thomas of Acres to the sermon: I could not sleep all this last night, and I am going now thither; I never failed of a good nap there." § But he is not so placable with what he calls "no laughing matter." He had sent word that he would preach in a certain place, in his journey to London. It was a holiday. When he came there the church-door was fast locked. "I tarried there half an hour and more. At last the key was found; and one of the parish comes to me and says, 'Sir, this is a busy day with us; we cannot hear you; it is Robin Hood's day. The parish are gone abroad to gather for Robin Hood.'" Robin Hood was the chief personage in the ancient celebration of May-day; and the gathering for Robin Hood is duly recorded in old parochial accounts. ‖ When the May-pole was brought in, with morris-dancers and taborers, Robin Hood, and Little John, and Maid Marian, and the Hobby-horse, and the Dragon, were the joy of town and country. Gradually the first reformers saw the wisdom of not being severe upon these amusements of the people; and they ceased to be associated with the corruptions of the Romish Church, except by those who looked with indignation upon all pastimes, however harmless. One of the sports, most popular among all ranks, was far more depraving than the boisterous mirth of the ancient holidays—the Whitsun-ales and Hock-tides, and May-day gatherings. Bear-baiting was the passion of the multitude of this period, as cocking was of a later time, and prize-fighting in our own day. An admirer of bear-baiting thus describes the scene of a bear-garden: "It was a sport very pleasant of these beasts, to see the bear with his pink eyes leering after his enemy's approach; the nimbleness and wait of the dog, too, to take his advantage; and the force and experience of the bear, again, to avoid the assault. If he were bitten in one place, how he would pinch in another to get free. If he were taken once, then what shift with beating, with clawing, with roaring, tossing and tumbling, he would work to wind himself from them. And when he was loose to shake his ears twice or thrice with the blood and slaver about his visnomy, was a goodly relief." * Burnet has diversified his annals of the Reformation, by a story of Cranmer's danger, in consequence of a paper which he had written against the Six Articles falling into improper hands. He had sent it from Lambeth by his secretary, to be delivered to the king, who had commanded the archbishop to write down his opinions. The people who were with the messenger in a wherry would go to the Southwark side, to look on a bear-baiting near the river, at which the king was present. The bear broke loose and took to the river, with the dogs after her. The passengers in the boat all leaped out except the secretary, and the bear climbed in. The boat was upset, the secretary half drowned, and the archbishop's book floating on the Thames. A priest got hold of it, and reading a few sentences said that whosoever owned it would be hanged for his pains. The power of Cromwell was called into action to recover the dangerous volume; and so, says Burnet, "Cranmer escaped this hazard."

The "Act for the advancement of true religion," which forbade the reading of the Bible and the New Testament to the "lower sort," † also declares the expediency of suppressing, by laws dreadful and penal, "all such books, writings, sermons, disputations, ballads, plays, rhymes, songs, teachings, and instructions, as be pestiferous and noisome." ‡ Every printer, bookbinder, or bookseller, uttering such books, was to be fined and imprisoned for the first offence, and for the second to lose all his goods and to be perpetually imprisoned. Tyndale's translation of the Scriptures was forbidden; and any commentary in other translations was to be blotted, or cut out. There was a special clause against persons not duly appointed reading the Bible aloud in any church. The man who sought to know the truth might muse over the chained volume; but he was not to read any portion of it to the less instructed bystanders. Noblemen and gentlemen might read the Bible aloud to their families. Ladies might only read it privately; and so, also, might merchants. The qualified permission to read the Scriptures thus extended to all but artificers, prentices, journeymen, and serving-men, appears to indicate that the ability to read was very general. But we must not hastily assume this; for, in a statute of 1547, the benefit of clergy was allowed to a lord or peer of the realm, "though he cannot read." § The opinion of Henry's statute, that "the lower sort," especially, are incapable of comprehending what is of universal application, is an old fallacy still cherished among us. There was a Cambridge friar, just before the suppression of the monasteries, who denounced the reading of the Bible by the vulgar; for the baker, he said, who found it written that a little leaven would corrupt the whole lump, would give us bad bread; and the ploughman would be afraid to labor, when he learned that if he looked back from his plough he were unfit for the kingdom of heaven. ‖ In the statute for the advancement of true religion we have a glimpse of what was the popular reading which the government tolerated. "Chronicles, Canterbury Tales, Chaucer's books, Gower's books, and Stories of men's lives, shall not be comprehended in the prohibition of this Act." This was substantial and agreeable nourishment for a people

* See the account of Thomas Hancock, in Strype's "Life of Cranmer."

† 5 & 6 Ed. VI. c. 4.

‡ Sermon in 1552.

§ Sixth Sermon before Edward VI.

‖ See Ellis's Brand, vol. i. p. 147.

*Letter from a London mercer; quoted in Andrew's "Continuation of Henry," vol. ii. p. 357.

† See *ante*, p. 284.

‡ 3 & 35 Henry VIII. c. 1.

§ 1 Ed. VI. c. 12.

‖ Gilpin's "Life of Latimer."

of vigorous minds—history, biography, and the most captivating fictions told in nervous verse; added to the primers, or selections from the Scriptures, which they were permitted to read without restriction. With these materials of knowledge, such a people would be educating itself to become "a nation not slow and dull, but of a quick, ingenious, and piercing spirit; acute to invent, subtle and sinewy to discourse." * Some of the books which belonged to this early age of English printing are still read with pleasure and profit. Our Bible is founded, with little change, upon the translations of Cranmer's time. Those who appreciate the strength of the old homely idiom prefer Lord Berners' Froissart to the more refined, but feebler, modern version. We still read the ballads of this period with genuine admiration. Sternhold's Psalms are not wholly banished from our churches by daintier rhymes; and many a country congregation still lifts up its voice in the noble verse which Dryden praised.†

The statute of 1542–3 recognizes another, and perhaps the most important, branch of popular intellectual amusement: "It shall be lawful to all and every person and persons to set forth songs, plays, and interludes, to be used and exercised within this realm and other the king's dominions, for the rebuking and reproaching of vices, and the setting forth of virtue; so always the said songs, plays, or interludes meddle not with interpretations of Scripture contrary to the doctrine set forth by the king's majesty." It was lawful to represent upon movable stages, and in inn-yards—upon the village green and the city market-place—Mysteries and Miracle Plays founded upon the leading events of Scripture-history. The Creation and the Fall; the Flood and the Israelites in Egypt; the Salutation and the Adoration of the Shepherds; Christ before Pilate, the Resurrection, and the Ascension; Doomsday—such were the subjects that occur among the "Coventry Mysteries," and the "Chester Plays." We shrink from the apparent profaneness of exhibiting a personation of the Redeemer to the gaze of a vulgar crowd; but we forget that the same incongruity is overlooked when the sublime strains of Handel or Mendelssohn are poured forth by a Judas Maccabæus or an Elijah in a coat of the last fashion. The people of the fifteenth century beheld such exhibitions in the most simple and sincere spirit. They were originally performed in churches; and the great festival days were selected for their performance. The priests were in many cases the performers. Sir Robert Cooke, vicar of Hawgley, in 1537, bequeaths to his brother Robert, "all my play-books." ‡ "Before the suppression of the monasteries," writes Dugdale, "this city [Coventry] was very famous for the pageants that were played therein upon Corpus Christi day; which occasioning very great confluence of people thither from far and near, was of no small benefit thereto; which pageants being acted with mighty state and reverence by the friars of this house, had theatres for the several scenes, very large and high, placed upon wheels." There were interludes, of a less serious character, which afforded diversion in banqueting-hall or barn. The court plays were probably more dull than those of the people, if we may judge by one acted before Edward VI., and recorded in his journal. It was "a Talk between one that was called Riches and the other Youth, whether of them was better. After some pretty reasoning, there came in six champions of either side." The secular drama, with its "pretty reasoning," or coarse jokes, was still in the weakest condition of its rickety infancy. But whether before or after the beginnings of the great ecclesiastical change, we may trace from the most authentic sources how completely the charm of impersonation was associated with the amusements of the people. When the dramatic principle had passed out of its religious character into its secular condition—when it became the most potent form of poetical expression—its universality produced a literature unequalled in any country. But we must not forget that there was little more than the interval of a quarter of a century between the "Gammer Gurton's Needle" of William Still, the bishop, and the "Love's Labor's Lost" of William Shakespeare, the actor—one a specimen of meaningless vulgarity, the other of high poetry and refined wit. However we may refer this marvellous progress to individual genius, we may be satisfied that it could not have been accomplished except among a people of high capacity and no contemptible acquirements—a people that had kept their minds fresh under many adverse conditions; for the ancient spirit of liberty still survived, and its fruit was a healthy national intellect.

The education of the young was the business of the Church under the ancient ecclesiastical system of England. There were schools attached to many of the abbeys. "In the town of St. Edmund the abbot purchased stone-houses, and assigned them for the use of the schools; so that thereby the poor clerks should be for ever free from house-rents; toward payment whereof all the scholars, whether able or unable, were compelled twice in the year to subscribe a penny or an halfpenny." * This good work of the abbot was done about the end of the twelfth century. Many grammar-schools were founded in the reign of Henry VIII. Pious men and women bequeathed small sums for the aid of schools and exhibitions. In 1504 Anne Barrett, by her last will, provides that forty shillings by year "be given among poor scholars, to help them to their exhibition and learning, those that be good and honest." † After the monastic schools were swept away, we find a humble schoolmaster of the same town of Bury, who leaves very little money and few goods, making a contribution to the future service of the school in which he had taught: "I do give for implements, to remain unto the school, the hangings in my chamber, one table, one joined form, one sede, Pline de naturali historia, Virgilius cum commento, Oratius cum commento, Ovidius cum commento." ‡ Bury may be taken as an example of the individual desire throughout the land to promote education. The foundation schools of Edward VI.—the small contribution, out of a large spoil, to public uses—have to be noticed hereafter. One of the most famous endowments of that reign may, however, be mentioned here, to point out that the condition of the humblest in the social scale was not entirely disregarded. The original object of Christ's Hospital was "to take the child out of the street, which was the seed and increase of beggary, by reason of idle bringing-up, and to nourish the same child in some good learning and exercise profitable to the common weale." But still, after the monastic institutions were broken up, the preacher evermore cried out, "Truly it is a pitiful thing to see schools so neglected, scholars not maintained. . . . Schools are not maintained, scholars have not exhibition." § The course of a poor lad's education is told by Tusser in his quaint rhymes. He was forced from his home at Rivenhall, in Essex, to become a chorister at Wallingford. The school-boy's life was a hard one—"touzed ears"—"bobbed lips"—"robes how bare"—"bread how stale." He was dragged about from choir to choir, but was advanced to be a scholar at Paul's, and thence went to Eton; "to learn straightways the Latin phrase." At once he had "fifty-three stripes" for a small fault. At last he became a student of Trinity, at Cambridge—where he was in peace. Severe discipline of children was the characteristic of an age in which men, and boys, and even girls, were governed more by terror than by love. Peter Carewe, when he ran away from school, was led home in chains like a dog, and was coupled to a hound in a filthy outhouse. ‖ Lady Jane Grey described to Ascham how, in the presence of her parents, she was compelled to deport herself in every action of life according to the strictest rules; "or else I am so sharply taunted, so cruelly threatened, yea presently, some times, with pinches, nips, and bobs, and other ways which I will not name for the honor I bear them, so without measure misordered that I think myself in hell." The poor lady, however, considered the severity as a blessing, for it taught her to value the exceptional kindness of her schoolmaster; "who teacheth me, so gently, so pleasantly, with such fair allurements to learning, that I think all the time nothing whiles I am with him." ¶ The same learned education was bestowed upon young women of high rank, as upon the youths. The daughters of Henry VIII. were as excellent linguists, and as well-informed, as their precocious brother. But female education was carefully attended to, as we know from the Paston and other letters, a long time previous. In the middle of

* Milton, "Areopagitica."

† "On cherubs and on cherubims
Full royally he rode,
And on the wings of all the winds
Came flying all abroad."

‡ Bury Wills, p. 129.

* "Chronicles of Jocelin of Brakelond," p. 13, of Tomlins' Translation.

† Bury Wills, p. 96.

‡ Ibid., p. 140.

§ Latimer.

‖ "Once upon a Time," vol. i. p. 102.

¶ Ascham's "Schoolmaster," p. 11, ed. 1570.

the sixteenth century the art of printing had given an impulse to all education. Oxford and Cambridge had made great advances in philological studies. Greek was taught at Cambridge in the latter years of Henry VIII.; and in the statutes of the new cathedrals established in 1541, a grammar-school was to be attached to each, with a head-master, "learned in Latin and Greek."* The higher public schools and the universities were mostly filled by the sons of yeomen and traders—themselves very often of "gentle lineage." The means of most scholars were very scanty. Some did not scruple to solicit alms, after the fashion of the mendicant friars. The statute of 1531 classes among vagabonds, "scholars of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge that go about begging, not being authorized under the seal of the said universities." But, severe as was the discipline, and many the privations, of the lad of humble means who was dedicated to the pursuit of learning, the desire for academical instruction kept the schools and universities always full. Some desired knowledge for its own sake, as the accomplishment of the gentleman. But the Church required a constant supply of new men for its offices, and it readily found them, however scanty the endowments of the greater number of the clergy. The prizes of the clerical profession had become fewer, but there were still rich preferments for the ablest men. The ecclesiastics who were conversant with languages—the lawyers who had acquirements beyond the technicalities of their profession—became ambassadors and secretaries. Whatever were the faults of Henry's character, and however servile the ministers of his will, he was always surrounded with able men. The solid nature of the knowledge of the period, however narrow, may be collected from the correspondence of the confidential servants of Henry's long reign. There are few among them who fail to display an acute power of observation, a keen judgment of political complications, and a strong common-sense, in their official correspondence. That their statecraft was too often a system of ignorant expedients, was a necessary consequence of the contending forces of despotism and popular rights. The tendencies of society were very difficult to understand; and those who saw more clearly than the rest did not always dare to speak their minds. The governing classes were far from a recognition of the principle that the good of the people is the end and object of all government.

During the reign of Henry VIII. the most beneficial application of science to the welfare of man, the knowledge of medicine and surgery, made extraordinary advances. The College of Physicians was founded in 1518. By a statute of 1523 their charter of incorporation was confirmed; and to them was committed the power of examination, not only for London, but for the whole realm, except for those who were graduates of the universities, so that the practice of the healing art should be limited to "those persons that be profound, sad, and discreet; groundly learned and deeply studied in physic."† The previous act of 1512, "concerning physicians and surgeons," indicates the necessity of some exercise of authority to secure the most skilful practitioners that the state of medical knowledge would allow. It says that a great multitude of ignorant persons—"common artificers, as smiths, weavers, and women"—some of whom "can [know] no letters on the book—daily exercise the science and cunning of physic and surgery." The remedy for this evil appears to have been very equivocal; for the practitioner was to be licensed by the bishop of London or the dean of St. Paul's. When an incorporated body of physicians, with Linacre, a man of real knowledge, at their head, gave licenses in their own branch, a vast step was made toward lessening "the grievous hurt, damage, and destruction of many of the king's liege people."† The surgeons at this time separated themselves from the barber-surgeons, who were a company incorporated by Edward IV. How the barber and the surgeon carried on their operations under the ancient system may be inferred from this extract from a barber's will of 1558: "Item. I give and bequeath to the said John, my son, six hanging basons of latten, ten shaving cloths, one hone, and my case with knives, whole. Item. I give and bequeath to the said John, my son, my brazen mortar and my leaden mortar, with the pestles; and bed whole complete that he lieth in; three barbers' chairs, a drying bason as it standeth, my case with instruments pertaining to surgery, with all my glasses and boxes belonging to the same."* The surgeons of London went on in their exclusively scientific pursuits without being incorporated. The barber-surgeons shaved, and drew teeth, and bled, and attempted cures, under their corporate privileges. In 1540 the two bodies were united by statute, as the company of barbers and surgeons. But their vocations were to be separate. Surgeons were not to exercise "the feat or craft of barbery or shaving." Barbers who continued to have shaving-shops were forbidden to "occupy letting of blood, or any other thing belonging to surgery, drawing of teeth only except."† Under this act the value of dissection was first legally recognized; and surgeons were empowered to take annually four bodies of malefactors to anatomize. Vesalius, the great anatomist of that age, had run many risks in obtaining bodies for dissection; and the English government wisely permitted this indispensable privilege. The people, as might be expected, placed as much confidence in the wise women who administered decoctions and ointments as in the regular followers of Galen and Hippocrates. By a statute of 1543 the act of 1512 is repealed, as far as it sanctioned the interference of physicians and surgeons with uneducated pretenders; and "divers honest persons, as well men as women, whom God hath endued with the knowledge of the nature, kind, and operation of certain herbs, roots, and waters," are to be permitted to prescribe for outward sores and swellings, for "the web and pin" of the eye, for scalds and burns, for agues, and even for the most dangerous afflictions, such as the stone, without suit or vexation‡ The belief in empirical remedies was not confined to the humbler classes. Lord Audley, in 1553, sends to Cecil, who was seriously ill, recipes for two medicines which he had proved upon himself and his wife. One of these is founded upon the healing virtues of a sow-pig, nine days old, distilled with many herbs and spices. The other is more ample: "Item. Take a porpin, otherwise called in English hedgehog, and quarter him in pieces, and put the said beast in a still with these ingredients: item, a quart of red wine, a pint of rose water, a quart of sugar, cinnamon and great raisins, one date, twelve nepe [turnips]."§ If Doctor Andrew Borde was a type of his class, even the learned physician did not disdain to make his knowledge popular by some of the arts of the mountebank. Dr. Borde held forth at markets and fairs, varying his orations with the most bombastic phrases and the commonest jokes. Hearne, the antiquary, ascribes to his facetious practice the origin of the term Merry Andrew. The physicians of the period, after the ecclesiastical revolution, availed themselves of one great relic of the old popular belief—they became the guardians of the holy wells instead of the monks. Sir William Bassett, one of Cromwell's commissioners, in 1536, "locked up and sealed the baths and wells at Buxton;" and took away the image of Saint Anne, who presided over the healing waters. When Harrison wrote, Buxton was again in fashion; and of baths and hot wells generally he tells us that "no man, especially such as be able to entertain them, doth enter into these baths before he consult with the physician."

The tastes of the general population of England were not carried forward, as in Italy, by a familiarity with the highest works in sculpture and painting. The grand cathedrals, with their massive columns, their elaborate carvings, and their painted windows, were in harmony with the traditional devotion of a reflective people; but a pleasurable sense of the beautiful had not been cultivated by any native excellence in the arts of design. Yet as Charles V. gave a lustre to his court in appreciating the genius of Titian, and Francis I. paid homage to the greatness of Leonardo da Vinci, Henry VIII. had his favorite painter in a foreigner of eminent merit, Holbein. But this master, in many essentials so admirable, produced few works which could have raised our national taste. His best paintings were portraits; and, as such, were seen only in palaces and mansions. At the present day we know far more of Holbein's works than the people of his time. We see some of the most curious of them in the gallery of Hampton Court. The men and women of that period are there marshalled before us, with their quaint and picturesque costumes. We behold the king, in his ruddy childhood and his bluff manhood. We look upon him in his domestic relations, with his last queen, and his son on one side, and his daughters on the other. The

* Hallam, "Literature of Europe," chap. v.
† 14 & 15 Henry VIII. c. 5. ‡ 3 Henry VIII. c. 11.

* Bury Wills, p. 150. † 32 Henry VIII. c. 42.
‡ 34 & 35 Henry VIII. c. 8. § Tytler, vol. ii. p. 170.

Court Fool, with an ape on his shoulders, completes the group—a stern and melancholy fool. There is a portrait of Surrey—a personage with little poetry in his countenance—hard and repulsive. Elizabeth is there in another picture—not the Elizabeth of ruffs and jewels, superb and wrinkled, but a fresh girl, dressed in a plain crimson gown, with a book in her hand, meek and diffident. Here, too, may be seen the pictorial records of two leading events of Henry's reign—the Field of the Cloth of Gold and the Battle of Spurs. Francis I. is here too, with a coarse, sensual face—the very opposite to our notion of a chivalrous character. From these pictures we may gather images more durable than words can convey, of some of the leading persons of this period. We have endeavored to speak of the principal figure of these works of art with impartiality. His character and his actions render it impossible for us to love or to reverence his memory. But he must ever fill a prominent position in English history—

"The majestic lord
That broke the bonds of Rome."

CHAPTER LXI.

Events immediately after the death of Henry VIII.—Executors of his will—Somerset chosen protector—Character of the young king—War with Scotland—Scottish alliance with France—Somerset's desire for union between England and Scotland—Invasion—Battle of Pinkie—Progress of the Reformation—Parliament of 1547—Various statutes in matters of religion—Proclamation against certain processions and ceremonies—The Act for the Uniformity of Service—Publication of the Book of Common Prayer.

On Friday, the 28th of January, 1547, Edward, the son of King Henry VIII., is sojourning at Hertford Castle. His father lies dead in the palace at Whitehall. Between one and two o'clock of the morning of Saturday, the 29th, the earl of Hertford, his uncle, is also at Hertford Castle. Not twenty-four hours have elapsed since he was at the side of the dying king. He has left a confidential friend behind him, Sir William Paget, one of the secretaries of state; and in answer to a dispatch which has been forwarded to him, the earl writes, before daybreak of that January morning, with regard to the late king's will, "that it might be well considered how much thereof were necessary to be published;" adding, "for divers respects I think it not convenient to satisfy the world." The will was in safe custody. Hertford had locked it up; but he confides in Paget, and says in this letter, "I have sent you the key of the will."* As the day advances Prince Edward and his uncle, with Sir Anthony Brown, ride to Enfield. There, in the Manor House, dwells the Lady Elizabeth. The son of Henry by Jane Seymour is a few months above nine years of age. Henry's daughter by Anne Boleyn has seen thirteen years and four months. This boy and girl are attached to each other. Their elder sister, Mary, who is now in her thirty-second year, has few sentiments in common with these young people. She clings to the principles and institutions which, since their births, have been rapidly perishing. They have been taught to believe that the new opinions to which she has been compelled to assent will go forward into a more complete and permanent revolution. Edward and Elizabeth are brought together at Enfield, before their father's death is declared to them. "Never," says Hayward, the historian of Edward VI., was sorrow more sweetly set forth."

The parliament, which was sitting at the time of King Henry's decease, met on the 29th of January, and transacted business without receiving any intimation of the great change in the monarchy. On the 31st, on which day Edward was conducted to the Tower of London and proclaimed king, Wriothesley, the chancellor, announced to the Lords and Commons the death of "their late dread lord." A portion of the king's will was then read, and the parliament was dissolved. That will was dated the 30th of December, and under it sixteen executors were appointed, to exercise the powers of the crown during Edward's minority. To assist these executors in cases of doubt, a second council of twelve persons was also nominated. At the accession of Henry VI., at the age of nine months, the peers assembled and issued writs for a parliament. Henry V. had desired by his will that his brother Gloucester should be regent; but the parliament declared that a king could not appoint a regent during the minority of his successor. They committed a limited power to Gloucester under the title of Protector. The executors of Henry VIII. raised the earl of Hertford to that office. The very act of appointing executors was the assertion of the royal prerogative to deal with the kingdom as with a private estate. A servile parliament had passed a statute under which Henry thus attempted to supersede the ancient powers of the legislature. The solemn trust conferred upon numerous executors propitiated the ruling passion strong in death; but the administrative power of many would necessarily be usurped by one, or by a few. Wriothesley opposed the nomination of any one of the council with an authority superior to the rest. Hertford reasonably enough pointed out the difficulties of conducting a government with such a large executive. The chancellor was overruled. The influence of Hertford prevailed. He was soon after created duke of Somerset, and Wriothesley was removed from office, having in his struggle for power committed a political offence. In these proceedings the party of the Reformation was triumphant. Without the support of a powerful party Somerset could not have gone so direct to the object of his ambition. No one appears to have offered any resistance but the ex-chancellor; and after Edward's coronation, which took place on the 28th of February, the protector was not only confirmed in his authority by letters-patent under the great seal, but his powers were extended, and the functions of the executors were merged in those of a general council, who were bound to act by the advice and consent of the real head of the state. The boy-king had been crowned and anointed. He had taken the coronation oath. He had proclaimed a general pardon. But Somerset was the sovereign of England for the time being. He and his faithful co-executors had wealth as well as titles showered upon them, under the pretence that the late king had, by a clause in his will, required his executors to make good all that he had promised; and witnesses were ready to prove what these promises were. The same spirit of rapacity which had swallowed up so large a portion of the church property, in the days of Henry, was still unsated; and the zeal for a reformed church, earnest as it was among the more intelligent and truly religious of the nation, was thus exposed to reproach and misconstruction. When it was alleged that Henry VIII. had promised the earl of Hertford the revenues of six good prebends, the disinterested sincerity of the protector in seeking a further reformation of religion might well be doubted.

In tracing the course of events in the reign of Edward VI.—a reign which lasted only six years and a half—we feel strongly impressed with the contrast between the influence of the personal character of a king whose will was almost absolute, and that of the personal character of a king whose nonage prevented him exercising any real control over public affairs. And yet we cannot speak of the tendencies of the government without feeling that the disposition, the abilities and the acquirements of this youth, who died before he had completed his sixteenth year, could not be without some effect upon the opinions of the time, if they had little share in the direction of its policy. The "Journal" written with his own hand, which is preserved in the Cotton Library, is very remarkable, not only for what it contains, but for what it omits. There is not the slightest display of learning in it—there are no puerilities. It is a very simple record of public affairs, without any expression of strong feeling. Not exhibiting any large or original views, it yet manifests a perfect acquaintance with the general nature of the matters which came under the writer's observation. A very competent judge has said, "It is perhaps somewhat brief and dry for so young an author; but the adoption of such a plan, and the accuracy with which it is written, bear marks of an untainted taste and of a considerate mind."* Of the first and second years of his reign, and of three months of the third year, it presents only a short summary. From the 24th of March, 1549, it becomes a Diary, and is continued till the 30th of November, 1552. In the introductory part, his own birth is recorded; and his early education is thus described: "Afterward was brought up, till he came to six years old, among the women. At the sixth year of his age he was brought up in learning by Master Doctor Cox, who was after his almoner, and John Cheke, Master of

* Tytler, "Original Letters," vol. i. p. 15.

* Sir J. Mackintosh, "History," vol. ii. p. 249.

Arts, two well-learned men, who sought to bring him up in learning of tongues, of the scripture, of philosophy, and all liberal sciences. Also John Belmaine, Frenchman, did teach him the French language." In a very curious paper, without date, addressed to Edward by William Thomas, clerk of the council, a series of eighty-five questions upon matters of policy are put before him. These are of the most general nature, but of much significance—such as, "Whether it be better for the commonwealth that the power be in the nobility or in the people?" These questions the writer recommends by saying, "there is not so small a one among them as will not minister matter of much discourse worthy the argument and debating; which your highness may, either for pastime or in earnest, propone to the wisest men." * The very nature of these questions is some testimony to the opinion held of this prince's understanding; and this opinion may be valued at a higher rate than the eulogy of Cardan, an Italian physician, who saw him professionally in 1552, that he was "a marvellous boy"—"*monstrificus puellus.*"

At the period of Henry's death England was at peace. The pacification of 1546 with France included Scotland; and it was a leading object of Henry's policy, which he held to in his dying hour, that the union of England and Scotland should be cemented by the marriage of his son with the child Mary, the Scottish queen. The attempt to force this marriage upon Scotland had aroused the old national spirit of independence in her nobility; and the proposal of Somerset, that the former treaty for this marriage should be renewed and ratified, was coldly listened to. Within a month after the accession of Edward the council book shows that a state of active hostility was approaching. On the 27th of February Sir Andrew Dudley is appointed to the command of the ship Pauncy, to cruise in the North Seas, off the English and Scottish coasts.† In less than a fortnight Dudley had captured the Scottish vessel Lion. This casual encounter appears to have made a strong impression upon the young king, for it is recorded with more than usual minuteness in his Journal. At this juncture an event occurred which materially affected the relations of England with France and Scotland. Francis I. died on the 31st of March, at Rambouillet. He had reigned thirty-two years, during which period his affairs had been so mixed up with those of Henry VIII., either as friends or enemies, that their fates seemed in some degree to be linked together, and Francis had entertained a notion that he should die in the same year as the English king. When Henry died, Francis caused a funeral service to be celebrated in the church of Notre Dame; and he gradually fell into a state of dejection, which, if not a tribute of friendship to the memory of his rival in pomp and pageantry, was a submission to the lesson, which even kings must learn, that "all is vanity." The son and successor of Francis, Henry II., was playing at tennis, two days after his father's death, by advice of his physicians.‡ He gave a more convincing proof of his slight regard for his father's memory, by calling about him the counsellors against whom he had received a death-bed warning. Twenty days before the death of Francis a treaty had been concluded between France and England. This the new king of France refused to ratify. He preferred to cultivate an alliance with the Scots. The duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine were the brothers of the queen-dowager of Scotland, and they were among the chief advisers of the French king. To stay the progress of the reformed opinions in Scotland, and to prevent the marriage of the young Mary with Edward, were sufficient motives to a decided change of policy. The castle of St. Andrews, after the murder of Cardinal Beaton, in 1546, had been held against the regent Arran, by those who were favorable to the English alliance. A truce between the regent and the possessors was concluded in February, 1547; and they subsequently proceeded to make a treaty with Somerset, in which they engaged to forward the projected marriage, and to aid any English force that should enter Scotland for the purpose of obtaining possession of the queen's person. The French government, in the summer of 1547, sent a fleet to assist in the reduction of the castle. It was finally surrendered on the 29th of July, and was afterward demolished. On the 2d of September the protector crossed the border at Berwick, with a powerful invading army.

It would be injustice to the policy of Somerset to assume that he entered upon the war with Scotland in the arrogant spirit with which Henry VIII. had conducted his negotiations and his assaults. There was a treaty under the Great Seal of Scotland for the marriage of Edward with Mary; but the determination to demand its fulfilment was conducted in a tone of moderation, in the first instance, which shows that the empire of force was gradually yielding to the empire of opinion. The protector addressed a remarkable letter "to the nobility and counsellors, gentlemen and commons and all other the inhabitants of the realm of Scotland," in which, with "greeting and peace," he sets forth the desire of England to establish the amity of the two countries by the union of the crowns. In this document we recognize the expression of the sagacious statesman rather than that of the ambitious intriguer—of one who saw what was inevitable, but who did not sufficiently estimate the force of national pride and individual interest in retarding a great good. What the statesmen of Queen Anne had the utmost difficulty in accomplishing, the minister of King Edward vainly expected to realize by appeals to great principles which were imperfectly understood even two centuries later. Somerset said to the people of Scotland, that living in one island, speaking the same language, alike in manners and conditions, it was "unmeet, unnatural, and unchristian, that there should be betwixt us so mortal war, who, in respect of all other nations, be and should be like as two brethren." He proposed a solid union by the marriage of King Edward and Queen Mary—the circumstances being so favorable that the Divine Providence manifestly pointed out the road to amity. In this union of two kingdoms England was ready "to take the indifferent old name of Britain again, because nothing should be left on our part to be offered. . . . We seek not to take from you your laws nor customs, but we seek to redress your oppressions, which of divers ye do sustain." If eloquent writing could have been more effectual than sturdy blows, such an appeal as this might have prevented the battle of Pinkie: "If we two, being made one by amity, be most able to defend us against all nations, and having the sea for wall, the mutual love for garrison, and God for defence, should make so noble and well-agreeing monarchy, that neither in peace we may be ashamed, nor in war afraid of any worldly or foreign power, why should not you be as desirous of the same, and have as much cause to rejoice at it as we?" * But the words of peace were not hearkened to. The influence of France prevailed. The priests stirred up the Scottish people to resist the English heretics. Knox was a prisoner in France; and the friends of the Reformation were scattered and proscribed.

Somerset advanced from Berwick along the shore, while a fleet under Lord Clinton kept the sea within view of the coast; and as the army marched by Dunbar, the ships were seen sailing into the Frith of Forth. Turning westward the cavalry forded the River Lynn, and the infantry crossed at Lynton Bridge. Bands of Scottish horsemen now began to appear; and the earl of Warwick was nearly taken prisoner in a rash advance. On the 8th the English were encamped near Prestonpans, and the fleet was at anchor near Musselburgh. The Scottish army was within a distance of little more than two miles, the ridge of Falside being between the two hosts. On the 9th, after a sharp skirmish, Somerset and Warwick reconnoitred the Scots from this hill. They occupied a strong position, with the sea on their left flank, and a deep marsh on their right. The River Esk protected their front; and the bridge crossing the Esk was held and strongly defended. On the morning of the 10th, when the English army began to move, it was discovered that the Scots had abandoned their strong position, and had crossed the river. They had taken up an opinion that the English were about to retreat to their ships, and would escape unless attacked in their camp. This belief was fatal to them. Although the Scots fought with the most determined valor, and successfully resisted a furious charge of the English cavalry, their rash movement had placed a portion of their force within the ability of the English "to compass them," says one present in the battle, "in that they should no ways escape us; the which by our

* See Ellis, Second Series, vol. ii. p. 187.
† Lemon, "Calendar of State Papers," p. 2.
‡ Wotton to Somerset, "Tytler," vol. i. p. 38.

* This letter, given at length in Holinshed, p. 998, is far more interesting than the paraphrase of Hayward, which Hume quotes as his authority.

force and number we were as well able to do as a spinner's web to catch a swarm of bees." * The fight had been very doubtful until this superiority was gained in one portion of the field. A general panic then ensued; and the Scottish army fled before their slaughtering pursuers. We shall not follow Patten, the "Londoner," in his narrative of the horrible traces of this slaughter, by the sands of Leith, by the highroad and King's Park to Edinburgh, and through the marsh to Dalkeith. The pursuit was not ended till nightfall, when the victors returned to plunder the Scottish camp. This great victory—the last field, most happily, in which England and Scotland were engaged in a quarrel that could be called national—was without any benefit beyond the unsubstantial glory of the victors. Ten thousand Scots perished, and fifteen hundred were taken prisoners, without any serious loss on the part of the English. Leith was set on fire. Several castles were taken. But in three weeks after the battle of Pinkie, Somerset recrossed the Tweed, and entered London on the 8th of October, declining, however, any triumphant reception. The young king congratulated his uncle in a short and sensible letter written on the 18th of September; † and the successful general received additional grants of landed estates. Some have ascribed the sudden return of Somerset to the necessity of resisting intrigues that were proceeding against him in the English council. It is probable that he trusted more to the gradual effects of his victory upon the minds of the Scottish nation than to any immediate attempts to control the course of its government. But the spirit of resistance to the English heretics was excited rather than allayed by the disaster of the Black Saturday, as the day of Pinkie was long called. The desired amity was still far distant. There was a young man in the battle whose influence upon the politics of Scotland was ultimately more powerful than the prowess of the protector, of whom he was a confidential servant. In that field the future great minister of Elizabeth "was like to have been slain; but was miraculously saved by one that, putting forth his arm, to thrust Mr. Cecil out of the level of the cannon, had his arm stricken off." ‡

Before the departure of Somerset for Scotland writs had been issued to summon a parliament. During the seven months which had elapsed of the reign of Edward the intentions of the government as to the reform of religion had been decidedly manifested; and there could be little doubt that a parliament would carry forward the principles of which the archbishop of Canterbury and the protector were now the open and fearless advocates. Cranmer and his coadjutors in the Church sought to prepare a broad and solid foundation for their reforms, in the enlightenment of the people. Vain ceremonies and superstitious observances might be attacked by statutes and proclamations. The ancient rubbish might be cleared away by the strong hand. But a fairer temple could not be built up except by the force of national opinion. The influence of the printing-press and the influence of the pulpit were to be exerted to lead the people to think, and in thinking, to reject the tyranny which had so long kept them in darkness. Cranmer had selected the "Paraphrase of the New Testament," by Erasmus, as a fitting book to be translated into English, and set up in churches. It was the work of one of the most moderate of reformers, and contained little that could be offensive to the professors of the old faith. But any mode of enlightening the people was offensive to the anti-reforming party in the Church; and Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, attacked this translation with clever bitterness which many a dignified eccelsiastic, even to this day, has been proud to imitate. One objection was made by Gardiner to the circulation of the Paraphrase, which may deserve a passing notice. He says that the injunctions to set up the book "charge the realm for buying rather above 20,000*l.* than under; whereof I have made account by estimate of the number of buyers, and the price of the whole books." The Paraphrase is in two folio volumes. It was translated by several persons; and each portion of the book being separately paged, it was either issued in sections, as it came from the press, or was divided among many printers to secure a rapid completion. The cost of this book, thus objected to by Gardiner, was probably as injurious to its circulation as "the arrogant ignorance of the translator," which he unsparingly ridiculed. In the same spirit the bishop of Winchester attacked the Book of Homil "appointed by the king's majesty to be declared, and read by parsons, vicars, or curates, every Sunday in their churches, where t have cure." With all his rancor and prejudice there is a boldn and honesty in Gardiner's remonstrances against the measures of period, which were ill answered by committing him to the Fl His voice was thus silenced before the meeting of parliament. ecclesiastical visitation, to which Gardiner and Bonner, the bisho London, were strongly opposed, went forward during the protect absence in Scotland. The kingdom was divided into six circu and the commissioners in each had to inquire as to the removal of ages, when they were abused by pilgrimages and offerings; whe the Scriptures were read, and the Litany sung, in English; whe the clergy declared to their parishioners the articles for the aboli of superfluous holidays; whether they diligently taught their par ioners, and especially the youth, the Pater Noster, the articles of faith, and the Ten Commandments, in English; whether the Bi of the largest volume in English, was provided in some conven place in the church. These, and many other subjects of inqu furnished a clear assurance that the government was not dispose slumber over the work of the Reformation. The commissioners pear to have been armed in some particulars not only with a po of inquiry, but of absolute authority to repress abuses. There no open resistance to their proceedings. Burnet says that when protector returned from Scotland "he found the visitors had formed their visitation, and all had given obedience. And those expounded the secret providences of God with an eye to their opinions, took great notice of this—that on the same day on which visitors removed, and destroyed, most of the images in London, t armies were so successful in Scotland at Pinkie-field." *

The parliament which assembled on the 4th of November, 1 sat only till the 24th of December; but in those fifty days it pas some measures of the highest importance. The "Act for the re of certain statutes concerning treasons, felonies, etc.," swept a the manifold treasons which had been created, by statute after s ute, in the reign of Henry VIII. In the reign of Richard II. same process of making new treasons had been resorted to; and statute of Henry IV. by which they are abrogated says that man knew how he ought to behave himself, to do, speak, or say, doubt of such pains of treason." So it was when Edward VI. c to the throne; and the remedy, as in the reign of Henry IV., wa go back to the Statute of Treasons of the 25th of Edward III., entirely to repeal what Blackstone calls the "new-fangled treaso of "the bloody reign of Henry VIII." † By this act of the 1st Edward VI., all "estatutes touching, mentioning, or in any concerning religion"—the statutes of Richard II., of Henry V., of Henry VIII., "concerning punishment and reformation of h tics and Lollards;" the recent statutes of the Six Articles, and aga uttering certain books; and "all and every other act concern doctrine and matter of religion," were repealed and utterly annul All new felonies made by statute since the 1st of Henry VIII. w also repealed. The penalties for affirming that the king is supreme head of the Church were, however, retained. In this c prehensive statute, the despotic law of the preceding reign, that proclamations of the king in council should be as valid as acts parliament, was, further, wholly repealed. ‡ Whatever might be errors of the protector's administration, this statute alone furnish proof that the detestable spirit of unbridled tyranny which was characteristic of the second half of the reign of Henry was not t perpetuated. In the rebellion of 1549, when the insurgents w moved by the enemies of the Reformation to desire that the l should be placed again on their tyrannous foundation, Somerset, w ing in the name of the king, thus adverted to the circumstances their repeal: "The Six Articles, and the statutes that made wo treason, and other such severe laws, ye seem to require again; which all our whole parliament almost, on their knees, required u abolish and put away; and when we condescended thereto, wit whole voice gave us most humble thanks, for they thought be that no man was sure of his life, lands, or goods. And would

* Patten's Narrative, in "Dalyell's Fragments of Scottish History."
† Ellis, First Series, vol. ii. p. 148.
‡ Life of Lord Burghley by a Domestic, in Peck's "Desiderata Curiosa," p. 8.

* "Reformation," Part II. book i.
† "Commentaries," book iv. c. 6, p. 82, of Mr. Kerr's edition.
‡ 1 Edward VI. c. 12.

have these laws again? Will you that we shall resume the scourge again, and hard snaffle for your mouths?" * In this short parliament an act was passed regarding "the Sacrament of the Altar." It imposed the penalties of fine and imprisonment upon such as by preaching, reading, arguments, talks, rhymes, songs, or plays, "call it by such vile and unseemly words as Christian ears do abhor to hear rehearsed." There can be no doubt that the abuse and ribaldry with which the doctrine of the real presence had been assailed, had seriously tended to bring all religion into contempt, and had nourished a spirit of irreverence wholly opposed to the principles of the Reformation. But coupled with this enactment was a clause that marked the distinction between the Romish and the Reformed Church, by prescribing that the Sacrament should be administered in both kinds —the bread and the wine—thus providing that the cup should not be refused to the laity. The people, according to the usage of the primitive church, were to receive the sacrament with the priest. † By another statute bishops were to be elected by the king's letters patent, and process in the ecclesiastical courts was to be in the king's name. ‡ Another act, which indicates a good intention most unrighteously carried out, provides that all the revenues of chauntries, by which vain opinions of purgatory and masses were upheld, should be bestowed upon the crown; considering that "the alteration, change, and amendment of the same, and converting to good and godly uses, as in erecting of grammar-schools to the education of youth in virtue and godliness, the further augmenting of the universities, and better provision for the poor and needy," could not be effected in any other way than by committing their disposition to the king and his council. § Cranmer, who knew the avidity with which the rapacious courtiers seized upon the spoils of the Church, had the honesty to vote against this bill. The great reformer was in a minority with Bonner, the most intolerant enemy of reformation.

The parliament had been prorogued till April, 1548; but, the houses having met, it was alleged that the war betwixt England and Scotland had prevented the attendance of many members, and parliament was again prorogued, and did not finally meet till the 2d of January, 1549. During this interval of legislation the country was in an unsettled state. The statute against vagabonds, passed in the first session —that cruel enactment which Edward in his Journal calls "an extreme law"—had removed none of the evils of this period of transition. ‖ The Reformation kept on its steady course; offending the greater number of the people who clung to ancient habits, but gradually winning over the thoughtful and educated to an earnest reception of its principles. In February, 1548, a proclamation went forth to forbid the carrying of candles on Candlemas day, taking ashes on Ash Wednesday, and bearing palms on Palm Sunday. The commemoration of Christ's entry into Jerusalem was, in some places, burlesqued in the ancient procession of the wooden ass, before which the people prostrated themselves, and strewed their palm-branches. Burnet has described the differences of opinion as to the abolition of these old ceremonies: "The country-people generally loved all these shows, processions, and assemblies, as things of diversion; and judged it a dull business only to come to church for divine worship and the hearing of sermons: therefore they were much delighted with the gayety and cheerfulness of these rites. But others, observing that they kept up all these things just as the heathens did their plays and festivities for their gods, judged them contrary to the gravity and simplicity of the Christian religion, and were earnest to have them removed." ¶ But the Reformers gave the people something of far higher value than the shows and processions which they took away. They gave them an English Liturgy.

The first measure of the parliament of 1549 was "An Act for the Uniformity of Service," etc. The preamble states that the king having appointed "the archbishop of Canterbury, and certain of the most learned and discreet bishops and other learned men of this realm," that they should "draw and make one convenient and meet order of common and open prayer and administration of the sacraments," they had "by the aid of the Holy Ghost, with one uniform agreement concluded and set forth" the same, "in a book entitled the Book of Common Prayer, and administration of the Sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the Church, after the use of the Church of England." * This form of service was to be read by all ministers in cathedrals and parish churches, from the ensuing feast of Pentecost, under penalties for refusal; and the book of the said service was to be obtained at the cost of the parishioners, before that festival. The office of the Communion had been previously issued as a separate publication. Of the "Book of the Common Prayer" there were two authorized printers, Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch. They appear to have commenced the issue as fast as their presses could produce copies; some having the date of March, 1549; some of May, some of June. The price of a copy was limited, thus by a notice on the last leaf of the folio volume: "The king's majesty, by the advice of his most dear uncle the Lord Protector, and other his highness' council, straitly chargeth and commandeth that no manner of person do sell this present book, unbound, above the price of two shillings and twopence the piece; and the same bound in paste or in boards, not above the price of three shillings and eightpence the piece." † With some variations in a subsequent edition of 1552, which was called "the second book," this Liturgy is not essentially different from that of the present day. It was based upon the ancient Catholic services, which had been handed down from the primitive ages of the Church, and which the English people had for generations heard sung or said, without comprehending their meaning. In the western insurrection of 1549 the rebels declared, "We will have the mass in Latin, as was before." The answer of Cranmer to this point of their complaints is a logical appeal to the common-sense of Englishmen: "The priest is your proctor and attorney, to plead your cause and to speak for you all; and had you rather not know than know what he saith for you? I have heard suitors murmur at the bar, because their attorneys have pleaded their cases in the French tongue, which they understood not. Why then be you offended that the priests, which plead your cause before God, should speak such language as you may understand?" ‡ The resistance to the Act for the Uniformity of Service, to which the people in some places were stimulated by high counsels and examples, was of itself an indication of the fears of the anti-reformers, that the habitual use of a Common Prayer Book, so pure and simple, so earnest and elevated—so adapted to the universal wants and feelings of mankind —so touching and solemn in its offices—would establish the reformed worship upon a foundation which no storm of worldly policy could afterward overthrow. The change in the habits of the people produced by this Book of Common Prayer must indeed have been great. When they gathered together in the spacious cathedral or the narrow village church, they no longer heard the Litany sung by the priests in procession; but they joined their own voices to the sacred words which they received into their hearts, with "Spare us, good Lord," and "We beseech thee to hear us." This constant feeling that they themselves were to take part in the service, and not be mere listeners to unintelligible though euphonious sentences, was to give a new interest to the reformed worship, far beyond the formal "Amen" of the Latin ritual, and the other routine words which they had been taught to speak, "like pies or parrots." § For a short time it was objected to the new service that "it was like a Christmas game;" but when the people, after a few years, had come to understand this service, in which they took a real part, they could not be readily led back to the "fond play" of their forefathers, "to hear the priest speak aloud to the people in Latin, and the people listen with their ears to hear; and some walking up and down in the church; some saying other prayers in Latin; and none understandeth other." ‖ The English Liturgy, and the constant reading of the Lessons in English, were the corner-stones which held together that Church of England which the reformers had built up. Those who rejected the Liturgy consistently demanded that the English Bible should be called in again. The records of the printing-press show how vain was such a demand. The art of Gutenburg and Caxton had made a return to the old darkness an impossibility. Not without reason did John Day, one of the printers of the many editions of the Bible that ap-

* Tytler, "Original Letters," vol. i. p. 180. This is one of the many interesting documents which was first given in Mr. Tytler's collection from the State Paper Office.

† 1 Edward VI. c 1. ‡ Ibid., c. 2. § Ibid., c. 14.

‖ See *ante*, p. 292. ¶ "Reformation," part II. book i.

* 2 3 Edward VI. c. 1. † Herbert's Ames.

‡ Strype, "Memorials of Cranmer," vol. ii. p. 518. Oxford, 1848.

§ Ibid. ‖ Ibid., p. 544.

peared in the reign of Edward VI., take, in allusion to his own name, a device of the sun rising and the sleeper awakened.

CHAPTER LXII.

Difficulties of the government of the protector—Proceedings of his brother, Lord Seymour—His arrest—His attainder and execution—Participation of Somerset in Seymour's condemnation—Dangers of the country—Somerset's attempts to resist the oppression of the Commons—Proclamations against inclosures—Insurrections of 1549—The Cornish and Devonshire rebellion against religious innovations—Siege of Exeter—The Norfolk rebellion against inclosures—Encampments on Mousehold Heath—Dispersion of the rebels—The Scottish war continued.

ALTHOUGH the great ecclesiastical policy of the government of Edward VI. had, during the first two years of the reign, gone steadily onward, the evils incidental to a royal minority were rapidly developing themselves. The power of the protector was to some extent an usurpation. The authority which had been conferred upon him by letters patent was naturally offensive to many of the council. The resistance of Gardiner and others of the higher clergy kept alive the hostility of the great Romish party. The Princess Mary, too, as might have been expected from the determination of her character, refused to conform to the change of religion, and maintained that as her father's executors were sworn to his laws, she should defer her obedience to other laws until the king were of sufficient years to enforce them.* This doctrine was openly or covertly upheld by persons of less importance; and the bonds of submission to the ruling powers of the state were thus relaxed, wherever conscience, so called, could be set up against the duty of the subject. The protector himself, of whose character it is difficult to judge dispassionately amid a mass of contradictory opinions, was, like all persons whose authority is in any degree questionable, disposed to enforce it beyond the limits of prudence. He gave offence to a proud nobility by taking precedence in parliament, and sitting upon an elevated seat on the right hand of the throne. He gave offence by putting his own opinion above the opinions of the council; so that a Spaniard who had visited England said that Somerset rode upon so strong and big a horse that the fair goodly animal carried the protector and the king's council at once upon his back.† His confidential friend, Sir William Paget, ventured to remonstrate against his "great choleric fashion;" and mentioning a case in which Sir Richard a Lee had complained, with weeping, of the protector's "handling of him," most wisely says, "a king who shall give men discouragement to say their opinions frankly receiveth thereby great hurt and peril to his realm. But a subject in great authority, as your grace is, using such fashion, is like to fall into great danger and peril of his own person, beside that to the commonwealth."‡ The first great danger and peril which Somerset encountered came from his own brother.

Admiral Sir Thomas Seymour, created by Edward VI. Lord Seymour of Sudley, had, within a very short time of the death of Henry VIII., become a suitor to his widow, Queen Catherine Parr. In King Edward's Journal, immediately after a notice of the recantation of Dr. Smith, at Paul's Cross, on the 15th of May, there is this significant entry: "The Lord Seymour of Sudley married the queen whose name was Catherine, with which marriage the lord protector was much offended." The protector, after the marriage was avowed, withheld the royal widow's jewels, which she alleged the late king had given her; and he opposed her wish as to the lease of a crown manor. Amiable as she appears to have been, she manifested her indignation in no measured terms, in a letter to her husband: "This shall be to advertise you that my lord your brother hath this afternoon made me a little warm. It was fortunate we were so much distant; for I suppose else I should have bitten him."§ The wife of Lord Seymour was not long fated to kindle her husband's wrath against his brother. She gave birth to a daughter on the 1st of September, 1548, and died on the 7th. Seymour had hoped for a son, "trusting," as he writes to his wife in June, that, "if God should give him life to live as long as his father, he will revenge such wrongs as neither you nor I can at this present."* It appears improbable that what Seymour deemed his wrongs were the resu of his brother's sense of his public duty. There is a remarkable ter of the protector to the lord admiral, dated on the 1st of Septe ber, 1548, in which he remonstrates against his brother's conduct his private relations with his neighbors: "If you do so beh yourself among your poor neighbors, and others the king's s jects, that they may have easily just cause to complain upon y and so you do make them a way and cause to lament unto us pray redress, we are most sorry therefore, and would wish v heartily it were otherwise: which were both more honor for y and quiet and joy and comfort for us. But if you mean it, that our part we are ready to receive poor men's complaints, that find or thinketh themselves injured or grieved, it is our duty and office to do. And though you be our brother, yet we may not refuse upon you."†

The death of the queen, his wife, opened to the rash and turl lent Seymour a new prospect for his ambition. If the scandal stories of that time are to be believed—and they appear in the e dence of the Princess Elizabeth's governess—there had been ma strange familiarities between the admiral and the princess, the girl of fifteen, who was residing under the care of Queen Catherin He now paid secret addresses to the princess, who appears, in t spirit of coquetry which she retained through life, to have giv some encouragement to a man who is described as "fierce in co age, courtly in fashion, in personage stately, in voice magnifice but somewhat empty in matter."§ It was one of the charges agai him, as set forth in articles of treason in the council book, that bef he married the queen he attempted to marry "the Lady Elizabeth, s ond inheritor in remainder to the crown," but was then prevented the lord protector, and others of the council. The charge th goes on to say, "that you sithence that time, both in the life of queen continued your old labor and love, and after her death, secret and crafty means, practised to achieve the said purpose of m rying the said Lady Elizabeth, to the danger of the king's majest person, and peril of the state, of the same."‖ In January, 1549, S mour was arrested and sent to the Tower. The opposition to designs upon the Princess Elizabeth had probably driven him to gage in the rash enterprises which led to his destruction.

The proceedings against Seymour were conducted under that proved instrument of oppression, a bill of attainder. After his co mittal he had been several times examined; but on the 23d of F ruary the council proceeded to the Tower, and presented to h thirty-three articles, to which they required his answers. He manded a trial, and to be confronted with his accusers. T demand was refused; and the articles formed the foundation of bill of attainder, which was brought into the House of Lords. "Th the evidence was brought. Many lords gave it so fully that all rest with one voice consented to the bill; only the protector, natural pity's sake, as is in the council book, desired leave to wi draw."¶ The bill was sent to the Commons; but some of the constitutional feeling had revived, and it was urged that the admi should be heard upon a trial. But the lords who had given evide went to the House of Commons, and there repeating what they h said, the bill passed. The royal assent was given on the 5th March, and the unhappy man was executed on the 20th. The w rant for his execution was signed, among others of the council, Somerset and by Cranmer. The historian of Edward VI. says, w regard to the protector, "Hereupon many of the nobility cried upon him that he was a blood-sucker, a murderer, a parricide a villain, and that it was not fit the king should be under the prot tion of such a ravenous wolf."†† The extent to which a determi tion to sacrifice private feelings to public duty may carry a sta man can scarcely be estimated by those who treat of such mat with the natural sympathies for the unfortunate, and the common erence for the ties of blood. But it is clear that Somerset was

* Strype, "Eccl. Memorials," II. part i. p. 238. † Ibid.
‡ Ibid., part ii. p. 427. § Haynes' "Burghley Papers."

* Tytler, vol. i. p. 103. † Ibid., p. 121. ‡ "Burghley Paper
§ Hayward, "Life of Edward VI."
‖ Burnet, "Records," part ii. No. 31. ¶ Burne
** The term "parricide" was not always restricted to the murde of a father or mother. Blackstone explains the *parricide* of the man Law as "the murder of one's parent or children," b. iv. c.
†† Hayward.

of a cruel nature; and we may readily believe in the record of the council, which says that the necessity for his brother's attainder was felt by him to be "heavy, lamentable, and sorrowful." It would appear, also, from a trustworthy evidence, that the sad alternative of a brother's death, or the danger of the state, was in some degree forced upon him. The Princess Elizabeth, when she was suspected of being privy to a conspiracy against her sister, Queen Mary, earnestly entreated to be admitted to see her, saying, "I have heard in my time of many cast away for want of coming to the presence of their prince; and, in late days, I have heard my Lord Somerset say that, if his brother had been suffered to speak with him, he had never suffered; but the persuasions were made to him so great that he was brought in belief that he could not live safely if the admiral lived, and that made him give his consent to his death."* "He could not live safely if the admiral lived" would seem to make the quarrel between the two brothers a mere personal question. But in this quarrel the tranquillity of the government was involved. The realm was surrounded with dangers. The war with Scotland and France required that the people should be united for defence; but they were greatly divided in religious opinions, and a large proportion of the laboring population were disposed to insurrection. There can be little doubt that if Seymour had no designs upon the young king's life, he sought to make himself master of his person. He had propitiated the boy by little kindnesses, which contrasted with Somerset's somewhat strict governorship; and he had endeavored to persuade the king that it was his interest to take the royal authority into his own hands. Edward himself was examined before the council, and his testimony furnishes a very sufficient example of the public dangers of a minority, under which the executive power does not rest upon well defined constitutional principles. Edward from the first was a puppet in the hands of Somerset; and his name was often affixed to important papers by a stamp which the protector used. That a quick and intelligent youth should desire to be freed from a somewhat stern control was an inevitable consequence of his position; and Seymour made an artful use of this discontent, to supplant his brother, and in so doing to convulse the government. It is tolerably clear that Edward regarded his uncle, the protector, with slight affection. The marquis of Dorset in his examination before the council said, "The king's majesty hath divers times made his moan unto me, saying that my uncle of Somerset dealeth very hardly with me, and keepeth me so strait that I cannot have money at my will; but my lord admiral both sends me money and gives me money." One sentence of the young king's statement is conclusive as to the effect which had been produced upon his mind by the intrigues of Seymour: "Within this two year at least, he [the admiral] said, ye must take upon yourself to rule, for ye shall be able enough, as well as other kings, and then ye may give your men somewhat; for your uncle is old, and I trust will not live long. I answered, it were better that he should die."† Seymour had fortified Holt Castle; had tampered with Sir John Sharrington, the master of the mint at Bristol, to furnish him with a large supply of money, as Sharrington confessed; and had taken measures to embody a large armed force. Unless we were to refuse our belief to a great body of testimony, however illegally applied to the purpose of attainder, we must believe that Seymour suffered the inevitable, and in many respects just, punishment of those who seek to change a government by craft and violence, and fail in the enterprise. The reformers appear to have associated the designs of Seymour with some covert objects of hostility to the changes of religion. Cranmer signed his death-warrant; "which," says Burnet, "being in a cause of blood was contrary to the canon law." . . . But it seems Cranmer thought his conscience was under no tie from these canons, and so judged it not contrary to his function to sign that order. The act was one of those compliances with power, of which the life of Cranmer furnishes too many proofs. Latimer preached a sermon before the king, in which he said of Seymour that "he died very dangerously, irksomely, horribly." It appears from this sermon that Latimer was indignant at a characteristic act of the unhappy man, who nourished his revenge at the last hour. He had contrived to write letters to the princesses Mary and Elizabeth, to excite their hatred of the protector, who was represented therein as their great enemy; and these letters, sewed in a velvet shoe, were to be delivered by his servant after his death, to whom he sent a message that "he should speed the thing that he wot of." Latimer in his sermon exclaimed, "What would he have done, if he had lived still, that went about that gear when he had laid his head on the block?"* In the statute book, the act of attainder of Sir John Sharrington precedes that of Lord Seymour. The charge against him was that he had forged twelve thousand pounds of the king's coin, and had also defrauded the government by clipping and shearing the coin, making false entries in his indentures. This master of the Bristol mint was alleged to have handed over ten thousand pounds of this false coin to the use of Seymour. This was at the period when the money of the state was enormously debased; so that the government which thus cheated its subjects was cheated by its own officer. The clipping and shearing was an easy process when the current money was roughly hammered out; and, having no milled edge, could be slightly reduced in size without detection.† Sharrington was ultimately pardoned, probably because he had betrayed the man who incited him to his offence; and Latimer proclaimed that his fervent repentance warranted his being forgiven.

The circumstances under which Somerset was placed in supreme power, although carrying on the government in the name of the young king, were such as to demand the union of the highest qualities of the statesman. The rule of Henry VIII. had been of the most arbitrary nature; putting down all opposition of the great by a system of terror, and repressing the crimes and disorders of the humble by the sternest administration of sanguinary laws. Somerset was, by nature, and out of the necessity of his position, opposed to harsh courses. The preamble of the statute for the repeal of the new laws of treason says that, although these laws of Henry VIII. were "expedient and necessary," they might appear "very strait, sore, extreme, and terrible;" but as in tempest or winter, one garment is convenient, and in calm or warm weather a lighter garment may be worn, so the sore laws of one time may be taken away in a calmer and quieter reign.‡ This belief in a coming halcyon season, when men by diligent teaching should be won to the knowledge of the truth—when all should be contented to live under the reign of clemency and love—was doubtless the foundation of Somerset's policy. But he stood apart from the men who had been trained to administer the rough discipline of Henry's tyranny, and who had no sympathy with the great mass of the people. Somerset really saw that a state was something more than a king, a nobility, a church, an army; that there were other interests to be regarded besides those of property; and that, to use the words of one of his confidential officers, "if the poorest sort of the people, which be members of the same body as well as the rich, be not provided and cherished in their degree, it cannot but be a great trouble of the body, and a decay of the strength of the realm."§ But Somerset had not those rare qualities of firmness and prudence which can make a mild government safe in unsettled times. He saw oppression everywhere around him—the powerful assailing the weak by open tyranny, or under the forms of law, the judges venal, the courts of justice practically closed to the needy suitor; and he attempted to redress these evils by his own personal vigilance. He opened a Court of Requests, where he himself heard complaints, and interfered with the regular tribunals to prescribe equitable remedies. This is the oriental system of justice, which looks so beautiful in a Haroun Alraschid, but which is simply an indication of a general corruption too powerful for the laws. Paget, an acute and honest adviser, wrote to Somerset, "meddle no more with private suits, but remit them to ordinary courses." Somerset would feel that the ordinary courses were evil, and beyond his power legally to remedy. Latimer preached that Cambyses was a great emperor who flayed a judge alive, and laid his skin in his chair of judgment, for that the judge was "a briber, a gift-taker, a gratifier of rich men." Latimer cried out, "I pray God we may once see

* Ellis, Second Series, vol. ii. p. 256.

† These curious revelations are in the Burghley Papers, published by Haynes.

* Strype, Eccles. Mem. vol. ii. part i. p. 198. This passage of Latimer's Fourth Sermon before King Edward is only found in the first edition of the Sermons.

† See *ante*, p. 293.

‡ 1 Edw. VI. c. 12.

§ The charge of John Hales for redress of inclosures. Strype, Eccles. Mem. vol. ii. part ii. p. 356.

the sign of the skin in England."* But if the official system were too dangerous for Somerset to meddle with by constitutional methods, so were the oppressions of tenants by landlords, and of laborers by masters. The evils of society were of too complicated a nature to be dealt with by any one bold measure for the redress of grievances. Even if the government could have seen how vain were all attempts to regulate prices—how impossible to prevent men applying capital to land in the way most profitable—the protector could scarcely have forborne yielding to the popular clamor. Proclamations were issued "for the speedy reformation of the unreasonable prices of victuals in markets;" and "against inclosures, and taking in of fields and commons that were accustomed to lie open for the behoof of the inhabitants dwelling near to the same."† Of course these proclamations were wholly ineffectual. There was a general scarcity throughout Europe; and the nominal prices of commodities were raised in England by the tampering with the coin. Those who were commanded by the proclamation against inclosures to throw open their parks and pastures by a certain day, held the order in contempt; for in the country districts they were the sole administrators of local authority. But there was a spirit in the English people against which Paget had warned Somerset when he first took the reins of government. "What is the matter troweth your grace? By my faith, sir, even that which I said to your grace in the gallery at the Tower, the next day after the king's first coming there—Liberty, Liberty."‡ The old Saxon temper had not been trodden out. The government was powerless to redress the complaints of the masses, and they rushed into insurrection. There had been a partial rising in Cornwall in 1548, for which a general pardon was granted to all, with the exception of the leaders. In the summer of 1549 half of England was in a state of rebellion. Somerset promised pardons, and Cranmer sent forth exhortations. Paget, who looked at any tumult of the people as only to be met in one way, called upon his friend to "do like a king, in this matter especially; take a noble courage to you for your proceedings; wherein take example at other kings; and you need not seek further for the matter—go no further than to him who died last, of most noble memory, King Henry VIII."§ The people of England were never reduced to a healthful condition of obedience to power by the assertion of the principle of terror if separated from justice. The dreaded spirit of "Liberty, Liberty," might be kept down when it was abused, but it had never been extinguished, and subsequent experience demonstrated that it would always survive even its own licentiousness.

The Cornish and Devonshire insurrection, and that of Norfolk, form one of the most striking passages of our history of the sixteenth century. This simultaneous revolt was essentially different in its character from either of the great insurrections of the two previous centuries. The rebellion of Wat Tyler was a protest against the oppressions of the laborers, who belonged to a period when slavery retained many of its severities without its accompanying protection. The insurrection of Jack Cade was in its essential elements political. But the rebellion that came exactly a century after that of 1450 was a democratic or social movement, stimulated by, and mixed up with, hostility to the change of religion. The government was embarrassed by the complexity of the motives upon which these insurrections were founded. Somerset himself thus described them in August, while they were raging in the west, the east, and the north: "The causes and pretences of their uproars and risings are divers and uncertain; and so full of variety almost in every camp, as they call them, that it is hard to write what it is; as ye know is like to be of people without head and rule, and would have that they know not what. Some cry, pluck down inclosures and parks; some for their commons; others pretend religion; a number would rule and direct things as gentlemen have done; and indeed, all have conceived a wonderful hate against gentlemen, and take them all as their enemies. The ruffians among them, and soldiers cashiered, which be the chief-doers, look for spoil; so that it seems no other thing but a plague and a fury among the vilest and worst sort of men."‖ The "vilest and worst sort of men" always impart the most mark character to insurrections; but Somerset's own account shows th "those who look for spoil" did not constitute the majority of the i surgents. A brief narrative of these extraordinary proceedings, which Exeter and Norwich were the chief seats, will best show t nature of these outbreaks, and furnish illustrations of the conditi of society.

On Whit-Sunday, the 19th of June, divine service had been pe formed at the parish-church of Sampford Courtenay, about sixte miles from Exeter. On that day the Act for Uniformity of Servi came into operation. The village congregation had listened to t prayers in the English tongue, and had departed to their homes. their Sunday groups for gossip and recreation they had discussed th innovation upon their old customs, and it was not satisfactory them. On the Whit-Monday, the day of church-ales and morri dances, some of the parishioners, headed by a tailor and a labore went to the priest, as he was preparing for the morning service, a told him, "they would keep the old and ancient religion as the forefathers before them had done;" and he yielded to their will and forthwith arrayed himself "in his old popish attire," and sa mass, as in times past.* The justices of the peace interfered, b without effect; and in a short time the example spread throu Devonshire and Cornwall, and the people began to assemble in gre companies. At Crediton there was a forcible resistance to Sir Pet Carew, and other gentlemen; and again at Cliff. In a short tin the highways were stopped by cutting trenches and throwing dow trees; and the multitude, continuing to increase, on the 2d of Ju commenced a regular siege of Exeter, the gates of which city we closed against them. Their captains were originally a tailor, a sho maker, a laborer, and a fishmonger; but as they marched forwar carrying the cross, they were joined by a few gentlemen and yeome When they had set down before the city, their numbers daily swell so that they completely surrounded it, and cut off all supplies fro the neighboring districts. They burned the gates; they destroyed t conduits which supplied the water of the town; they undermined t walls. They had ordnance and ammunition; and "soldiers cas iered" taught them how to use them. But the majority of the E eter citizens, under the guidance of the mayor, bravely resisted, a though many were inclined to favor the designs of the insurgent There were contests among themselves; but the greater numb were steadfast, even though they began to suffer the usual miseries a beleaguered town. For five weeks this contest went on. The go ernment was issuing proclamations to the rebels, and distributi Cranmer's wise and gentle replies to their demands. The news the commotions soon went forth to foreign lands. The prime mi ister of Charles V. told Paget that he had heard of the "*grand ba bulary*e" of the English commons; "but it is nothing if Monsie Protector step to it betimes, and travail in person as the emper himself did, with the sword of justice in his hand."† On the 16th July martial law was proclaimed; and all were forbidden, und pain of death, "by drum, tabret, pipe, or any other instrument stril ing or sounding, bell or bells ringing, by opening, crying, postin riding, running, or by any news, rumors, or tales, divulging a spreading, or by any other device or token whatsoever, to call t gether or muster any number of people."‡ Lord Russell had gat ered a small force at the commencement of these troubles; but h looked in vain for aid of men or money from the government. A length some merchants of Exeter who were in his camp, havi pledged their credit, obtained for him a supply of money; and h marched forward with reinforcements. After an engagement wi a band of the insurgents, he at length was joined by Lord Gre who had opportunely arrived with a troop of horse and three hu dred Italian infantry. A more fierce encounter took place at Cli where the rebels were routed with great slaughter. The prisone who had been taken in a previous engagement were here put to t sword. The besiegers of Exeter now boldly marched to encount the king's troops; and upon Cliff heath a bloody battle took plac with the inevitable result that attends the contest of an armed mult

* Third Sermon before Edward VI. † Holinshed, p. 1002.
‡ Paget to Somerset. Strype, vol. ii. part ii. p. 432.
§ Strype, Eccles. Memorials, vol. ii. part ii. p. 434.
‖ Somerset to Hoby, ambassador to the emperor. Strype, Eccles. Mem., vol. ii. part ii. p. 425.

* We are following as an authority the very curious narrative John Vowell, the chamberlain of Exeter, printed in Holinshed.
† Tytler, vol. i. p. 184.
‡ Strype, Eccles. Mem., vol. ii. part i. p. 267.

tude with disciplined troops. "Great was the slaughter, and cruel was the fight; and such was the valor and stoutness of these men, that the lord Grey reported, himself, that he never in all the wars that he had been in did know the like." When Exeter was relieved, and the insurgents dispersed or slain, executions went forward to an extent which even the minister of the emperor might have approved. One of these tragedies was perpetrated in a way not calculated to appease the religious hatreds of the period. The vicar of St. Thomas, who had encouraged the rebellion, was hanged upon the top of the tower of his own church "in his popish apparel, and had a holy-water bucket and sprinkle, a sacring-bell, a pair of beads, and such other like popish trash hanging about him."*

The Norfolk rebellion appears to have been of a wholly different character from that of the west of England. The Devonshire rising commenced in a church. The Norfolk rising commenced in a fair. On the 6th of July a large number of people were assembled at Wymondham, at a "public play which had been accustomed yearly to be kept in that town, continuing for the space of one night and one day at the least." The itinerant players had repeated their interlude again and again. The Vice had flourished his dagger, and the Fool his bauble. In the uncouth rhymes to which the peasants listened there were probably some incentives to disorder; for on the 6th of August following a proclamation was issued prohibiting such performances in London and elsewhere, for a limited time; for, it says, "the common players do for the most part play such interludes as contain matter tending to sedition and contemning of sundry good orders and laws, whereupon are grown, and daily are like to grow and cause much disquiet, division, tumults," etc.† From gaping at the play the clowns proceeded to break down hedges. John Flowerdew, gentleman, and Robert Ket, tanner, dwelling near Wymondham, had some private grievances, and each instigated the mob to destroy the inclosures of the other. Ket, "being a man hardy and forward to any desperate attempt," thought this pastime might be carried farther. He put himself at their head, calling upon them "to follow him in defence of their common liberty." People continued to join this band in great numbers; and supplies of weapons, armor, and artillery were brought to them out of Norwich. At a short distance from the city is an elevated ground called Mousehold heath. Holinshed, whose narrative we are following, says they "got them to Mousehold; and coming to St. Leonard's hill, on which the earl of Surrey had built a stately house called Mount Surrey, they inkenneled themselves there on the same hill, and in the woods adjoining that lie on the west and the south side of the same hill, as the commons or pasture called Mousehold heath lieth on the east side." This formidable band was at first kept in some order by their bold leader. They sent for the vicar of one of the Norwich parishes to say prayers in their camp. They suffered the mayor of Norwich to come among them without molestation. Ket gave judgment against evil-doers, sitting in state under an oak which was called "the tree of reformation." It was a time of feasting and holiday for this thoughtless multitude, who revelled in the spoils of the neighboring deer-parks, and brought in the fat sheep by thousands from the inclosures which they had broken down. By the advice of a citizen of Norwich the council sent a herald to the camp at Mousehold, who, in his coat of arms, standing under the tree of reformation, proclaimed the king's pardon to all who would depart to their homes. The multitude shouted "God save the king!" and some fell on their knees and wept. But Ket cried out that pardon was for those who had done amiss, and commanded them not to forsake him. The herald then proclaimed him a traitor, and departed. Matters soon came to a more serious issue. The rebels entered Norwich, and carried the mayor and many of the principal citizens prisoners to their camp. It was time for the government to bestir itself; and the royal letters were sent forth to the nobility and gentlemen throughout the country to assemble in arms; for that "one Ket, a tanner, supported by a great many of vile and idle persons, hath taken upon him our royal power and dignity, and calleth himself master and king of Norfolk and Suffolk." ‡

When the royal herald returned to London this extraordinary encampment on Mousehold heath had lasted a full month. Out of the verbose details of the chronicler we may collect enough of exact description to enable us to form a conception of this wonderful scene. In the height of summer a vast assemblage of peasants and artisans is collected, as if for some great festival, on a broad eminence overlooking one of the wealthiest, because one of the most industrious, cities of England. Beneath them is the lofty cathedral, its noble spire rising above the low timber houses, and o'ertopping the many towers of the surrounding churches. They hear the matin and the evening bells of the sacred edifices. They are not indifferent to the offices of religion, and have prayers in their camp—"so religiously rebellious are they;"* and they listen patiently to preachers who exhort them to disperse. They look upon the great baronial castle, at a short distance, in the days of whose mighty lords yeoman and peasant were equally serfs; and they wonder if those were better times in England when the collar on the neck insured abundance for the stomach. They had abundance just now. Their leader sends out his orders to bring in provisions, with all the authority of a victorious general arranging his commissariat: "We the king's friends and deputies do grant license to all men to provide and bring into the camp at Mousehold all manner of cattle, and provision of victuals, in what place soever they may find the same, so that no violence or injury be done to any honest or poor man; commanding all persons as they tender the king's honor and royal majesty, and the relief of the commonwealth, to be obedient to us the governors, and to those whose names ensue."† The multitude that obeyed the tanner of Wymondham was a body far more formidable than the rabble with which the fisherman of Naples enforced submission to his decrees. The greater number of this host were peasants; but they were accustomed to the use of arms. They were confederated for a purpose which they understood, and not for vague political changes. They believed themselves oppressed; and they thought that their grievances would be remedied by the mere act of assembling together in such vast crowds. Without such a conviction among them, it is impossible to understand how so many thousand men should have slept upon the ground for seven weeks, with uncertain supplies of food; and when they went forth to seek supplies, constantly exposed to the attacks of the surrounding gentry, who were collecting their retainers in every quarter. At last a force of fifteen hundred horsemen, led by the marquis of Northampton, arrived to give them some active occupation. At this juncture the mayor of Norwich was in the hands of the insurgents, and the citizens were in daily dread of attack and plunder. The royal forces marched into Norwich, and their leader and the panic-stricken authorities held a consultation how the city should be best defended. The walls and gates were guarded: and "the residue of the soldiers making a mighty large fire in the market-place, so as all the streets were full of light, they remained there all that night in their armor." Before daybreak a fierce attack was made on the walls and gates, and after a fight of three hours the insurgents were driven back. The next day the marquis dispatched Norroy, king-at-arms, to the camp with an offer of pardon. The terms were despised, and Norroy was told "that they would either restore the commonwealth from decay, into the which it was fallen, being oppressed through the covetousness and tyranny of the gentlemen; either else would they, like men, die in the quarrel." The herald had no time to report his answer; for the whole multitude came furiously on, entered the city, fought with the royal troops in the streets, slew Lord Sheffield, one of the chief captains, took many prisoners, and caused Northampton to flee hastily to London. The earl of Warwick was preparing to march with an army to Scotland when these commotions in the eastern districts became so alarming. The rebels had now complete possession of Norwich. Many of the citizens had fled, and had met Warwick upon his march from Cambridge, who had reproved them for their remissness in not resisting the outbreak in its early stages. The army reached Norwich; and again the herald was instructed to proclaim the king's pardon if the rebels would disperse. Ket was proceeding with the herald to confer with the earl; but his purpose was interrupted by his own men, who rejected the pacific offers. Hostilities were resumed; and such was the courage and endurance of this multitude that Warwick was repulsed in several attempts to

* Vowell, in Holinshed, p. 1026.

† The Proclamation is given in Collier's "Annals of the Stage," vol. i. p. 144.

‡ Strype, Eccles. Mem., vol. ii. part i. p. 272.

* Fuller.

† Holinshed, p. 1030.

gain the city. His ammunition wagons were interrupted; some of his pieces of ordnance were seized; his affairs became so desperate that many of his officers advised his abandonment of the enterprise against such a huge multitude. Then ensued a scene, familiar enough in dramatic representations, but not common in real warfare. Warwick, protesting that he would rather lose his life than be so dishonored, drew his sword. The action was followed by his captains; and he commanded "that each one should kiss other's sword, according to an ancient custom used among men of war in time of great danger." They swore upon their swords never to depart, but to vanquish or to fall. While Warwick was at this extremity, Somerset, deceived or deceiving, was writing thus to Sir Philip Hoby, ambassador to the emperor. "The earl of Warwick lieth near to the rebels in Norfolk; which fain now would have grace gladly, so that all might be pardoned. Ket, and the other arch-traitors, in the number, upon that is at a stay; and they daily shrink so fast away that there is great hope that they will leave their captains destitute, and alone to receive their worthy reward; the which is the thing we most desire, to spare as much as may be the effusion of blood, and, namely, that of our own nation." * It appears from the royal letter of the 6th of August that Somerset was originally appointed to proceed with an army to the suppression of the Norfolk rebellion. Had he been the commander, the spirit of the soldier would have perhaps extinguished some of the merciful feeling of the statesman, and he would have cared as little for "the effusion of blood" as in his Scottish campaigns. The fortunes of Somerset and Warwick were in some measure determined by the contrast between the final suppressor of a rebellion, and one who had indirectly encouraged the principle upon which it was commenced. The issue was soon put beyond doubt. On the 26th of August Warwick received an accession to his force of fourteen hundred cavalry. The stirring scene of the oath on the swords had taken place the day previous. The camp of Ket was not so easily provided with food as in the preceding seven weeks when he sent out his purveyors to scour the country. Warwick had possession of the roads to Mousehold heath, and the cabins of bushes had now hungry inmates. On the 27th the rebels resolved to break up their encampment. There were old prophecies current among them, one of which gave a direction to their march:

"The country chuffs, Hob, Dick, and Hick,
With clubs and clouted shoon,
Shall fill up Dussin dale with blood
Of slaughtered bodies soon."

They set fire to their cabins, and, with ensigns flying, marched down from their strong position into Dussin-dale. Here they formed a rampart of stakes, and setting their prisoners in the foremost ranks, waited the approach of the royal troops. They came, still holding out pardon to the general body. It was refused, and the battle commenced. The insurgents fought with their pikes and pitchforks, and they were not without firearms. Both at Norwich and at Exeter we hear nothing of the old English prowess of the bow. The chronicler speaks of ordnance, and firing with guns, and mining with gunpowder on the part of the rebels. The forces that came against them were, doubtless, far better armed, with the wheel-lock pistols of the time for the horsemen, and the harquebuss for the infantry. Dussin-dale was soon filled with the "slaughtered bodies," not of the English harquebussiers and German lance knights of Warwick's army, but of the wretched country chuffs. After the flight of the main body of the insurgents, many held out long, "so inclosed with their carts, carriages, trenches, and stakes pitched in the ground," that it was dangerous to attack them. They at first refused the offered pardon; for they maintained that the promise was "a subtle practice to bring them into the hands of their adversaries, the gentlemen." Warwick at last offered to go himself among them, and give his word that they should receive pardon; and at length they threw down their weapons and cried "God save King Edward." Robert Ket and his brother were conveyed to London, and being convicted of treason, were hanged at Norwich. Others were hanged upon the oak of reformation. But more were spared than was agreeable to the terror-stricken landlords of East Anglia. Warwick answered their exhortations to revenge with a sagacious reference to their own interests: "Is there no place for pardon? What shall we do? Shall we hold the plough ourselves; play the carters and labor the ground with our own hands?" Hob and Dick were to be accounted as of some value in the commonwealth.

After Somerset had gained the battle of Pinkie, in the autumn of 1547, he returned, as we have seen, suddenly to London, leaving to others to reap the harvest of his victory, if any were to be reaped. The results of that great scattering of the Scottish power were not favorable to the English influence. The nobility of Scotland resolved to apply for assistance to France; and at the instigation of the queen-dowager, the young Queen Mary was offered in marriage to the Dauphin of France. In 1548 Haddington was taken by the English under Lord Gray of Wilton, and several other minor successes were accomplished. But in June a large force, partly French and partly German, arrived at Leith; and an army of Scots, with these auxiliaries, marched to recover Haddington. A parliament, or convention, that was hastily assembled, ratified the treaty for the marriage; and the child-queen was received at Dunbarton on board a French vessel which had entered the Clyde and then sailed to France. In August Mary was solemnly contracted to the Dauphin. The war was continued with various success, but on the whole was unfavorable to the English. Haddington was relieved, after the garrison had endured the greatest suffering by famine. The English fleet was repulsed by the peasantry in several attacks upon the Scottish coast. At the time of the insurrections of 1549, the government of Somerset was preparing to carry on the contest with renewed vigor. The French auxiliaries who remained in Scotland had become distasteful to the people, and the king of France was more intent upon recovering Boulogne than of aiding his Scotch allies. The war with Scotland was, however, too burdensome to be vigorously pursued by England; the Scots recovered many of their strong places; and even Haddington was evacuated on the 1st of October, in the year of England's domestic troubles.

* Strype, Eccles. Mem., vol. ii. part ii. p. 424.

CHAPTER LXIII.

Position of domestic affairs after the suppression of the insurrections—Somerset accused of lenity—Confederacy against the power of Somerset—Edward carried from Hampton Court to Windsor—Somerset deserted—Lord Russell with the army of the West takes part against him—He is conveyed to the Tower—Articles exhibited against him—His humiliation and release—Parliament assembled—Law against unlawful assemblies—Anabaptists excepted from a general pardon—Burning of Joan Bocher—Cranmer and the king—Articles of Belief—Canon law—Bonner, Gardiner, and other bishops deprived and imprisoned—Resistance of the Princess Mary to the new services—Release of Somerset—His second fall—His execution—Foreign churches in England—Peace with France and Scotland—Power of Northumberland—Illness of King Edward—Marriage of Northumberland's son to Lady Jane Grey—Edward determines to alter the succession—His death.

Warwick has returned to London. The slaughter of Dussin-dale has given him political power as well as military renown. If Somerset had listened to the advice of Paget to go himself against the rebels with four thousand Almain horsemen—to give them no good words or promises—to hang the disaffected in every shire without redemption—he might have held his office in safety. But Paget knew the nature of the man: "Your grace may say, I shall lose the hearts of the people." Somerset clung to his popularity—and fell from his high place, on the first assault of a faction that he had mortally offended by the "lenity" and "softness" with which Paget reproaches him. This frank monitor imputes to these qualities that the king's subjects were "out of all discipline, out of obedience, caring neither for protector nor king, and much less for any other mean officer. And what is the cause? Your own lenity, your softness, your opinion to be good to the poor; the opinion of such as saith to your grace, oh, sir, there was never man had the hearts of the poor as you have. Oh, the commons pray for you, sir; they say, God save your life. I know your gentle heart right well, and that your meaning is good and godly; however some evil men list to prate here, that you have some greater enterprise in your head that lean so

much to the multitude." * Strype observes upon this letter: "Paget's temper, naturally disposed to severity, and confirmed therein by the methods he had observed in bishop Gardiner, under whom he had been bred, led him to principles of government perhaps too rigorous, and by some wise men in those days disliked; as thinking it not safe to hold such a strait hand over the commons, and to press and keep them under in a kind of slavery, which English spirits would not, nor could, digest." † The temper thus imputed to Paget is one that has always found favor among the large class who see, or affect to see, nothing but evil in strengthening the influence of the democratic principles of our English constitution; and thus it has been somewhat the fashion, even with historians who write without a strong religious bias, to impugn the character of Somerset. But in an age in which the humblest were trampled upon without mercy or justice, it is something to find one in the highest place earning the hatred of the great by his desire to have "the hearts of the poor." The rarity of the example ought to make us examine with a charitable caution the motives and actions of a man who almost stood alone in the attempt, however impolitic, to build up the state upon a broader foundation than the interests of the privileged classes. The favorite doctrine which was inculcated upon the young king was that "the ambition and tyranny of the nobility were much more tolerable than the insolence, inconstancy, peril, and ignorance of the multitude. . . . In the monarchy or estate of a prince, if the prince be good, like as he keepeth his commons void of power, even so he preserveth them from the tyranny of the nobility. . . . If the tyranny of the nobility be more tolerable than the insolence of the multitude, much more tolerable then is the prince's tyranny than the commons' power." These maxims are from a discourse made by William Thomas, clerk of the council, "for the king's use." ‡ They were the maxims which had been gradually raising up the ancient limited monarchy of England into a despotism, after the organized power of the feudal nobility, which had held the monarchy in check, had been destroyed. They were the maxims which endured for a century longer, till the other dreaded power had become organized; and a terrible experience of their fallacy became a warning for all after ages.

The record in Edward's Journal of this period of his reign is evidently retrospective. It was written after the power of his uncle had passed away, and when the king was under opposite influences. The coldness with which he speaks of the transactions of 1549 is very remarkable; and if this does not manifest the truth of Mr. Hallam's suspicion that he had "not a good heart," it somewhat establishes the other belief that he had "too much Tudor blood in his veins." § Edward's narrative is very compact; and we may as well follow it, giving illustrations as we proceed.

"In the mean season in England rose great stirs, like to increase much if it had not been well foreseen. The council, about nineteen of them, were gathered in London, thinking to meet with the lord protector, and to make him amend some of his disorders." Holinshed has related in what manner the council were gathered in London: "Many of the lords, as well counsellors as others, misliking the government of the protector, began to withdraw themselves from the court; and, resorting to London, fell to secret consultation for redress of things, but namely for the displacing of the lord protector. And suddenly, upon what occasion many marvelled but few knew, every lord and counsellor went through the city weaponed; and had their servants likewise weaponed, attending upon them in new liveries, to the great wondering of many. And at the last a great assembly of the said counsellors was made at the earl of Warwick's lodging, which was then at Ely Place in Holborn, whither all the confederates in this matter came privily armed." ‖ After this demonstration the rival powers instantly came into collision. The documents in the State Paper Office connected with this story, bearing date from the 1st to the 14th of October, are no less than forty-six in number. ¶ In these is to be traced the authentic history of the most rapid and complete revolution that was ever effected in the government—a revolution which was accomplished with consummate boldness, and with an equal amount of craft and treachery. Before the publication of the more interesting of these papers, very little precise information of this event was "to be found in our most popular general historians, or even in the pages of Burnet, Strype, or Fuller." * On the 1st of October a proclamation appeared with the signature of Somerset, commanding all the king's subjects with all haste to repair to Hampton Court, "in most defensible array, with harness and weapons, to defend his most royal person, and his most entirely beloved uncle, the lord protector, against whom certain hath attempted a most dangerous conspiracy." The king and Somerset were at Hampton Court; and with them were Cranmer and Paget; Petre and Smith, the two secretaries of state; and Cecil, the private secretary of the protector. Warwick and his associates obtained possession of the Tower of London, removed the lieutenant, and placed one of their own friends in his place. The Journal of Edward relates the counter-movement on the part of the protector: "The next morning, being the 6th of October and Saturday, he commanded the armor to be brought down out of the armory of Hampton Court, about five hundred harnesses, to arm both his and my men; with all the gates of the house to be rampier'd—people to be raised." From Hampton Court on that day the protector wrote to Lord Russell, the privy seal, who had the command of the army in the west of England, and required him to hasten with his power "to the defence of the king's majesty." The answer must have been a death-blow to Somerset's reliance upon any effectual support in the hour of his necessity. Lord Russell and Sir William Herbert replied, in a joint letter, in which they say that, "having this day received advertisement from the lords, whereby it is given us to understand that no hurt nor displeasure is meant toward the king's majesty, and that it doth plainly appear unto us that they are his highness's most true and loving subjects, meaning no otherwise than as to their duties of allegiance may appertain; so, as in conclusion, it doth also appear to us, that this great extremity proceedeth only upon private causes between your grace and them." They therefore declare that they have levied a power to insure the safety of the king, and the preservation of the state, "which, while this contention endureth, by factions between your grace and them, may be in much peril and danger." There is one sentence in this letter which shows the extreme imprudence of Somerset, in appealing from the hostility of the nobility to the support of the people: "Your grace's proclamation and billets sent abroad for the raising of the commons we mislike very much. The wicked and evil disposed persons shall stir, as well as the faithful subjects." Warwick and his confederates had endeavored to obtain the countenance of an organized body, the aldermen and common council of London, and had demanded from them the aid of two thousand men. Somerset had sought to move in his favor the scattered population—slow to move except under bold leaders, and difficult to control when set in motion. A copy of one of the billets sent abroad has been preserved: † "Good people—In the name of God and King Edward, let us rise with all our power to defend him and the lord protector against certain lords and gentlemen, and chief masters, which would depose the lord protector, and so endanger the king's royal person; because we, the poor commons, being injured by the extortion of gentlemen, had our pardon this year by the mercy of the king and the goodness of the lord protector; for whom let us fight, for he loveth all just and true gentlemen which do no extortion, and also the poor commonalty of England. God save the king and my lord protector, and all true lords and gentlemen, and us the poor commonalty." There was another handbill, dropped in the streets of London, inscribed on the back, "Read it, and give it forth." Thus was it sought to move the public opinion, in days when it was of small avail, and could produce little but riot and disorder if stirred into action. But even these rude attempts to create a public voice were not without their effect. In a letter to the lords of the council at London, dated the 9th of October, Russell and Herbert say, that in their journey toward London "the countries were everywhere in a roar that no man wist what to do."

On the night of the 6th of October Edward was moved to Windsor

* Strype, Eccles. Mem., vol. ii. part ii. p. 431.
† Ibid., vol. ii. part i. p. 285.
‡ Ibid., part ii. p. 376.
§ "Constitutional History," ed. 1855, vol. i. p. 85, note.
‖ Chronicle, p. 1057.
¶ See the List, analyzed in "Calendar of State Papers."

* Tytler, vol. i. p. 252. Mr. Tytler justly claims the merit of thus opening the historical truth "in the original letters of the times."
† No. 12, vol. ix. in State Paper Office.

Castle: "That night," he says in his Journal, "with all the people, at nine or ten o'clock of the night, I went to Windsor; and there was watch and ward kept every night." The proclamation of Somerset, that all loving subjects should repair to the king in most defensible array, had been neutralized by the decision of Russell and Herbert—no doubt a previous arrangement—to take part with the enemies of the protector. In their letter of the 9th from Andover, they say, "God was the guide of our journey; for if we had not been here at this time, there had been raised five or six thousand men at the least, to have gone to Windsor; besides the uncertain rage that the commons might have taken upon this occasion. But, as God would, the gentlemen of these parts, hearing of our being here, have stayed upon our setting forward, and divers of them have sent to us for our opinions, wherewith we have satisfied them." Somerset, the day after he removed the king to Windsor, wrote a letter of conciliation to the lords at London, in which he said, "Ye shall find us agreeable to any reasonable conditions that you will require; for we do esteem the king, and the wealth and tranquillity of this realm, more than all other worldly things—yea, than our own life." On that day, the 7th, these lords addressed a letter to those few of the council who were at Windsor, in which they say, "If the said duke will, as becometh a good subject, absent himself from his majesty, be contented to be ordered according to justice and reason, and disperse that force which is levied by him, we will gladly commune with you. . . . Otherwise, if we shall see that you mind more than maintenance of that one man's ill-doings than the execution of his majesty's laws and common order, we must make other account of you than we trust we shall have cause." The threat worked its intended effect. The king, writing no doubt under direction, on the 8th, pleads for his uncle in these words: "We pray you, good cousins and counsellors, to consider, as in times past you have every of you in his degree served us honestly at sundry times, so hath our said uncle, as you all know; and by God's grace may, by your good advices, serve us full well hereafter. Each man hath his faults; he his, and you yours; and if we shall hereafter as rigorously weigh yours as we hear that you intend with cruelty to purge his, which of you shall all be able to stand before us?" If these were Somerset's words, he must have known that they would be wasted upon Rich, the crafty chancellor; upon Southampton, expelled by himself from that office; upon Warwick, his deadly rival. They had with them St. John, Northampton, Arundel, Shrewsbury—powerful nobles, some of whom hated Somerset as much for his support of the innovations in religion as for his hasty temper; but most especially for his popularity. Cranmer, Paget, and Smith were still around the falling man. They made one more effort to break his fall. They wrote that he was indifferent about his office, provided the king and the realm were well served; but that as he was called to the place by their advice, and the consent of the nobles of the realm, it was not reasonable that he should be thrust out in violent sort. They add, "Marry, to put himself simply into your hands, having heard as he and we have, without knowing upon what conditions, is not reasonable. Life is sweet, my lords, and they say you seek his blood and his death." The one friend who remained to him, "faithful found among the faithless"—Sir Thomas Smith—exhorted them to moderation: "I trust no man seeketh his blood, who hath, as ye know, rather been too easy than cruel to others." He has a touching allusion to the death of Somerset's brother, as if he would infer that the protector had not to bear the odium of that state necessity—by praying to them "that this realm be not made in one year a double tragedy." All these appeals were in vain. The power was in the hands of those who could command a military force far outnumbering those who wore "the armor brought down out of the armory at Hampton Court." They wrote two secret letters. One to the young king was calculated to flatter him into the belief that the exercise of his authority would restore the realm to perfect quiet, by the removal of Somerset from his protectorship and governorship: "These titles and special trust were committed to him during your majesty's pleasure; and upon condition that he should do all things by advice of your council." The other letter to Cranmer, Paget, and Smith, was intended to terrify them into obedience to a secret message which was sent to them by Sir Philip Hoby, who had recommended himself to the lords in London by playing false. Sir Philip Hoby was also the bearer of a public message to Somerset and the council at Windsor, that the lords meant no ill to the duke, either to his person or his goods. Sir Thomas Smith, who is the authority for this, says that, "upon this, all the aforenamed there present wept for joy, and thanked God, and prayed for the lords. Mr. Comptroller [Sir William Paget] fell down on his knees, and clasped the duke about the knees, and weeping, said, 'Oh, my lord, ye see now what my lords be.'"* Upon this, Somerset consented that his guards should be removed and his servants dismissed. The next day he was arrested, with the one honest friend of the council, Sir Thomas Smith, and his secretary Cecil. It is one of the painful passages of Cranmer's life that his name is signed, with that of Paget, to the exulting communication to the lords that their victim is secured; "and, for because his chamber was hard adjoining to the king's bed-chamber, he is removed to the tower which is called the lieutenant's, which is the high tower next adjoining to the gate of the middle ward—a very high tower—and a strong and good watch shall be had about the same."

"On Monday, the 13th of October, the duke was brought to London as if he had been a captive, carried in triumph." Thus Hayward writes. In the "Chronicle of the Grey Friars" there is a bitter record of the fall of this champion of the Reformation: "Item, the 14th day at after-noon was brought the traitor from Windsor, with a great company of lords and gentlemen, and many horses, with their men with weapons; and came in at St. Giles' in the Field, at his desire; for because he would not come by the place that he had begun; and pulled down divers churches and the cloister in Paul's, to build it withal."† "The place that he had begun" was Somerset House. In the proclamation issued by the council against the protector, it was alleged "that he was ambitious, and sought his own glory, as appeared by his building of most sumptuous and costly buildings."‡ The accusers of Somerset had themselves desecrated too many churches and cloisters, to object to the fallen man that he had committed the spoliation in which every courtier had been engaged from the first hour of the suppression of the abbeys. But in the eyes of the people, especially of those who clung to the ancient faith, his destruction of the charnel-house of St. Paul's—although it was an abomination in the heart of a populous city—would be held as sacrilege; and the removal of the great cloister, covered with pictures of "the Dance of Death," would excite the indignation of many who had gazed upon "the loathly figures of our dead bony bodies," as More describes them, there painted in the time of Henry VI.; and had read "the metres or poesy of the Dance," by John Lydgate. But with us of the present day, who lament over what we regard as a wanton destruction of a curious work of art, it must not be forgotten that these pictures were opposed not only to the puritanic feelings of the Reformers, but, like many other matters belonging to the ancient Church, were not consistent with a strict morality. The verses of Lydgate were founded upon what Warton calls "a sort of spiritual masquerade, anciently celebrated in churches;" and some of the figures, as handed down in exquisite woodcuts, ill accorded with serious ideas, and occasionally overleaped the bounds of decency.§ Nevertheless the statesmen of the Reformation too often outraged the better feelings of our nature in their zeal against what they called superstition; and Somerset, armed with his brief authority, did not play more fantastic tricks than any other great man would have played in the same office. Putting aside these tokens of an irreverent rapacity, there is little to be found in the articles exhibited against him which calls for the indignation of after times. The law-officers would complain that he had interfered with their delays of justice; the members of the council that he had insisted too strongly on his own opinions; the nobles and gentry that he had said "that the avarice of gentlemen gave occasion for the people to rise, and that it was better for them to die than to perish for want."‖ But in these articles there is nothing objected to Somerset that could be construed into treason, and scarcely anything that could be proved as an abuse of the authority with which, wrongly or rightly, he had been invested. In those days the sovereign was his own minister; and Somerset stood in the place of the sovereign. In the very heat and turmoil of the movement against him, the protector sends out an

* Harleian MS. quoted in Tytler, vol. i. p. 239.
† Publication of the Camden Society, p. 65. ‡ Holinshed, p. 1058.
§ Douce, "Illustrations of Shakespeare," vol. i. p. 131.
‖ See the Articles in Burnet. No. 46 of "Records."

order to the governor of Calais to dispatch gunners to Boulogne, which was threatened by the French. The order is, indeed, countersigned by Cranmer and three other counsellors that were with him at Hampton Court on the 4th of October; but we cannot doubt that the protector acted upon his own responsibility in this matter, as he must have done in every case of emergency. On the 13th of October the letters patent to Somerset, for the governorship of the king's person and the protectorship, were revoked. His almost regal authority was at an end. There can be no doubt that if the shadow of a charge of treason could have been preferred against him, Somerset's head would then have been forfeited. He remained a prisoner in the Tower till the 6th of February, 1550; when he was released upon payment of a fine of ten thousand pounds; having signed articles of submission, humiliating in the extreme. Life was sweet to the degraded man. Cecil, Smith, and others of his friends, were also released.

On the 4th of November the parliament assembled. Such outrages as had occurred in the summer were to be restrained in future by the terrors of the law; and a statute, fearful enough in its enactments, was rapidly passed. All persons assembling to the number of twelve, having an intention to offer violence to members of the privy council, or to alter the laws for religion or any other statutes, who did not disperse upon proclamation, were to be held guilty of high treason. If twelve persons should assemble for attempts to break down the fences of any inclosure, or unlawfully to have common way in any inclosed ground or park, or to destroy deer, or to pull down houses, or to abate rents—such attempts were declared to be felony without benefit of clergy. Forty persons assembling for such acts were held to be traitors. Any persons under the number of twelve, so assembling, were liable to fine and imprisonment. Copyholders refusing to assist in dispersing such assemblies were to forfeit a life interest in their copyholds; and farmers were to forfeit their farms to the landlords.* A proclamation to disperse, under the Riot Act of the present day, is in nearly the same terms as those of the proclamation given in this statute of Edward VI. The gradual but certain operation of the system of inclosures, in promoting the employment of profitable labor in the place of the old modes of chance subsistence upon uncultivated wastes, produced a disposition to tranquillity far more certain than statutory enactments. The riots for the restoration of the old services and ceremonies of religion were equally appeased by the growing prevalence of the reformed doctrines. The government must have felt itself strong in the support of a majority of the people, when they procured an act to be passed for all images to be removed from churches, and all missals to be delivered up.† The Statute of Vagabonds was repealed in this parliament, as wholly inoperative from its severity. A statute that made his fellow-man a slave was not likely to be enforced by the English gentleman or yeoman.‡ A subsidy was granted; and a general pardon declared for all offenders, especially those concerned in the late rebellions, with the usual exceptions. But there was one special exception, which is remarkable—an exception of those who had offended in certain heresies and erroneous opinions, namely—"that infants ought not to be baptized, and if they be baptized they ought to be rebaptized when they come to lawful age; that it is not lawful for a Christian man to bear office or rule in the commonwealth; that no man's law ought to be obeyed; that it is not lawful for a Christian man to take an oath before any judge; that Christ took no bodily substance of our blessed Lady; that sinners after baptism cannot be restored by repentance; that all things be, or ought to be, common and nothing several."§ These were the alleged doctrines of the Anabaptists, whose sect had been so relentlessly persecuted in 1535. At the time of this Act of General Pardon, there were several such persons in prison. The repeal of the statutes against heretical opinions was not held to exempt them. The most famous instance of the renewed severity against the holders of these opinions is that of Joan Bocher. Her fate is thus recorded in King Edward's Journal: "May 2. Joan Bocher, otherwise called Joan of Kent, was burned, for holding that Christ was not incarnate of the Virgin Mary; being condemned the year before, but kept in hope of conversion. And the 30th of April the bishop of London and the bishop of Ely were to persuade her; but she withstood them, and reviled the preacher that preached at her death." The statement of Fox, with reference to the conduct of the young king and Cranmer in determining the fate of this resolved woman, has found a place in almost every history. It is thus presented to us by one of the most unprejudiced of historians: "The execution was delayed for a year by the compassionate scruples of Edward, who refused to sign it [the warrant]. It must be owned with regret that his conscientious hesitation was borne down by the authority and importunity of Cranmer; though the reasons of that prelate rather silenced than satisfied the boy, who, as he set his hand to the warrant, said, with tears in his eyes, to the archbishop, 'If I do wrong, since it was in submission to your authority, you must answer for it to God.'"* Many statements that the later historians have been accustomed to receive from the elder, without the means of disproof—and many which future writers will continue to receive and transmit—rest upon evidence as unsatisfactory as this "stain upon Cranmer's memory, which nothing but his own death could have lightened."† We owe to the sagacity as well as to the diligence of antiquarian inquirers of our own time that many apocryphal statements have been exploded, and many historic doubts cleared up. If the allegation against Cranmer that he pressed the execution of the sentence against Joan Bocher be not wholly removed by the following statement, it is perfectly clear that the touching contrast between the king and the archbishop must no longer be related: "Among the minutes of the business transacted by the council on the 27th of April, 1550, is the following: 'A warrant to the lord chauncellor to make out a writt to the shireff of London for the execuçon of Johan of Kent, condempned to be burned for certain detestable opinions of heresie.' It appears from these words, that, in conformity with the ordinary legal practice of the period, Joan Bocher was executed upon a writ *de hæretico comburendo*, addressed to the sheriff of London, and issued out of chancery, upon the authority of a warrant signed, not by the king, but by the council. It would have been contrary to constitutional custom for the king to have signed any such document; it is quite clear, from the entry quoted, that, in point of fact, he did not sign it; and the narrative which the worthy martyrologist was misled into inserting, and Cranmer's difficulty to cause the king to 'put to his hand,' and the tears, by which subsequent writers have declared that his submission to the stern pleading of his spiritual father were accompanied, all vanish. That no doubt may remain upon the subject I will add: I. That it was not customary for the king to attend meetings of the council. II. That whenever the council desired that the king should be consulted or communicated with, an entry was made upon the council-book similar to the following, which occurs on the same day as the preceding: 'It is agreed by the whole counsaill, that the king's majestie should be moved for the restitution of the duke of Somersett unto all his goods, his debts, and his leases yet ungiven.'" The third point in the defence of Cranmer as to this special charge, is that, on the 27th of April, when the warrant was issued, the archbishop was not present at the council, which was attended by the lord chancellor and twelve other members.‡ But to believe that either Cranmer, or Ridley, or Latimer were opposed to the execution of Joan Bocher, the anabaptist, or George van Paris, the Arian (who was burned at the same period), is to imagine that they had reached that enlargement of opinion which belongs to a different state of society. Mr. Hallam has truly said, "Tolerance in religion, it is well known, so unanimously admitted (at least verbally) even by theologians in the present century, was seldom considered as practicable, much less as a matter of right, during the period of the Reformation."§ But we must bear in mind that intolerance was the very opposite of indifference; and that when we look back upon the errors and crimes, either of Catholic or Protestant, we must make some allowance for an earnestness that saw only one way to truth.

There can be nothing more signally illustrative of the difficulties which the earlier Reformers had to contend with, when they departed from the canons and traditions of an infallible church, than the questions attempted by them to be regulated and settled which

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* 3 & 4 Ed. VI. c. 5.
‡ See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 292.
† Ibid., c. 10.
§ 3 & 4 Ed. VI. c. 24.

* Mackintosh, "History of England," vol. ii. p. 273.
† Hallam, "Constitutional History," vol. i. c. 2.
‡ This interesting statement is given by Mr. Bruce, in his "Preface to an edition of Roger Hutchinson's Works," 1842.
§ "Constitutional History," vol. i. p. 95.

yet remain matters of difference among zealous and learned Christians. It is no part of our duty to enter upon an examination of these controversial points. But in the sixteenth century, as now, they furnished occasion for heats and animosities which the pious and peaceable would desire to have separated from the religion of love. The forty-two articles of belief set forth in the reign of Edward VI. were conceived in a spirit of compromise, which was well calculated to establish a Protestant church as opposed to a Roman Catholic, by bringing men of opposite opinions upon metaphysical points within its fold. But when the broad distinctions between the old and the new doctrines came to be of less practical importance than the diversity of opinions between Protestants themselves, the articles, however revised and explained, became stumbling-blocks to the conscientious; and went on, from age to age, interrupting that unity of the Anglican Church for which good men ought to pray. Again, the material forms and symbols of the Church were lasting points of fierce dispute. Hooper, one of the more strict reformers, who had lived much abroad, and who testified to the strength of his general convictions by perishing at the stake in the reign of Mary, very early raised a schism by refusing to be consecrated in the usual episcopal robe; which strictness went forward in a subsequent period into a fierce contest about the use of the surplice. Questions more affecting the civil interests of society were raised by the statute for appointing commissioners to compile a new body of ecclesiastical laws; the ancient canon law "having not of long time been put in ure [use] nor exercised by the reason of the usurped authority of the bishop of Rome."* A book was compiled by Cranmer which never became law, but is of authority as pointing to the principles of the first reformers. The law of divorce is one of the most important of the subjects of which this code treats. The proposed law did not regard marriage as indissoluble. Divorce for adultery might be pronounced by the ecclesiastical courts, with liberty to marry again by the party sinned against and not sinning. Divorce was also held lawful in cases of mortal enmities, the desertion of a husband, his lasting cruelty, or his prolonged absence. In our own day it is one of the laudable objects of legislation to carry out some of the principles which were thus promulgated, if the change can be accomplished without making the dissolution of marriage a cloak for licentiousness, or weakening the force of parental duties by making the relations of husband and wife too easy of relaxation. The system of a special act of parliament, in individual cases, to be preceded by an action at law, is the barbarous expedient of a century and a half after the Reformation, which long remained a crying disgrace among us.

Bonner, the bishop of London, was deprived of his see at the time when Somerset and the council became at mortal variance. He was committed to the Marshalsea, where he was a prisoner during the remainder of Edward's reign. Ridley was subsequently appointed to the bishopric. Gardiner, the bishop of Winchester, who had been a prisoner for some time in the Fleet, was released in 1549, and ordered to preach before the king at Paul's Cross. He preached so boldly and offensively that he was committed to the Tower. In 1550 he was examined by the council, and we find Somerset among those who were to probe his opinions. The history of these discussions, in which Gardiner conducted himself with his usual spirit and ability, will be found in the ecclesiastical historians.† In the end he was deprived of his bishopric, and was confined in the Tower till the accession of Queen Mary. The order of the council for his final imprisonment, in 1551, is not of a magnanimous complexion. It is alleged that he had called his judges "heretics and sacramentarians;" and it was therefore resolved that he should be removed to a meaner lodging in the Tower; that he should send to no man, and hear from no man; that his books and papers be taken from him; "and that from henceforth he have neither pen, ink, nor paper to write his detestable purposes." It would have been more honorable to the free spirit of Protestantism if Gardiner had been allowed to continue his paper war with Cranmer, without this cowardly suppression of his opinions. He was secluded for four years from all intercourse with the outward world, or the slightest knowledge of passing affairs. Heath, the bishop of Worcester, and Day, the bishop of Chichester, had objected to the removal of altars; and they were committed to prison and deprived. Tonstall, the bishop of Durham, was sent to the Tower upon a charge of misprision of treason. There is some slight justification for these courses. The severities of the government against religious opponents present this difference between the proceedings of the previous and of the subsequent reign—they stopped short of bloodshed. No Roman Catholic was put to death in the time of Edward VI. The offences of the deprived bishops were political offences; and under a more despotic system the penalties of treason would assuredly have fallen upon them. The position of domestic affairs was one of extreme danger and difficulty; and in no point was it more dangerous than in the firm determination of the king's elder sister not to conform to the changes of religion. The inflexible character of Mary presented an embarrassment that could not be grappled with by any ordinary means. An entry in Edward's Journal in 1551 shows how painful and delicate was the position of the youthful king: "March 18th. The Lady Mary, my sister, came to me at Westminster, where, after salutations, she was called, with my council, into a chamber; where was declared how long I had suffered her mass, in hope of her reconciliation, and how, now being no hope, which I perceived by her letters, except I saw some short amendments, I could not bear it. She answered, that her soul was God's, and her faith she would not change, nor dissemble her opinion with contrary doings. It was said I constrained not her faith; but willed her not as a king to rule, but as a subject to obey; and that her example might breed too much inconvenience." The entry in the Journal of the next day shows how Mary was fortified in the bold avowal of her opinions: "The emperor's ambassador came with a short message from his master, of war, if I would not suffer his cousin, the princess, to use her mass." An English ambassador was sent to the emperor to remonstrate against his interference; but Mary relaxed nothing of her determination. Her comptroller, and other officers of her household, in August, 1551, were sent to her residence Copt Hall, in Essex, to forbid her servants hearing mass. They returned, bringing a most characteristic letter from the princess to the king, of which one paragraph will show the tone: "And now I beseech your highness to give me leave to write what I think touching your majesty's letters. Indeed they be signed with your own hand; and nevertheless in my opinion not your majesty's in effect; because it is well known (as heretofore I have declared in the presence of your highness) that although, our Lord be praised, your majesty hath far more knowledge and greater gifts than others of your years, yet it is not possible that your highness can at these years be a judge in matters of religion. And, therefore, I take it that the matter in your letter proceedeth from such as do wish those things to take place which be most agreeable to themselves; by whose doings (your majesty not offended) I intend not to rule my conscience."* Four days after this letter had been received by the king, the lord chancellor and two others of the council were sent to Mary; and a full report of their mission is extant. The princess did not abate a jot of her resolution, or of her contempt for the ministers of her brother. She would obey all the king's commandments, her conscience saved; "but rather than she will agree to use any other service than was used at the death of the late king, her father, she would lay her head on a block and suffer death."† There was a bitter sarcasm in her deportment, mixed with this solemn steadfastness. As the members of the council were leaving her house, she called out of a window, desiring that they would send back her comptroller. "For," said she, "since his departing, I take the accounts myself of my expenses, and learned how many loaves of bread be made of a bushel of wheat; and I wis my father and my mother never brought me up with baking and brewing."

On the 21st of March, 1550, there is this entry in King Edward's Journal, "My Lord Somerset was delivered of his bonds, and came to court." On the 10th of April Somerset was restored to a place in the council. On the 3d of June Lord Lisle, the son of Warwick, was married at Sheen to Ann, the daughter of Somerset; and the king was present at the bridal. And yet, within a few weeks of this alliance, we find that a jealousy of Somerset's influence in public affairs is beginning to manifest itself. In a letter from Richard Whalley to Cecil, dated 26th June, 1550,‡ the writer details a conversation

* 3 & 4 Ed. VI. c. 11.
† See particularly Strype, "Memorials of Cranmer," vol. i. c. 19.

* Ellis, "First Series," vol. ii. p. 177. † Ibid., p. 182.
‡ Mr. Tytler gives this letter under the date of 1551. From the

with "my lord of Warwick, in which Warwick "showed most plainly the inward grief of his heart, with not a few tears," at Somerset's proceedings in attempting to procure the release of the bishop of Winchester and lord Arundel; and expressed his suspicion that he desired the same authority as when he was protector. "And further he said, Alas! Mr. Whalley, what meaneth my lord in this wise to discredit himself, and why will he not see his own decay therein? Thinks he to rule and direct the whole council as he will, considering how his late governance is yet misliked? neither is he in that credit and best opinion with the king's majesty, as he believeth, and is by some fondly persuaded." During the early part of June, 1550, the bishop of Winchester had been repeatedly examined by the council, Somerset being always present; and on the 14th we have this entry in Edward's Journal: "The duke of Somerset, with five others of the council, went to the bishop of Winchester; to whom he made this answer: 'I having deliberately seen the Book of Common Prayer, although I would not have made it so myself, yet I find such things in it as satisfieth my conscience, and therefore I will both execute it myself, and also see other, my parishioners, to do it.'" Upon this submission of Gardiner we may well believe that Somerset, inclined as he was to moderate proceedings, might attempt to procure his release. During 1550 Somerset appears to have been re-establishing his power. In December he has a hundred guards assigned him, although Warwick and other nobles have only fifty. But in February, 1551, a storm is gathering, as we learn from this brief entry in Edward's Journal: "Mr. Whalley was examined, for persuading divers nobles of the realm to make the duke of Somerset protector at the next parliament, and stood to the denial, the earl of Rutland affirming it manifestly." The jealousies of the retainers of Somerset and Warwick began to manifest themselves in open conflicts; and some of Somerset's servants were sent to the Tower. These symptoms of disquiet appear to have subsided for six months; and Somerset was to be found in council and about the person of the king. On the 11th of October the marquis of Dorset was created duke of Suffolk, and the earl of Warwick was created duke of Northumberland. On the 16th of October Somerset, having that day taken his seat at the council, was arrested and sent to the Tower, with his duchess and many of his friends. The charges against him were that, on the 20th of April, he conspired to depose the king, to seize the government, and to imprison the earl of Warwick; and the indictment also alleges a second plot of a similar nature, to be executed on the 20th of May. The long interval between the concoction of this plot and its discovery would alone induce a suspicion that the evidence, as it was called, was manufactured by him who had a decided interest in removing Somerset, to carry forward the bold conceptions of his own ambition. On the 1st of December Somerset was brought to trial before the lord-steward and twenty-seven peers, on a charge of high treason, by conspiring to seize the king; and of felony, under the act of the preceding session against unlawful assemblies, in purposing, with others, to imprison the earl of Warwick, a privy councillor. He was acquitted of the treason, and found guilty of the felony. In the king's Journal many details of the progress of the discovery of this alleged plot are given, but they furnish little help to the elucidation of a mysterious struggle between two political rivals, which, in happier times, would have ended in a change of ministry. This Journal, however, furnishes a proof of the popular love for Somerset. Being acquitted of treason he went out of Westminster Hall, "without the axe of the Tower. The people, not knowing the matter, shouted half a dozen of times so loud that from the hall-door it was heard at Charing Cross plainly, and rumors went that he was quit of all." That Christmas Somerset spent drearily in the Tower; while his nephew was diverted from the thoughts of the prisoner by every courtly amusement in his palace of Greenwich—tilts, tournaments, fights at barriers, masques, banquets. On the 22nd of January there is this business-like entry in the royal day-book: "The duke of Somerset had his head cut off upon Tower Hill, between eight and nine o'clock in the morning." The details of this execution have been preserved by an eye-witness. The duke addressed the assembly in a short speech, and was preparing for death, when "the people espy Sir Anthony Brown upon a little nag, riding toward the scaffold, and therewith they burst out crying in a voice, 'Pardon, pardon, pardon,' hurling up their caps and cloaks with these words, saying, 'God save the king, God save the king.' The good duke all this while stayed, and with his cap in his hand waited the people to come together, saying these words to their words of pardon, 'There is no such thing, good people, there is no such thing, it is the ordinance of God thus for to die, where with we must be content; and I pray you now let us pray together for the king's majesty, to whose grace I have been always a faithful, true, and most loving subject, desirous always of his most prosperous success in all his affairs; and ever glad of the furtherance and helping forward of the commonwealth of this realm.' At which words the people answered, 'Yea, yea, yea,' and some said with a loud voice, 'that is found now too true.' 'To whose grace I beseech God to send and grant to reign most prosperously to the pleasure of God.'"* Sir Ralph Vane, Sir Thomas Arundel, Sir Miles Partridge, and Sir Michael Stanhope were subsequently tried and executed, on a charge of having instigated the duke of Somerset to treason and felony.

The biographer of Cranmer says, "The violent death of Somerset exceedingly grieved the good archbishop."† In the great work of the reformation it is not easy to determine the particular merit of the laborers; but we incline to believe that Somerset was sincere and consistent in his attempts to establish the new doctrines upon a broad foundation of charitable principle. Nor was he altogether so worldly-minded as his adversaries have represented. Hearne, in the narrow spirit of a past generation of antiquaries, says that the abbey of Glastonbury was granted to Somerset on the 4th of June, 1550, by King Edward; but he enjoyed it only for a year, seven months, and twenty-one days—"so little did this and his other sacrileges thrive with him." The use which the fallen protector made of Glastonbury, at a time when he was deprived of his office and heavily fined might have called for a more charitable mention. England was then, as it has been in many later periods, the home of foreigners fleeing from oppression, religious or political. It was the merit of the protector's government to receive these strangers. He gave encouragement, before his first removal from power, to the famous Polish nobleman, John a Lasco, who had become a preacher of the reformed religion, at Embden; and whose congregation, living in great insecurity on account of their opinions, desired to have a church of some dissolved monastery granted to them in England, where they might transplant themselves, exercising their faith and pursuing their skilful industry. The church of Austin Friars, in London, was eventually granted to them; and the circumstance is recorded in Edward's Journal of 1550: "June 29. It was appointed that the Germans should have the Austin Friars for their church, to have their service in, for avoiding of all sects of Anabaptists, and such like." Somerset carried his encouragement of such settlers still further. A congregation of French and Walloons, under the ministry of a learned reformer, Valerandus Pollanus, in 1550, petitioned the council of England, "that they might be permitted to form themselves into a church for the free exercise of religion, and to follow peaceably their calling of weaving." Somerset immediately established this colony in Glastonbury Abbey. He entered into formal conditions to provide them houses for their occupation, and an allotment of pasture land for each family; and that until the allotments were made they should enjoy the park in common. The settlers came. The duke lent them money to buy wool; and for some time they went on prosperously. But when Somerset fell their affairs became disordered. In December, while the duke was under sentence of death the receiver of his revenues was ordered by the council to pay 340*l* to these refugees, for provision of wool.‡ But they had lost their great patron, and struggled with difficulties for a year or two to establish their manufacture. When Mary came to the crown all strangers of their opinions were driven from the realm. The poor congregation of Glastonbury removed to Frankfurt; and they, in their turn, gave succor to Englishmen who fled for conscience sake.

The ill-success of the English policy in Scotland, and the defence

"Calendar of State Papers" we find that it is bound up in vol. x. of Edward's reign, in its chronological order, among papers ranging from February 21 to October 26, 1550. The variation is material.

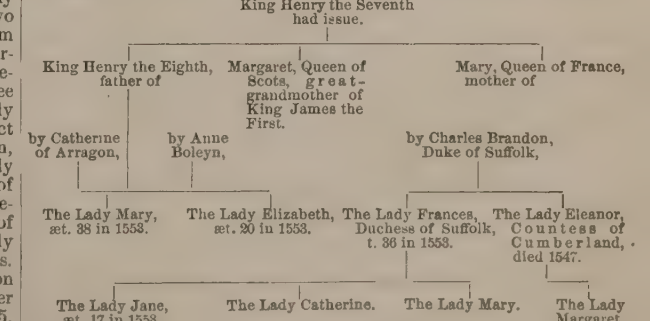
* Ellis, Second Series, vol. ii. p. 216.
† Strype, "Memorials of Cranmer," i. 340.
‡ "Calendar of State Papers," p. 37.

less state of Boulogne, in 1549, were among the evils that were attributed to the rule of Somerset. His successors in power wisely concluded a peace with France, though under humiliating conditions. By the treaty of March, 1550, it was agreed that Boulogne should be restored to France, upon the payment of one fifth of the sum which Francis I. had agreed to pay on the expiration of eight years. The demand arising out of the treaty of marriage between Edward and Mary of Scotland was abandoned. The pension which Henry VIII. had accepted for the surrender of his claim to the crown of France was virtually set aside. This ridiculous pretension entered no longer into the diplomacy or the wars of the English government, though an empty title continued for two centuries and a half longer to be a practical satire upon a claim which the nation had long repudiated with other absurdities of the days of feudality. By this treaty the pretensions of England as regarded Scotland and France and of France and Scotland as regarded England were suspended. The reservation was a practical abandonment of causes of hostility which the growth of a higher power than the personal ambition of kings would speedily override.

The duke of Northumberland, though invested with no special power as that of protector or governor of the king, was now the directing authority of the realm. He had removed his great rival. He had summoned a parliament from which he expected the accustomed subserviency. The Lords passed a more stringent law of treason than that of Edward III. The Commons modified many of its clauses; and from a feeling that trials for treason had been conducted with the most flagrant injustice, it was enacted that no person should be arraigned or convicted of treasonable offences except by the testimony of two witnesses, to be produced at the time of his arraignment. This law, like many others which interfered with the powers of the crown, was often disregarded in evil times, when, as in more barbarous periods, to be accused of treason, and to be condemned to its fearful penalties, were almost convertible terms. But the law of Edward VI. shows that a spirit of justice was growing up in the minds of the representatives of the people. The parliament of 1552 was in other respects not a mere register of the decrees of the executive; and it was speedily dissolved. Meanwhile Northumberland had obtained the most lavish grants of estates from the crown, and was proceeding in a career of high-handed despotism. Commissions were issued for the seizure of all the remaining plate and ornaments of the churches, with the exception of such chalices as were necessary for the administration of the sacrament. Tonstall, bishop of Durham, had been deprived of his see, which was a great object with Northumberland, for he proposed and carried a plan to divide the bishopric into two sees, with a moderate income for each bishop, and its great revenues to be vested in the king—in other words, in himself. A new parliament was called in 1553, and especial care was taken that the sheriffs should attend, in their returns, to the nominations of the crown and the recommendations of the privy counsellors. In the beginning of the year the king became seriously ill; and when the parliament met on the 1st of March, the two houses were assembled at Whitehall, his weakness preventing him opening the session except in his own palace. The policy of Northumberland now assumed a bolder shape. The king partially recovered in May; and that period was chosen to accomplish three marriages, by which the power of the ambitious duke was not only consolidated, but one of which was to be associated with a project so daring as to look like insanity. Northumberland's fourth son, Lord Guilford Dudley, was married to the Lady Jane Grey; the Lady Catherine Grey was betrothed to lord Herbert, the son of the earl of Pembroke, who was his devoted adherent; and his daughter, Catherine Dudley, was united to lord Hastings, eldest son of the earl of Huntingdon. The marriage of Lord Guilford Dudley to the Lady Jane was very soon followed by the most startling consequences. By the will of Henry VIII. the crown was to devolve—1, on his son Edward; 2, on his own heir (if any) by Catherine Parr, or other queen; 3, on his daughter Mary; 4, on his daughter Elizabeth; 5, on the heirs of the Lady Frances, his niece; 6, on those of her sister the Lady Eleanor. By this will the descendants of his sister Margaret, the queen of Scotland, were passed over. On the 11th of June the lord chief justice Montague, with other law officers, was commanded to attend upon the king at Greenwich. Edward, in presence of some members of the council, then declared to them that his sickness had led him to think seriously of the state of the realm; that he had prepared notes of an intended new settlement of the crown; and that he desired they should be reduced into letters-patent. The notes are extant in Edward's handwriting. They were in effect to set aside the devise of Henry to his daughters Mary and Elizabeth, and to give the crown to the heirs of the Lady Frances, who was the living duchess of Suffolk, but who was herself passed over. The Lady Jane Grey was the eldest of her three daughters. She had no male heir. The judge hesitated, remonstrated with the sick boy, and pointed out that the succession, according to Henry's will, was confirmed by an act of parliament. His representations were made in vain. The next day Montague went to the council, and declared that he and his colleagues could not assist in a measure which would be treasonable. Northumberland then came in, and terrified the chief justice by the most violent denunciations. On the 14th Montague and the other lawyers were again summoned to Greenwich; and there Edward received them "with sharp words and angry countenance." Montague subsequently related that being "a weak old man and without comfort," he consented, Edward promising that a parliament should be called to ratify the letters-patent. Fifteen lords of the council, nine judges, and other officers, then signed a paper agreeing to maintain the succession as contained in the king's notes, delivered to the judges. King Edward died on the 6th of July, twenty-two days after he had thus solemnly excluded his sisters from the throne. The letters-patent, dated the 21st of June, set forth the following reasons for this exclusion: That they were illegitimate, in consequence of the divorces of their mothers; that they were only of half-blood to king Edward, and therefore were by ancient laws not inheritable, although they had been legitimate; and that they might marry strangers out of the realm, and thus endanger the commonwealth.

In looking at the imperfectly developed character of Edward VI., as exhibited in his public actions and his private journal, we can scarcely fail to be impressed with its more than youthful proportion of the coldness and pertinacity of his race. The stoical indifference with which he records the unhappy deaths of his two uncles is not more remarkable than the egoism with which he discards his sisters from the succession. They are "unto us but of the half-blood." The daughters of the Lady Frances are "very nigh of our whole blood, of the part of our father's side." His enthusiastic adherence to the doctrines and usages of the Reformed Church had made him, to a certain extent, as intolerant as education and long habit had rendered his sister Mary. He was no doubt worked upon to this unjust resolve—unjust, even upon his own principles, in the corresponding exclusion of his sister Elizabeth—by the influence of Northumberland, who appears to have possessed an extraordinary control over his actions. But, under the guidance of his own sense of religious duty, Edward manifested a desire to repair some of the injustice attendant upon the destruction of the ancient church. Ridley, in a sermon before him, exhorted the rich to be merciful to the poor, and by charitable works to comfort and relieve them. The noble institutions of St. Thomas's Hospital, of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and of Christ's Hospital, sprung out of the practical effect of these words upon the mind of the young king. When the chantries were swept away, the intention to apply their revenues to purposes of education was set aside. But from 1551 to 1553 Edward founded twelve grammar-schools; of which those of Birmingham, Shrewsbury, Macclesfield, Bedford, are especial examples of the lasting good of such endowments. His dying prayer is a proof of his earnest and abiding love for the faith which had made such rapid progress during his brief reign: "O Lord God, save thy chosen people of England. O my Lord God, defend this realm from papistry, and maintain thy true religion."

TABLE SHOWING THE HEIRS FEMALE IN REMAINDER TO THE CROWN, NAMED IN THE WILL OF HENRY VIII., AND THE DEVISE OF EDWARD VI.*


King Henry the Seventh had issue.
King Henry the Eighth, father of
Margaret, Queen of Scots, great-grandmother of King James the First.
Mary, Queen of France, mother of
by Catherine of Arragon,
by Anne Boleyn,
by Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk,
The Lady Mary, æt. 38 in 1553.
The Lady Elizabeth, æt. 20 in 1553.
The Lady Frances, Duchess of Suffolk, t. 36 in 1553.
The Lady Eleanor, Countess of Cumberland, died 1547.
The Lady Jane, æt. 17 in 1553.
The Lady Catherine.
The Lady Mary.
The Lady Margaret.

*** Queen Elizabeth, when she died in 1603, was the survivor of all these ladies.*

The descendants of Margaret, Queen of Scots, who were passed over by Henry and Edward, were: her granddaughter, Mary, queen of Scotland, affianced to the dauphin of France, she being in 1553 eleven years old; Margaret's daughter, the countess of Lennox; and Henry Darnley, the son of the countess.

* We have taken the liberty of extracting this table from the interesting documents given by Mr. Nichols in the "Chronicle of Queen Jane."

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KNIGHT'S POPULAR HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

A HISTORY OF SOCIETY AND GOVERNMENT FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO OUR OWN TIMES.

By CHARLES KNIGHT.

VOLUME III.

CHAPTER LXIV.

The Lady Jane proclaimed queen—Northumberland leaves London—Queen Mary proclaimed in London—Northumberland and others tried—Northumberland's execution and apostasy—Lady Jane Grey in the Tower—Coronation of Mary—Her person and qualities—Parliament—Sweeping changes in religion—Proposed marriage with Philip—Popular hatred of the marriage—Ambassadors arrive to arrange a treaty—Insurrection of Wyat—Conduct of the queen—Wyat's march to London—The insurrection defeated.

A CONTEMPORARY chronicler of the events that filled the anxious days from the 7th to the 17th of July, 1553, heads his brief account "Jana Regina."* Edward died on the evening of Thursday, the 6th. It had been intended to keep the event strictly secret, till the persons of the princesses Mary and Elizabeth had been secured. Nevertheless the council could not shut themselves up within the palace of Greenwich without some indirect demonstration of the real circumstances. The French ambassador, Noailles, wrote to his government on the 8th that on the day following the death of the king, being Friday, the marquis of Northampton and others took possession of the Tower at two o'clock in the morning. The Princess Mary was at Hunsdon in Hertfordshire; and there were not wanting friends to apprise her of the position of affairs, and of her consequent danger. She hastily took horse for her manor of Kenninghall, from which place she addressed a letter to the council, dated the 9th, in which she expresses her surprise that information of her brother's death, of which she has received sure advertisement, was not communicated to her; and calls upon them, on their allegiance, immediately to proclaim her right and title to the crown. The council on the 8th had sent for the lord mayor and six aldermen and other citizens of London, and had read to them the letters-patent, and sworn them to abide by the same. Having answered the letter of Mary, declaring that Jane was invested with the true title to the crown, and recommending to the princess to be "quiet and obedient" the council caused Queen Jane to be proclaimed on the 10th. Some historians have recorded the circumstances of an interview between Northumberland, Suffolk, and their daughter; her surprise at their unusual homage, her tears, and her scruples to accept the crown. This is the dramatic decoration of a few bare facts. The most charming of all usurpers was, in all likelihood, an unwilling instrument for the ambition of a few; and the only fact that we certainly know at this point of her story is, that she came by water to the Tower on the day when she was proclaimed. The people in anxious silence saw her pass. It was in every mouth that the young king had been poisoned. "He was poisoned, as everybody says."† Northumberland was odious to the people. The ragged bear is glad of the king's death, they said. Gilbert Pot, a vintner's drawer, had his ears cut off in the pillory, "for words speaking at time of proclamation of Lady Jane."‡ Cecil, the secretary of state, and other crafty counsellors, saw the signs of the time; and as we learn from Cecil's own confession of his double dealing, left Northumberland, and his few daring friends, to perform the more obnoxious acts of these nine days. "I eschewed," says Cecil, "the writing of the queen's highness bastard, and therefore the duke wrote the letter himself which was sent abroad in the realm."* This letter, in the writing of Northumberland, is in existence, and is signed "Jane the queene."†

On the 12th of July the council, who surrounded the Lady Jane in the Tower, received intelligence that Mary had been joined at Kenninghall by the earl of Bath, and other leading men, and that the earl of Sussex and his son were marching to her aid. It was determined, upon the first receipt of this intelligence, that the duke of Suffolk should set forward, "to fetch her up to London." The forebodings of the Lady Jane led to another determination. She, "taking the matter heavily, with weeping tears made request to the whole council that her father might tarry at home in her company; whereupon the council persuaded with the duke of Northumberland to take that voyage upon him."‡ There is a spirited narrative of the proceedings of this interesting time, in a "Chronicle of Queen Jane," written by a resident in the Tower of London, which was formerly in the possession of Stow, and of which he made liberal use. Holinshed followed Stow, as "from the report of an eye-witness."§ The setting forth of the duke is minutely described. He made a strong appeal to the fidelity of the council in these words:

"'Now upon the only trust and faithfulness of your honors, whereof we think ourselves most assured, we do hazard and jeopard our lives; which trust and promise, if ye shall violate, hoping thereby of life and promotion, yet shall not God count you innocent of our bloods, neither acquit you of the sacred and holy oath of allegiance made freely by you to this virtuous lady, the queen's highness, who by your and our enticement is rather of force placed therein than by her own seeking and request. Consider also that God's cause, which is the preferment of his word, and the fear of papist's re-entrance, hath been as ye have herebefore always said, the original ground whereupon ye even at the first motion granted your good wills and consents thereunto, as by your handwriting evidently appeareth. And think not the contrary, but if ye mean deceit, though not forthwith yet hereafter God will revenge the same. I can say no more; but in this troublesome time wish you to use constant hearts, abandoning all malice, envy, and private affections.' Therewith all the first course for the lords came up. Then the duke did knit up his talk with these words: 'I have not spoken to you on this sort upon any distrust I have of your truth, of the which always I have ever hitherto conceived a trusty confidence; but I have put you in remembrance thereof, what chance of variance soever might grow among you in my absence; and this I pray you, wish me no worse good-speed in this journey than ye would have to yourselves.' 'My lord (saith one of them) if ye mistrust any of us in this matter, your grace is far deceived; for which of us can wipe his hands clean thereof? And if we should shrink from you as one that were culpable, which of us can excuse himself as guiltless? Therefore herein your doubt is too far cast.' 'I pray God it be so (quoth the duke); let us go to dinner. And so they sate down.'"

* "Chronicle of the Grey Friars," p. 78.
† "Mostyn's Diary," p. 35. Also "Grey Friars' Chronicle."
‡ Holinshed.

* Lansdowne MS., quoted in Tytler, ii. p. 193.
† "Queen Jane and Queen Mary," Camden Society, p. 103.
‡ Stow.
§ Harl. MS., reprinted by the Camden Society, edited by J. G. Nichols.

Northumberland received from Queen Jane the commission for the lieutenantship of the army "sealed." The earl of Arundel "prayed God be with his grace; saying he was very sorry it was not his chance to go with him and bear him company, in whose presence he could find in his heart to spend his blood, even at his foot." The next morning Northumberland departed, with six hundred men. "And as they went through Shoreditch, sayeth the duke to one that rid by him, the people press to see us, but not one sayeth God speed us." He was to have received succor at Northampton, but the promised aid of men and munition never arrived. Meanwhile the cause of Mary was prospering in every quarter. At Yarmouth the crews of six ships that had been sent to intercept her expected flight to the continent, declared that their captains should go to the bottom of the sea unless they would serve Queen Mary. "After once the submission of the ships was known in the Tower, each man then begun to pluck in his horns; and, over that, word of a great mischief was brought to the Tower—the noblemen's tenants refused to serve their lords against Queen Mary." Suspicion began to prevail among the few who remained faithful to the authority they had most imprudently set up. On the 16th, at seven o'clock in the evening, "the gates of the Tower upon a sudden were shut, and the keys carried up to the Queen Jane." Her supposed friends were fast deserting her. Cecil was practising with the Lord Privy Seal to cause Windsor Castle to serve the Queen Mary. He was opening himself to the lord Arundel. He purposed to have stolen down to the queen's highness. He was ready with what he calls "the pardonable lie."* Arundel, who prayed God to speed Northumberland, desired Cecil and others to remove out of the Tower, for frank speech to be had in council, saying that he liked not the air; and thereupon they went to Baynard's Castle. So the Lady Jane was left almost alone with her mock-royalty; and the keys of the Tower-gates were carried to her—a precaution against open force, but none against hidden treachery. Ridley was preaching in her favor at Paul's Cross on that day; but Arundel and Cecil were more effectually conspiring against her at Baynard's Castle.

Framlingham is about twenty miles from Kenninghall, from which house Mary wrote to the council, on the 9th. She determined to move to a place of strength, and was soon in comparative safety within the strong walls and deep moats of Framlingham. This castle of the Howards had been forfeited to the crown upon the attainder of the duke of Norfolk, who, at this time, was still a prisoner in the Tower. Here Mary remained till the last day of July. She entered the gates of Framlingham after a hurried ride of secrecy and fear. She went forth, surrounded with armed thousands, in the state of a queen. The termination of the march of Northumberland to the eastern counties is a pitiable exhibition of the unhonored fall of inordinate ambition. He had retreated to Cambridge with his small army. Letters of discomfort had reached him. On the 19th at night he heard that Queen Mary had been proclaimed at London. "The next morning he called for a herald and proclaimed her himself." A letter of the period describes the proclamation of Mary in London:

"Great was the triumph here at London; for my part I never saw the like, and by the report of others the like was never seen. The number of caps that were thrown up at the proclamation were not to be told. The earl of Pembroke threw away his cap full of angeletes. I saw myself money was thrown out at windows for joy. The bonfires were without number, and what with shouting and crying of the people, and ringing of the bells, there could no one hear almost what another said, besides banquettings and singing in the street for joy. There was present at the proclamation the earl of Pembroke, the earl of Shrewsbury, the earl of Arundel, my lord warden, my lord mayor, Sir John Mason, Sir John Cheeke, and divers others; and after the proclamation made in Cheapside, they all went to Paul's to even-song. The duke of Suffolk being at the Tower, at the making of the proclamation, and, as some say, did not know of it, but so soon as he heard of it, he came himself out of the Tower and commanded his men to leave their weapons behind them, saying that he himself was but one man, and himself proclaimed my Lady Mary's grace queen on the Tower Hill, and so came into London, leaving the lieutenant in the Tower."

Where was the Lady Jane? Did she go with her father to some place of refuge? Did she return to her old retirement at Sion? Or did she remain within those walls to gaze upon ghastly sights, and shadow out her own fate? For a few weeks history drops her as a forgotten thing; and then takes her up again, "looking through the window" to see Northumberland going to the church within the Tower to perform one more act of dissimulation. His fate was very speedily sealed. The mayor of Cambridge arrested him after the proclamation, but upon his remonstrance let him go free. He stayed at Cambridge one night. Though his son Warwick was "booted," they did not carry out their purpose to ride in the morning.

"Then came the earl of Arundel, who had been with the queen, to the duke into his chamber; and when the duke knew thereof he came out to meet him; and as soon as ever he saw the earl of Arundel he fell down on his knees and desired him to be good to him, for the love of God. 'And consider (saith he), I have done nothing but by the consent of you and all the whole council.' 'My lord (quoth he), I am sent hither by the queen's majesty, and in her name I do arrest you.' 'And I obey it, my lord (quoth he), and I beseech you my lord of Arundel (quoth the duke), use mercy toward me, knowing the case as it is.' 'My lord (quoth the earl), ye should have sought for mercy sooner; I must do according to my commandment.' And therewith he committed the charge of him to divers of the guard and gentlemen that stood by."

Queen Mary arrived triumphantly in London, at the head of a great band of friends, on the 3d of August. Her sister Elizabeth had joined her on her progress, having most wisely determined, from the first, to make common cause against those who sought to set aside their inheritance under the Act of Succession. The queen went to the Tower, where the aged duke of Norfolk, the bishop of Winchester, and the dowager-duchess of Somerset welcomed her to the place of their captivity. Mary raised them from their knees, with the words, "These are all my own prisoners;" and they were immediately set free. The prison had soon many new tenants. The duke of Northumberland and his son the earl of Warwick, the earl of Northampton, Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir John Gates, Sir Henry Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer were tried and convicted of high treason on the 18th and 19th of August. On the 22d Northumberland, Sir John Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer were executed. An extraordinary scene took place on the 21st, which is thus related by the resident in the Tower: "Note, on Monday, the xxist of August, it was appointed the duke with others should have suffered, and all the guard were at the Tower; but howsoever it chanced he did not; but he desired to hear mass and to receive the sacrament according to the old accustomed manner. So about ix of the clock the altar in the chapel was arranged, and each thing prepared for the purpose; then Mr. Gage went and fetched the duke; and Sir John Abridges and Mr. John Abridges did fetch the marquis of Northampton, Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir Henry Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer to mass, which was said both with elevation over the head, the peace-giving, blessing, and crossing on the crown, breathing, turning about, and all the other rites and incidents of old time appertaining. And when the time came the prisoners should receive the sacrament, the duke turned himself to the people and said first these words, or such like, 'My masters, I let you all to understand that I do most faithfully believe this is the very right and true way, out of the which true religion you and I have been seduced these xvi years past, by the false and erroneous preaching of the new preachers, the which is the only cause of the great plague and vengeance which hath light upon the whole realm of England, and now likewise worthily fallen upon me and others here present for our unfaithfulness. And I do believe the holy sacrament here most assuredly to be our Saviour and Redeemer, Jesus Christ; and this I pray you all to testify, and pray for me.' After which words he kneeled down and asked all men forgiveness, and likewise forgave all men. Among others standing by were the duke of Somerset's sons. Then all the rest confessed the declaration aforesaid, and so received the sacrament most humbly. Note, that a little before mass was begun, there was sent for into London for divers of the best commoners and common council of the city to come and hear the conversion of the duke, among whom one Hartop, a goldsmith, and one Baskerfield were there.—The Lady Jane looking through the window saw the duke and the rest going to the church."

* See "A Brief Note of my Submission," the paper which he sent to Queen Mary; Tytler, vol. ii. p. 192.

A week after the execution of Northumberland we find, in the curious diary from which we have quoted several passages, the following picture of Lady Jane Grey in her prison. Her father had been set free, and she herself had some liberty within the Tower precincts. The conversation here recorded not only illustrates her character, but shows what was her own feeling of the attempt at usurpation of which she had been made the unwilling instrument:* "Note, that on Tuesday, the xxixth of August, I dined at Partridge's house with my Lady Jane, being there present, she sitting at the board's end, Partridge, his wife, Jacob, my lady's gentleman, and her man. She commanding Partridge and me to put on our caps, amongst our communication at the dinner, this was to be noted: after she had once or twice drunk to me and bade me heartily welcome, saith she, 'the queen's majesty is a merciful princess; I beseech God she may long continue, and send his bountiful grace upon her.' After that we fell in [discourse of] matters of religion; and she asked what he was that preached at Paul's on Sunday before; and so it was told to be one [blank in MS.] 'I pray you,' quoth she, 'have they mass in London?' 'Yea, forsooth,' quoth I, 'in some places.' 'It may be so,' quoth she, 'it is not so strange as the sudden conversion of the late duke; for who would have thought,' said she, 'he would have so done?' It was answered her, 'Perchance he thereby hoped to have had his pardon.' 'Pardon?' quoth she; 'woe worth him! he hath brought me and our stock in most miserable calamity and misery by his exceeding ambition. But for the answering that he hoped for life by his turning, though other men be of that opinion, I utterly am not; for what man is there living, I pray you, although he had been innocent, that would hope of life in that case; being in the field against the queen in person as general, and after his taking so hated and evil-spoken of by the commons? and at his coming into prison so wondered at, as the like was never heard by any man's time. Who was judge that he should hope for pardon, whose life was odious to all men? But what will ye more? like as his life was wicked and full of dissimulation, so was his end thereafter. I pray God, I nor no friends of mine die so. Should I, who [am] young and in my few years, forsake my faith for the love of life? Nay, God forbid. Much more he should not, whose fatal course, although he had lived his just number of years, could not have long continued. But life was sweet, it appeared: so he might have lived, you will say, he did [not] care how. Indeed the reason is good; for he that would have lived in chains to have had his life, by like would leave no other mean attempted. But God be merciful to us, for he sayeth, Whoso denieth him before men, he will not know him in his Father's kingdom.' With this and much like talk the dinner passed away; which ended, I thanked her ladyship that she would vouchsafe accept me in her company; and she thanked me likewise, and said I was welcome. She thanked Partridge also for bringing me to dinner. 'Madam,' said he, 'we were somewhat bold, not knowing that your ladyship dined below until we found your ladyship there.' And so Partridge and I departed."

The enthusiasm with which the bloodless revolution in favor of Queen Mary was hailed by the people has been considered as a proof that the majority were Roman Catholic, and would gladly lay aside all the doctrine and discipline of the Church which had been so completely settled in the reign of Edward. We are inclined to receive this notion with considerable doubt. Another theory was set forth in the bitter satire of the Venetian ambassador, Micheli, that the English "would be full as zealous followers of the Mahometan or Jewish religion did the king profess either of them, or commanded his subjects to do so; that, in short, they will accommodate themselves to any religious persuasion, but most readily to one that promises to minister to licentiousness and profit."† At the accession of Mary the English were neither wholly devoted to Catholicism, nor indifferent to all religion. They accepted Mary with joy because, without entering into the subtleties of the divorce question of her mother, they knew that she was the direct heir to the crown, and that the attempt to set her aside was the unjust act of a few ambitious and unscrupulous men. There were many decided Protestants among her first adherents. They could not doubt that she would firmly cleave to the mass and to the ceremonies of the Church, as in the time of her father; but they could not assume that she would venture to force the papal domination again upon England, or think it possible to take away the Bible from the people which her father had consented to give them. Mary herself saw the necessity of proceeding with great caution. The news of her accession was received in Rome with exultation; and the pope resolved to send cardinal Pole as legate to England. That measure was determined in a consistory as early as the 5th of August. But Pole was too discreet to risk such a demonstration before the temper of the people had been further tried. Mary herself received a secret agent of Rome, Francis Commendone; and to him she professed her attachment to the Romish Church, and her desire to bring back its worship. But she implored him to be cautious; for much was still unsettled. Mary, however, sent letters to the pope by this agent, which were so acceptable to Julius III. that he wept for joy that his pontificate should be honored by the restoration of England to its ancient obedience.

The coronation of Mary took place on the 1st of October. The chroniclers, who are abundantly diffuse in their relations of the pageants, describe her appearance as she passed on the previous day in procession from Westminster to the Tower, sitting in a chariot of tissue, drawn by six horses. "She sate in a gown of blue velvet furred with powdered ermine, hanging on her head a cloth of tinsel beset with pearl and stone, and about the same upon her head a round circlet of gold, much like a hooped garland, beset so richly with many precious stones that their value was inestimable; the sercaul and circle being so massy and ponderous that she was fain to bear up her head with her hands." The person of this queen and her qualities were described, four years later, by the Venetian ambassador: "She is of short stature, well made, thin and delicate, and moderately pretty; her eyes are so lively that she inspires reverence and respect, and even fear, wherever she turns them; nevertheless she is very short sighted. Her voice is deep, almost like that of a man. She understands five languages, English, Latin, French, Spanish and Italian, in which last, however, she does not venture to converse. She is also much skilled in ladies' work—such as producing all sorts of embroidery with the needle. She has a knowledge of music, chiefly on the lute, on which she plays exceedingly well. As to the qualities of her mind, it may be said of her that she is rash, disdainful, and parsimonious rather than liberal. She is endowed with great humility and patience, but withal high spirited, courageous and resolute; having during the whole course of her adversity been guiltless of any the least approach to meanness of comportment; she is, moreover, devout and staunch in the defence of her religion. Some personal infirmities under which she labors are the causes to her of both public aand private affliction; to remedy these recourse is had to frequent blood-letting, and this is the real cause of her paleness, and the general weakness of her frame." In this coronation procession there was a remarkable memento of the past, in the presence of Anne of Cleves, who rode in a chariot with the Princess Elizabeth

The first parliament of Mary met on the 5th of October, Gardiner being lord chancellor. The first session was a very short one, and the only public act was that for repealing certain treasons and felonies, and all offences within the case of premunire. The object of this act was to sweep away the penalties for denying the king's supremacy, and especially to relieve cardinal Pole from his danger under the laws of Henry VIII. The people might dimly see from this measure how the course of the government was tending; if they could have doubted of it, after Latimer had been committed to the Tower on the 13th of November, and Cranmer on the 14th, and when the deprived bishops were restored to their sees. The second parliamentary session commenced on the 24th of October. The anti-reformers now went more boldly to work. "An Act concerning the queen's highness to have been born in a most just and lawful matrimony, and also repealing all acts of parliament and sentences of divorce had and made to the contrary," might be soothing to the feelings of the queen; but the declaring void so much of the statute of Henry VIII. as illegitimates Queen Mary, and indeed the whole

* This extract was printed by Sir Simonds d'Ewes; but, as the editor of the "Chronicle of Queen Jane" remarks, has been unknown to her biographers. Who the writer of the diary was is not ascertained; nor what office master Partridge held.

† Ellis, Second Series, vol. ii.

tenor of the act, confirmed the illegitimacy of the Princess Elizabeth, as also declared by that statute. That this was a deep offence to Elizabeth, and to those Protestants who looked to her as their future hope, was a consequence of this unnecessary insult. Mary had resolved on marriage with Philip, the son of Charles V., and she flattered herself that with a Catholic husband, and with successors to be bred up in the ancient faith, the nation would soon abandon its heresies. The second act of this session, "for the repeal of certain statutes made in the time of the reign of King Edward the Sixth," deals in a very summary manner with the labors of the preceding six years. The act for administering the sacrament in two kinds, for the election of bishops, for legalizing priests' marriages, for uniformity of service, for putting away divers books and images, and for regulating holy-days and fasting-days, are all annihilated by one comprehensive clause.* But something connected with the reformation was retained. Divine service is to be performed as in the last year of Henry VIII. This was a concession to the prudence of Gardiner and others, who were not prepared to drive the reformers into open resistance by venturing upon too much in the outset of this ecclesiastical reaction. The queen still retained the title of Supreme Head of the Church; the name of the pope was carefully kept out of view. Cardinal Pole, who was earnest and conscientious, pointed out the anomaly between the act repealing the divorce and the retention of the supremacy. The emperor recommended prudence and moderation.

On the 13th of November a special commission was held at Guildhall for the trial of prisoners under charges of high treason. These were the Lady Jane Grey, her husband and his two brothers, and archbishop Cranmer. Another Dudley was arraigned in the following January. They all pleaded "guilty"—Cranmer having originally pleaded "not guilty" and then withdrew the plea. The hope of mercy in thus pleading had probably been held out to all. But there were personal considerations working upon the queen which left the fate of the Dudleys still uncertain. In the Diary of the Resident in the Tower, we find it recorded, on the 18th of December, "the Lady Jane had the liberty of the Tower, so that she might walk in the queen's garden and on the hill; and the Lord Robert and Lord Guildford the liberty of the leads in the Bell Tower." But in a very short time the people, who had borne patiently enough the sudden change in the offices of religion, and who had heard the proclamation for the re-establishment of the mass, without any expression of general dislike, began to be stirred about the Spanish marriage. The Emperor Charles V. proceeded in this matter with his accustomed caution. His minister, Renard, had hinted to the queen, in September, how desirable an alliance would be with the prince of Spain; and she said that whatever she should do would only be for the public good. It was hinted in the next reign, by Sir Thomas Smith, that "a certain lady, having the picture sent unto her of one whom she never saw, who should be her husband, was so enamored thereon and so ravished, that she languished for love, and was in a measure out of her wits for his long tarrying and absence."† Her faithful Commons represented the temper of the people when they resolved upon a petition to the queen that she would marry, but that she would select one of her own nation. The queen manifested most strikingly her own disposition when, on the evening of the 30th of October, she sent for the Spanish ambassador into her chamber, and having repeated the "Veni Creator," she knelt before the host, and gave him her sacred promise that she would marry no other man but the prince of Spain. She dismissed the Commons with a short answer when they came with their petition, saying that she should only look to God for counsel in a matter so important; and the ambassador of Charles soothed many scruples by a liberal distribution of eloquent gold. But the people were not so easily satisfied. They abhorred the notion of a Spanish alliance. "The Spaniards," they said, "were coming into the realm with harness and hand-guns. . . . This realm should be brought to bondage by them as it was never afore, but should be utterly conquered." So ran the talk at a Kentish farrier's shop.‡ There was a political instinct in this discontent which has often guided the English people rightly in difficult cases. An embassy departed from Brussels in December, to make a solemn tender of Philip's hand to the queen. Wotton, our ambassador to France, thus writes at this time to the council, to communicate the opinion of Montmorency, the constable. The sagacious statesman and the English mob were of the same belief. "Because," quoth the constable, "that I have used to talk ever frankly with you, I cannot but say unto you as I think, that I do much lament your state of England." "Why so, sir?" quoth I. "Why so?" quoth the constable. "You are a man that hath travelled abroad, and you know in what state all countries are where Spaniards bear any rule. Sicily, Naples, Lombardy, Sienna when they had it, and all other places where they have had any authority, do you not know how they are oppressed by the Spaniards? in what a bondage and misery they live? Even so must you look to be in England; for at the beginning, as they do everywhere, they will speak fair and genteelly unto you, till the time they have made themselves somewhat strong in the realm, and won to them some great men of the realm; and then will they begin to get your ships into their hands, and likewise those few forts which you have, yea, and will build in new places meet for their purpose: and so a little and a little usurp still more and more, till they have all at their commandment."*

The reception of the embassy to arrange the terms of the marriage is quaintly recorded in the Diary of the Resident in the Tower. The ambassador was the famous count of Egmont, the Flemish noble, whose subsequent career has furnished so striking a theme for history and poetry. The count and other personages landed at the Tower wharf; and "the lord of Devonshire, giving him the right hand, brought him through Cheapside, and so forth to Westminster; the people, nothing rejoicing, held down their heads sorrowfully. The day before his coming in, as his retinue and harbingers came riding through London, the boys pelted at them with snowballs; so hateful was the sight of their coming in to them." The "boys" of London, who have ever been a peculiar race in intelligence and boldness, made a still more marked demonstration of popular disgust. After the terms of the treaty of marriage had been promulgated by the lord chancellor in a solemn assembly at Westminster, the boys had their games of English and Spaniards, in which one unlucky wight of their number, personating the prince of Spain, was hanged by his comrades, and narrowly escaped with his life.

The terms of the marriage treaty, which were assiduously promulgated, were in some degree calculated to diminish the public jealousy of the Spanish alliance. But few had received the benefit of a share in the million two hundred thousand crowns with which Charles V. had resolved the doubts of the Lords and Commons. The sceptical populace did not believe that all offices would be conferred upon English-born subjects; that the national laws and privileges would be preserved; that the English language would be used in the direction of English affairs; that the queen should not be taken out of the realm, nor her children; that in the case of the queen's death Philip should take no part in the government of the country; that England, at peace with France, should not be compromised by hostility of the house of Austria to that kingdom. The nation would not be satisfied with elaborate writings. A sturdy member of parliament asked, if the bond be violated, who is to sue upon the bond. The people knew the vast power of the emperor, and they dreaded that England might become a province of Spain. The insurrection of Sir Thomas Wyat was the exposition of the feeling of a great number of the English nation, who felt that their enthusiasm for a legitimate successor to the crown was involving them in evils that could only be redressed by an appeal to arms. The insurrection, although it was deliberately organized and boldly conducted, was a failure. The evil to be resisted was not imminent enough; public opinion was too divided to give an open attack upon the government a chance of success. It is fortunate for the cause of order that established legal authority has a natural superiority over those who seek its overthrow, and that the remedy of grievances by violence is never obtained till the grievance becomes intolerable and the resistance universal.

In January, 1554, Sir Thomas Carew and a band of friends "were up in Devonshire, resisting the prince of Spain's coming." Carew failed in his demonstration, and fled to France. The precipitancy of Carew forced his confederate, Sir Thomas Wyat, to take the field without full preparation. On the news arriving in London on the

* 1 Mariæ, st. 2, c. 2.
† Strype.
‡ State Paper, quoted in Tytler, vol. ii. p. 278.
* Tytler, vol. ii. p. 269.

25th of January, that Wyat was up in Kent, the duke of Suffolk fled from his house at Sheen; and in Leicester and other places caused proclamation to be made against the queen's match. Those who follow bishop Cooper in the assertion that the duke again proclaimed his daughter as queen are contradicted by Holinshed and Stow. He was betrayed by his own park-keeper at Astley, near Coventry, and conducted to London as a prisoner. The rising of Wyat was not so easily put down. He was in arms in the neighborhood of Rochester when the duke of Norfolk, who had been fighting from the day of Flodden in intervals of his long life, was again sent to march against rebels, as he marched in 1536. Norfolk arrived at Rochester Bridge with the queen's guard, and a band of five hundred men hastily raised in London, of whom one Alexander Brett was the captain. A herald proclaimed the queen's pardon, which the insurgents refused. Norfolk was about to attack their position, when Brett cried out, "Masters, we go to fight against our native countrymen of England and our friends"—and then set forth how those against whom they were led were in arms to resist the coming in of the proud Spaniards. The Londoners then cried, "A Wyat! a Wyat!" and forthwith the duke, and the earl of Ormond, and the captain of the guards, fled; and Brett and his men, and three fourths of the duke's retinue, went into the camp of the Kentishmen. Some of the guards came home, their bows without strings, their arrows gone. The cannon and ammunition of Norfolk were left behind in his flight. On the 1st of February Wyat reached Deptford; and the same day the queen, who conducted herself with the self-command and determination of her race, went to the Guildhall, and demanded the assistance of the city in a spirited speech, which was sure to produce a stirring effect, coming from a woman's lips: "I am come unto you in mine own person, to tell you that which already you do see and know, that is, how traitorously and seditiously a number of Kentish rebels have assembled themselves together against both us and you. Their pretence, as they said at the first, was only to resist a marriage determined between us and the prince of Spain. To the which pretended quarrel, and to all the rest of their evil contrived articles ye have been made privy. Since which time we have caused divers of our privy council to resort eftsoons to the said rebels, and to demand of them the cause of their continuance in their seditious enterprise. By whose answers made again to our said council, it appeared that the marriage is found to be the least of their quarrel. For they now, swerving from their former articles, have betrayed the inward treason of their hearts, as most arrogantly demanding the possession of our person, the keeping of our Tower, and not only the placing and displacing of our councillors, but also to use them and us at their pleasures. Now, loving subjects, what I am, you right well know. I am your queen, to whom at my coronation when I was wedded to the realm, and to the laws of the same (the spousal ring whereof I have on my finger, which never hitherto was, nor hereafter shall be left off) ye promised your obedience unto me. And that I am the right and true inheritor to the crown of this realm of England, I not only take all Christendom to witness, but also your acts of parliament confirming the same. . . . And certainly, if I either did know or think, that this marriage should either turn to the danger or loss of any of you my loving subjects, or to the detriment or impairing of any part or parcel of the royal estate of this realm of England, I would never consent thereunto, neither would I ever marry while I lived. And in the word of a queen, I promise and assure you, that if it shall not probably appear before the nobility and commons in the high court of parliament, that this marriage shall be for the singular benefit and commodity of all the whole realm; that then I will abstain, not only from this marriage, but also from any other, whereof peril may ensue to this most noble realm. Wherefore now as good faithful subjects pluck up your hearts, and like true men stand fast with your lawful prince against these rebels, both our enemies and yours, and fear them not."

Of this speech, which Fox has preserved as well as Holinshed, the martyrologist says, it is given "as near out of her own mouth as could be penned." The people of London were strangely moved by her courage and address. Protestant was as ready for her defence as Catholic. The day after the queen went to Guildhall the householders of London were in armor in the streets; "yea," says Stow, "this day and other days, the justices, sergeants-at-the-law, and other lawyers in Westminster Hall, pleaded in harness." On the 3d of February Wyat marched from Deptford with two thousand men, and as they passed on the Surrey side, ordnance was discharged at them out of the White Tower. They passed on without injury from the unskilful cannoneers. The gates of London Bridge were closed; its drawbridge cut down; the shops in the city were shut; there was running up and down for weapons and harness, with aged men astonished and women weeping. At Southwark the rebels were favorably received; and bands from the country, raised by Lord William Howard, took part with them. Wyat issued a proclamation that no soldier should take anything without payment, and that he came only to resist the bringing in of the Spanish king. When he heard that it was proclaimed that whoever took him should have a thousand pounds, he set his name of Thomas Wyat, fair written, on his cap. He lingered in Southwark till Shrove Tuesday, the sixth of February, finding it impossible to gain a passage at London Bridge; and all boats being forbidden to be taken to the Surrey side of the Thames under pain of death. He then marched to Kingston, which he reached at nightfall. There was then no bridge over the Thames between London Bridge and Kingston Bridge. That bridge was broken down; but Wyat dispersed the men who disputed his passage, and crossed in boats. The weary and hungry band kept on their march to Brentford, and halted not till they reached Knights Bridge. Here they were detained by the dismantling of a gun-carriage, and their object of a night attack on Whitehall was defeated. When the news reached Westminster that the rebels had passed Brentford, drums went through the streets at four o'clock in the morning, warning all to arm themselves and repair to Charing Cross. It was broad day when, after this march through a cold February night, the Kentish men reached the west end of what we now call Piccadilly, but which was then known as "The way to Reading"—a highway amid fields and trees. The first houses of the western suburb were a scattered few about the Mews—now Trafalgar Square—and one or two at the south end of the Haymarket, a country road. St. James's Palace stood in St. James's Field, where, on that eventful morning, horse and foot had assembled. The movements of the royal forces and of the rebels are minutely described in the Diary of the Resident in the Tower, from which Stow has copied his narrative. "By ten of the clock, or somewhat later, the earl of Pembroke had set his troop of horsemen on the hill in the highway about the new bridge over against St. James's; his footmen were set in two battalions somewhat lower, and nearer Charing Cross. At the lane turning down by the brick wall from Islington Ward, he had set also certain other horsemen, and he had planted his ordnance upon the hill-side. In the mean season Wyat and his company planted his ordnance upon the hill beyond St. James's, almost over against the park corner; and himself, after a few words spoken to his soldiers, came down the old lane on foot, hard by the court gate at St. James's, with four or five ancients, his men marching in good array." This is not difficult to understand if we picture to ourselves that "the hill in the highway above the new bridge over against St. James's," where the earl of Pembroke "had set his troop of horsemen," was the elevated ground of "the way to Reading" at the upper end of the present St. James's Street; and the "new bridge" was over a stream in the Green Park: that "the lane turning down by the brick wall from Islington Ward" near Charing Cross, where the earl's footmen were, was St. Martin's Lane, and that "the brick wall" was the wall of the Convent Garden, which was a great inclosure extending from St. Martin's Lane far along the Strand.* Wyat's men marched by St. James's Palace, by the road called "the old lane." The earl of Pembroke's horsemen hovered about them, but made no bold attempt to stop their march. Great ordnance were fired on both sides with little damage. The rebels passed on to Charing Cross, where was the lord chamberlain with the guard; but onward the rebels went toward the city, by the highway of the Strand. Amid this little fighting, "the noise of women and children, while the conflict was at Charing Cross, was so great and shrill, that it was heard to the top of the White Tower." The queen seems to have been the only person of the whole court endowed with sense and courage. There was a party of Wyat's force that separated from him by St. James's Palace, and went toward Westminster to attack Whitehall, and when they came suddenly through the gate-house,

* See the plan of London by Aggas, 1578.

says another relater of these events, "Sir John Gage, and three of the judges that were meanly armed in old brigantines, were so frightened that they fled in at the gates in such haste that old Gage fell down in the dirt, and was foul arrayed; and so shut the gates, whereat the rebels shot many arrows." * When "divers timorous and cold-hearted soldiers came to the queen, crying 'All is lost—away, away; a barge, a barge,' her grace never changed her cheer, nor would remove one foot of the house." † Her women were shrieking and hiding in helpless terror. Wyat continued his march, unresisted, though his men were in a disordered condition, on through Temple Bar and Fleet Street, till they came to Ludgate. He knocked at the gate, but was refused admittance by Lord William Howard, with the words, "Avaunt, traitor! thou shalt not come in here." He rested awhile at the Bell Savage gate, and then turned back, purposeless. After a skirmish at Temple Bar, a herald persuaded him to yield; and Sir Maurice Berkeley received his submission, and carried him behind him on his horse to court. From Whitehall to the Tower was his last journey.

CHAPTER LXV.

Gardiner's sermon before the queen—Execution of Lady Jane Grey and her husband—The gallows in every London street—Suffolk beheaded—Acquittal of Throckmorton—Elizabeth summoned to the court—Elizabeth sent to the Tower—Her letter to Mary—Her death urged upon the queen—Her release from the Tower—Unquiet condition of the country—Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley at Oxford—Arrival of Philip—Marriage of Philip and Mary—Seditious books—Protestant exiles—Cardinal Pole and the parliament—Pole's absolution of the kingdom—All the statutes against heretics revived.

It was the 7th of February when the insurrection of Wyat thus completely failed. Prisoner after prisoner continued to arrive at the Tower; and on Saturday, the 10th, the duke of Suffolk and Lord John Grey were brought thither from Coventry. On Sunday, the 11th, Gardiner preached before the queen; and "he asked a boon of the queen's highness," that, like as she had beforetime extended her mercy, particularly and privately, through which lenity and gentleness conspiracy and oben rebellion had grown, "she would now be merciful to the body of the commonwealth, and conservation thereof, which could not be unless the rotten and hurtful members thereof were cut off and consumed." From this exhortation, adds the chronicler, "all the audience did gather there should follow sharp and cruel execution." ‡ The audience were not deceived in their belief. On Monday, the 12th, Lord Guilford Dudley, the young husband of Lady Jane Grey, was led out of his prison walls to die on Tower Hill at ten o'clock. Out of the window of "Partridge's house" did Jane, whose own hour of final release was fast approaching, see him walk to the scaffold; and, long before the bell had again sounded the hour, she saw his body taken out of a cart, with his head in a cloth. On the green against the White Tower had a scaffold been erected, on which the Lady Jane was to die. This tragedy was to have been completed on the Friday previous, but was then postponed for some unknown cause. When Gardiner begged his boon of the queen, some desire to spare two persons so young and so innocent—one, so fair, so accomplished—might have lingered in her breast. The insurrection of Wyat no doubt made their fate almost certain; but probably the unshaken constancy of this heroic woman was too deep an offence for bigotry to forgive. She was not likely to be pardoned who could boldly say to the priest sent to examine her, four days before her death, "I ground my faith upon God's Word, and not upon the Church. For if the Church be a good Church, the faith of the Church must be tried by God's Word, and not God's Word by the Church." § And so she went forth to die, at eleven o'clock on that "black Monday," as Strype calls the day, "her countenance nothing abashed, neither her eyes anything moistened with tears." ‖ And in her hand she held a book, whereon she prayed all the way till she came to the scaffold. That book she gave to Master Brydges, the lieutenant's brother. In the British Museum is a Manual of Prayers, in English, which contains three remarkable notes; one, addressed by Guilford Dudley to his father, the duke of Suffolk; the second, a note signed "Jane Duddeley," also addressed to the duke; the third, a note from Jane to Sir John Brydges, the lieutenant of the Tower, to whom it is supposed the book belonged. The note to the duke from Jane Dudley was probably written on the last morning of her life—perhaps in the very hour when she saw her Guilford's head taken out of the cart. It is worth extracting: "The Lord comfort your grace, and that in his Word, wherein all creatures only are to be comforted. And though it has pleased God to take away two of your children, yet think not, I most humbly beseech your grace, that you have lost them, but trust that we, by leasing this mortal life, have won an immortal life. And I, for my part, as I have honored your grace in this life, will pray for you in another life." For three hundred years the simplest recital of the fate of this victim of ambition has stirred the sympathy of all true hearts; and we need not add a word to the sentences with which the ancient narrative of her execution terminates: "She tied the kercher about her eyes; then, feeling for the block, said, 'What shall I do? Where is it?' One of the standers-by guiding her thereto, she laid her head down upon the block, and stretched forth her body, and said, 'Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit.' And so she ended." * On the wall of the Beauchamp Tower, in which the Dudleys were imprisoned, is carved the word JANE; and there was formerly a second inscription of the same name. May this record be kept as a sacred memorial of the noble creature to whom one of the earnest puritan race has paid an eloquent tribute: "How justly may the masculine constancy of this excellent lady, whose many virtues the pens of her very enemies have acknowledged, rise up in judgment against all such poor spirits who, for fear of death, or other outward motives, shall deny God and his truth." †

Queen Mary appearing unquestionably sincere in her opinions; having, during the lives of her father and her brother, borne many griefs with fortitude; not open to any charge of licentiousness; and possessing courage and intellect; it has become a fashion not only to extenuate her evil actions, but to hold her up as a model of female sovereigns. We shall not attempt to rebut the exaggerations of her panegyrists, male or female, or continue our narrative with any desire to uphold the *sobriquet* which tradition has handed down. Nevertheless, we believe that the six scarlet letters attached to the name of Mary will not be obliterated by any historic solvent. The punishments which followed Wyat's rebellion are considered by some moderns to have been mild. Mary's contemporaries thought them severe. On the day that Guilford and Jane Dudley were beheaded, the gallows was set up at every gate, and in every great thoroughfare of London. There is a brief catalogue of the use to which these machines were applied on the 13th, when from Billingsgate to Hyde Park Corner there were forty-eight men hanged at nineteen public places. On the 17th certain captains and twenty-two of the common rebels were sent into Kent to suffer death. ‡ Simon Renard, the ambassador from the emperor, writes to his master, on the 24th of February: "The queen has granted a general pardon to a multitude of people in Kent, after having caused about five score of the most guilty to be executed." Such executions were made under martial law, although Wyat and some other leaders were reserved for trial by a jury. According to Renard, Mary was bent on severity: "Numerous are the petitions presented to her majesty to have the pains of death exchanged for perpetual imprisonment, but to this she will not listen." § The duke of Suffolk was tried on the 17th and beheaded on the 23d. Wyat and others pleaded guilty. Sir Nicholas Throckmorton was tried on the 17th of April, which trial is one of the more remarkable in our criminal jurisprudence. It is chiefly remarkable for the boldness and ability with which Throckmorton defended himself for hours against the system then pursued by judges and counsel, of heaping accusation upon accusation upon a prisoner; of perplexing him with questions and urgent exhortations

* Underhill's Narrative. Appendix to "Chronicle of Queen Jane."
† Proctor's Narrative, in Holinshed.
‡ "Queen Jane and Queen Mary," p. 54.
§ "Communication between the Lady Jane and Master Feckenham."—Harleian Miscellany, vol. i. p. 369, ed. 1808.
‖ "Queen Jane and Queen Mary," p. 56.

* "Queen Jane and Queen Mary," p. 59.
† Sir Simonds D'Ewes; "Queen Jane and Queen Mary," p. 24.
‡ The details are in Machyn's "Diary," p. 55.
§ Tytler, vol. ii. p. 309. The original has, "ne veult condescendre ny prester l'oreille."

to confess his guilt; of reading over garbled evidence, not taken in open court, and requiring him to answer each separate charge as produced. The talent and energy of Throckmorton produced a most surprising result. He was acquitted. Of this rare event the ambassador of the emperor writes that the jury were "all heretics;" and adds, "When they carried him back to the Tower after his acquittal, the people with great joy raised shouts, and threw their caps in the air; which has so displeased the queen that she has been ill for three days." The Court, immediately after the trial, committed the jury to prison. Four made a submission and were released. Eight remained in confinement for many months; and when brought before the council in the Star Chamber were sentenced to the payment of enormous fines. It was more than a century before the infamous system was discontinued of punishing juries for verdicts in state prosecutions that were not agreeable to the crown.* The execution of Wyat was delayed till the 11th of April. He was reserved, that, out of some direct confession or indirect admission, one far higher in rank might be implicated in the crime of treason. Another suspected person was Courtenay, earl of Devonshire, who had been released from the Tower on the accession of Mary, and was now brought back to the prison in which he had been confined from his earliest years, after his father, the marquis of Exeter, had been beheaded.† Before Mary declared for her marriage with the prince of Spain, it was considered that Courtenay was her favored suitor. For our times, the historical interest of this period of suspicion and alarm centres upon the Princess Elizabeth. The future great queen of England was within a hair's breadth of the block upon which Jane Grey had perished.

On the 26th of January, the day after Wyat made his armed demonstration at Maidstone, Queen Mary wrote a letter from St. James's to the Lady Elizabeth, who was at Ashridge, informing her of attempts to excite rebellion, and saying, "We, tendering the surety of your person, which might chance to be in some peril if any sudden tumult should arise, where you now be, or about Donnington, whither, as we understand, you are minded shortly to remove, do therefore think expedient you should put yourself in good readiness, with all convenient speed, to make your repair hither to us."‡ Elizabeth was seriously ill, and begged for delay. On the 10th of February Lord William Howard, Sir Edward Hastings, and Sir Thomas Cornwallis arrived at Ashridge, and "required to have access upon my Lady Elizabeth's grace; which obtained, we delivered unto her your highness's letter" —so the three commissioners write to the queen on the 11th. Howard adds, "I, the lord admiral, declared the effect of your highness's pleasure, according to the credence given to us, being before advertised of her estate by your highness's physicians; by whom we did perceive the estate of her body to be such that, without danger to her person, we might well proceed to require her in your majesty's name, all excuses set apart, to repair to your highness with all convenient speed and diligence."§ The generally received statement that the commissioners, after Elizabeth had gone to rest, entered her chamber rudely, and told her that their orders were to bring her "quick or dead," does not agree with the tone of this official letter to the queen. It is clear that Elizabeth's journey from Ashridge to London was not a hurried one; although she might have been refused, when "she desired some longer respite until she had better recovered her strength." It was arranged that she should take five days to perform this journey of thirty-three miles in a horse litter. She did not arrive at Westminster till the 22d or 23d of February, for the accounts vary. Machyn, the London funeral furnisher, thus records the entry of Elizabeth, in his formal style: "Between four and five of the clock, at night, my Lady Elizabeth's grace came riding to London through Smithfield unto Westminster, with a hundred velvet coats afore her grace. And her grace rode in a chariot open on both sides."‖ Elizabeth had rested a night and a day at Highgate. At this time Noailles, the French ambassador, writes to his court: "While the city was covered with gibbets, and the public buildings were crowded with the heads of the bravest men in the kingdom, the Princess Elizabeth, for whom no better lot is foreseen, is lying ill about seven or eight miles from hence, so swollen and disfigured that her death is expected." The emperor's ambassador exhibits another picture of the high-minded woman, struggling with sickness and apprehension of danger: "The Lady Elizabeth arrived here yesterday, clad completely in white, surrounded by a great assemblage of the servants of the queen, besides her own people. She caused her litter to be uncovered, that she might show herself to the people. He countenance was pale; her look proud, lofty, and superbly disdainful; an expression which she assumed to disguise the mortification she felt." The queen would not see her; and kept her in the palace under guard.

We have several glimpses of the secret agencies that were working to hurry on a terrible catastrophe, and of the counteracting influences. The queen tells the emperor's ambassador that the council were laboring to discover the truth against Courtenay and Elizabeth that Courtenay had corresponded in cipher with Carew, who was endeavoring to forward a marriage between him and Elizabeth; that proof of an overt act of treason was still wanting; that the council had found by the confession of the son of the lord privy seal, that he had received letters from Wyat during the rebellion, addressed to Elizabeth, which he had delivered to her. This ambassador was evidently urging the most violent proceedings, and constantly enforcing upon the queen that it was not safe for the prince of Spain to come to England while traitors were not brought to trial, and while mercy was shown to rebels. At first Gardiner appears to have been disposed to shield Elizabeth from the fate which seemed impending over her. His later conduct fully bears out the suspicion that he urged some desperate measure against the sister for whose blood Mary is said to have thirsted.* At length Elizabeth, on the 18th of March, was removed to the Tower. She was to have been conveyed to her prison by water, on Saturday, the 17th. At the hour when the tide served, she earnestly sought an interview with the queen; but this was denied her. She then implored that she might take a little time to write to her sister. One of the lords who had her in charge refused this favor; but the earl of Sussex insisted that it should be granted, and said that he, as a true man, would deliver the letter. While Elizabeth was writing, the tide had ebbed so far that the barge waiting to convey the prisoner could not have passed below the bridge; and she remained at Whitehall another day. Mary was incensed at this delay; and said that the lords "dared not have done such a thing in her father's lifetime, and she wished he were alive again but for a month."† This letter is one of the most characteristic documents of Elizabeth's history—earnest and solemn, bold and impassioned. In that dark hour few could have collected their thoughts to write such words as these: "If any ever did try this old saying, that a king's word was more than another man's oath, I most humbly beseech your majesty to verify it in me, and to remember your last promise and my last demand, that I be not condemned without answer and due proof; which it seems that now I am, for that, without cause proved, I am, by your council, from you commanded to go to the Tower, a place more wonted for a false traitor than a true subject . . . To this present hour I protest afore God, who shall judge my truth, whatsoever malice shall devise, that I never practised, counselled, nor consented to anything that might be prejudicial to your person any way, or dangerous to the state by any mean. . . . I most humbly beseech your highness to pardon this my boldness, which innocency procures me to do, together with hope of your natural kindness, which I trust will not see me cast away without desert. . . . As for the traitor Wyat, he might peradventure write me a letter; but, on my faith, I never received any from him. And as for the copy of my letter sent to the French king, I pray God confound me eternally if ever I sent him word, message, token, or letter, by any means; and to this my truth I will stand in to my death."‡ These solemn asseverations, the gushings forth of an agonized soul, have been most unfairly stigmatized as "oaths and curses."§ It was Palm Sunday, the 18th of March, when Elizabeth was conveyed to the Tower. When she

* See Jardine's "Criminal Trials," vol. i.
† See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 278.
‡ Strype, "Memorials," vol. iii. p. 126.
§ "State Papers," Tytler, p. 426.
‖ Machyn's "Diary," p. 57.

* Elizabeth affirmed to a French minister, after she came to the throne, that Mary "thirsted for her blood."
† Renard to the emperor.
‡ The letter is printed in Ellis, Second Series, vol. ii. p. 254.
§ "She maintained with oaths and curses that she had never received any letter from Wyat," etc.—Lingard, vol. vii. p. 227.

landed, "she said to the warders and soldiers, looking up to heaven, 'O Lord! I never thought to have come in here as a prisoner; and I pray you all, good friends and fellows, bear me witness, that I come in no traitor, but as true a woman to the queen's majesty as any is now living; and thereon will I take my death.'"* On the 3d of April Renard wrote to the emperor that he had told the queen "that it was of the utmost consequence the trials and execution of the criminals, especially of Courtenay and of the Lady Elizabeth, should be concluded before the arrival of his highness" [the prince of Spain]. The ferocious ambassador was seconded by the crafty chancellor, who now said, "that as long as Elizabeth was alive there would be no hope that the kingdom would be tranquil." Urged thus to put her sister to death, one cannot help believing that "natural kindness" saved Mary from the perpetration of this atrocity. Elizabeth herself expected death as the only release from her prison. In May she asked, "whether the Lady Jane's scaffold were taken down, or no?" On the nineteenth of that month she was removed from the Tower and conveyed to Woodstock, where she long remained a prisoner; and, as the chronicler quaintly records, "hearing upon a time out of her garden a certain milkmaid singing pleasantly, she wished herself to be a milkmaid, as she was; saying that her case was better, and life more merrier, than was hers in that state she was."† Courtenay was taken to Fotheringay Castle, and was ultimately released and sent to Germany.

The unquiet condition of the country during the spring of 1554 is shadowed forth in many an anxious expression of the letters of the period. Renard laments over the confusions in religion, the differences of the privy counsellors, "the intestine hatred between the nobility and the people." Imposture availed itself of the prevailing disquiet to stimulate the superstitious by a pretended voice in a wall, which was silent when "God save Queen Mary" was uttered; but which cried "So be it" when "God save the Lady Elizabeth" was pronounced. More than seventeen thousand persons were collected round this house, according to Renard. The queen dreaded another insurrection, and declared that she had rather never have been born than that any outrage should happen to the prince of Spain. Paget, the ardent supporter of the Reformation under Edward, held that "it was vain to think of remedying the affairs of the kingdom without the re-establishment of religion; this, however, he said, would be difficult if one were to follow the opinion of the chancellor, who was anxious to carry through the matter by "fire and blood." This he said to Renard; to whom the queen averred "that the whole danger lay in London and the parts around it, as in Essex, where they had within these few days burned a church, and would not have the mass back again." The remedy for these discontents was sought in a parliament, which might give its sanction to the chancellor's prescription of "fire and blood." This parliament met on the second of April. The Lords were not yet won over to an abject submission to Gardiner's fiery creed, as Renard tells. "The Act for the punishment of heretics with death has passed in the Lower House, but I learn that the Peers will not consent that there should be in it any capital clause."‡ Paget, it seems, used his influence to oppose this bill, and when it was thrown out Renard expressed his indignation against him, and says of this unlooked-for independence in the Peers, "the council and all state affairs here are much embarrassed, the heretics encouraged, and the Catholics thrown into alarm." The parliament, having passed an act for vesting the regal power in the queen as fully as in any king, an act for establishing the provisions of the queen's marriage contract, and an act for the re-establishment of the bishopric of Durham, was dissolved on the 5th of May.

During these agitations the ecclesiastical policy of the advisers of Mary was sufficiently developed. The married clergy were expelled from their livings, although the laws of Edward VI., which allowed their marriage, remained unrepealed; "which act," says Strype, "was horridly severe and unnatural, and turned some thousands of men, women, and children a begging."§ Their benefices were filled by popish priests, who renewed all the ceremonial observances that had been swept away, and sang masses for souls as in the past time. Seven bishops were deprived of their sees; one resigned; and six new bishops were consecrated by Gardiner on the 1st of April. In March, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer were taken out of the Tower, and on the 16th of April the memorable disputations at Oxford commenced, upon the articles which convocation had agreed upon, "of the sacrament of the altar, of transubstantiation, of the adoration of the eucharist, and of the reservation of the sacrament of the Church."* In St. Mary's Church the thirty-three commissioners sit before the altar. Cranmer is first brought before them, guarded by bill-men. He stands with his staff in his hand, and, desiring a copy of the articles, postpones his answer, offering to proceed to a public disputation. Ridley follows, making the same request. Latimer comes, but declines to dispute on account of his age. That venerable preacher is strangely equipped, with a kerchief and nightcap on his head, and a great cap, such as townsmen used, with two broad flaps to button under his chin; an old Bristow frieze gown, girded to his body with a penny leather girdle, from which hung his Testament; and his spectacles, without case, hanging about his neck. The disputations were conducted amid the hissings, clappings, and taunts of the opposing divines, with an inevitable result. On the 20th Cranmer and his two brethren were brought again before the commissioners; and Weston, the moderator, told the archbishop that he was overcome in disputation, which Cranmer denied, complaining of the brawlings and interruptions to which he had been subjected. They each refused to subscribe the articles, and were condemned as heretics. Then Cranmer said, "From this your judgment and sentence I appeal to the just judgment of the Almighty; trusting to be present with him in heaven; for whose presence in the altar I am thus condemned."†

At the beginning of June, 1554, the Londoners are busy in preparations for the reception of the Spanish prince, who is to be called king of England. They are gilding the cross in Cheap, and they are pulling down every gallows from east to west on which Wyat's rebels had been rotting. On the 19th of July the Spanish squadron, with Philip and a gorgeous train of Castilian and Flemish nobles, came to anchor at Southampton. The queen had arrived at Winchester; and thither the prince proceeded with his retinue, after having rested three days. He was scrupulously careful to avoid exciting the English jealousy. The attendants of his court were not allowed to land; and he exhorted his nobles to forget the Spanish customs, and adopt those of England, even to the drinking of its beer. On the 23d he set out on horseback to Winchester, in a drenching rain, accompanied by thousands who gathered round him in his progress. That evening he saw his expected betrothed, who had sent him a ring to greet him on his journey. Philip, at this interview, interpreted one of the English customs very liberally, by kissing not only the queen but all her attendant ladies. At a public meeting the next day Mary saluted Philip with a loving kiss. They were married on the 25th, the festival of St. James, the patron saint of Spain. Gardiner, the bishop of Winchester, performed the ceremony. Cranmer, the archbishop, was in his prison at Oxford. Previous to the marriage an instrument was read by one of the council of Charles V., declaring that the emperor had bestowed upon his son the kingdom of Naples and the duchy of Milan, so that Queen Mary might marry a sovereign like herself. At the banquet Gardiner was the only person permitted to sit upon the dais with the king and queen. After a few days of banqueting, Philip and Mary proceeded to Windsor, where the king was installed as a knight of the garter; "at which time," says Holinshed, "a herald took down the arms of England at Windsor, and in the place of them would have set the arms of Spain, but he was commanded to set them up again by certain lords." This was one sign of the times. Another, of a different complexion, was not less significant. At the solemn entry of the king and queen into London, on the 18th of August, among other decorations of the public places, the conduit in Gracechurch Street was painted with devices of the Nine Worthies, and of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. Henry was represented with a Bible in his hand, on which was written Verbum Dei. "The bishop of Winchester, noting the book in Henry VIII.'s hand, shortly afterward called the painter before him, and with vile words calling him traitor, asked why, and who bade him describe King Henry with a book in his hand, as is aforesaid, threatening him therefore to go to the Fleet."

* "Queen Jane and Queen Mary," p. 71. † Holinshed.
‡ Renard to the emperor, 28th April.
§ "Ecclesiastical Memorials," vol. iii. p. 171.

* Strype, "Mem. of Cranmer," vol. ii. p. 108. † Ibid., p. 123.

The painter humbly apologized, and said he thought he had done well. "Nay," said the bishop, "it is against the queen's Catholic proceedings. And so he painted him shortly after, in the stead of the book of Verbum Dei, to have in his hands a new pair of gloves."* During this summer and autumn the streets of London were filled with Spaniards, much to the displeasure of the citizens. But they were consoled in the autumn by seeing some of the wealth of the New World poured into our island; for twenty cars paraded through the streets to the Tower, containing fourscore and seventeen chests of silver.

But wedding-feasts, and pageants, and even twenty cars of silver to the Tower, could not divert serious men from looking with disgust and alarm at the change which was symbolized by the obliteration of the Bible from the painting of Henry VIII. Fox has a curious record of this unquiet time: "About the fifth day of October, and within a fortnight following, were divers, as well householders as servants and prentices, apprehended and taken, and committed to sundry prisons, for the having and selling of certain books which were sent into England by the preachers that fled into Germany and other countries; which books nipped a great number so near, that within one fortnight there were little less than threescore imprisoned for this matter." These preachers that fled from persecution were certainly not nice in their language. Bale, a great master of epithets, reviled "gagling Gardiner, butcherly Bonner, and trifling Tunstall." The exiled bishop Ponet calls Gardiner "the great devil and cut-throat of England." The politics of these exiles, too, were somewhat of a revolutionary nature, in holding that power was derived from the people, and that Mary was disqualified from ruling, by reason of her sex. They set forth, moreover, various strong arguments against the Spaniards, besides the one great grievance of the change in religion † Knox, and Goodman, and Becon, and Aylmer, wanderers in foreign lands, wrote with the violence that few who hold themselves oppressed have wisdom to restrain. We may lament over the bitter and reviling spirit of these earnest men; but even if we should see with Dr. Maitland, "as a mere matter of fact, in how great a degree the persecution of the Protestants in England was caused by the conduct of their brethren who were in exile," we should not accept their coarseness and rashness as a justification of this persecution. Let us endeavor to relate this fearful story with a full sense of the severe, uncompromising, and even unchristian spirit that belonged to some of the leaders in the English and Scottish reformation; but let us not compromise our hatred of ferocious bigotry by accepting as apology for it the provocations to be found in unique black-letter tracts. When we are asked, after carefully reading the copious extracts from these books, "What kindled and fanned the fires of Smithfield?" ‡ we shall still answer, the bigotry of an arrogant church carried to excess by cruel and crafty men. If the Gardiners and Bonners revenged the insults they had received from Protestants abroad by burning Protestants at home, the greater their guilt and their shame.

Before the meeting of the parliament that refused to make heresy a capital crime, Renard wrote to the emperor: "Assuredly, sire, if the pensions had been given before this, and previous to the arrival of his highness, it would have been the way to bring them [the parliament] over to our wishes, being a people over whom we should obtain influence by liberality and gifts." § When his highness was king of England he showed his policy in remedying this omission. The fourscore and seventeen chests of silver were not conveyed to the Tower to lie idle in its vaults. With a transparent simplicity, Micheli, the Venetian ambassador, says of Philip, "He allows pensions, amounting to upward of fifty-four thousand scudi in gold, to some Englishmen who remained faithful to the queen in the conspiracy of Wyat, without receiving any farther service from them." It was a common exclamation with Philip, "Better not reign at all than reign over heretics." He had great projects in view. The heretical island was to be reconciled to Rome. The papal legate was again to hold a divided sway with the temporal sovereign. Cardinal Pole was coming to threaten or to absolve. The parliament was to meet in November. Pole, a far nobler spirit than the rapacious courtiers and the apostate bishops who were waiting to lick the dust off his shoes, came up the Thames on the 14th of November, in a gorgeous barge, with a silver cross at its prow. Parliament had met two days before, well prepared now for unlimited obedience. On the 27th the great legate met that parliament at Whitehall, where he sat under a canopy with Philip and Mary. He returned thanks to the king and queen who had restored him, a banished man, to be a member of the commonwealth; he went over the history of the connection of this island with the apostolic see, from the earliest times; he pointed out the miseries which the realm had suffered by swerving from that unity; they were now under a queen whom God had raised up, to reign for the restitution of true religion, and the extirpation of all errors and sects, and had joined in marriage with a prince of like religion; he had himself come, having full and ample commission, to reconcile and to forgive, provided all laws and statutes which interfered with the exercise of his commission should be revoked and repealed. After this oration the Lords and Commons went before the king and queen and humbly desired that their majesties would intercede with the cardinal for absolution, and that the whole people of the realm should be received into the bosom of the Church as children repentant. And then all the parliament went on their knees, and the legate absolved. How utterly the Lords and Commons of England were abased before the power of Rome may be seen in the preamble to the act "repealing all statutes, articles, and provisions made against the See Apostolic of Rome, since the twentieth year of King Henry VIII."

"We the Lords spiritual and temporal and the Commons assembled in this present parliament, representing the whole body of the realm of England and the dominions of the same. In the name of ourselves particularly, and also of the said body universally, in this our supplication directed to your majesties with the most humble suit, that it may by your graces' intercession and means be exhibited to the most reverend father in God, the Lord Cardinal Pole, Legate, sent especially hither from our most holy father the pope, Julius the Third, and the See Apostolic of Rome, do declare ourselves very sorry and repentant of the schism and disobedience committed in this realm and dominions aforesaid, against the said See Apostolic, either by making, agreeing, or executing any laws, ordinances, or commandments against the supremacy of the said see, or otherwise doing or speaking that might impugn the same; offering ourselves, and promising by this our supplication that for a token and knowledge of our said repentance we be, and shall be always ready, under and with the authority of your majesties, to the utmost of our powers, to do that shall lie in us, for the abrogation and repealing of the said laws and ordinances in this present parliament, as well for ourselves as for the whole body whom we represent." *

That statute of submission explains, in its second title, how the great difficulty had been smoothed over—not of a change of religion, for that was a trifling matter—the difficulty of dealing with the plunder of the Church. The act is "also for the establishment of all spiritual and ecclesiastical possessions and hereditaments conveyed to the laity." From this degraded parliament thirty-seven members of the House of Commons voluntarily seceded; for which demonstration of independence they were indicted. All was now easy. A new statute of treason was passed against those who preached or openly spoke against the title of the king and queen and their issue. The existence of "profane and schismatical conventicles" was recognized, in a law which declared it treason to pray for the queen's death, as there said to be practised. But the crowning glory of this parliament was the revival of all the statutes against heretics. Without this the great work of Mary's reign could not have been accomplished. The statute is a short one; but it was thoroughly efficient.

"An act for the renewing of three statutes made for the punishment of heresies: For the eschewing and avoiding of errors and heresies which of late years have risen, grown, and much increased within this realm, for that the ordinaries have wanted authority to proceed against those that were infected therewith: Be it therefore ordained and enacted by the authority of this present parliament, that the statute made in the fifth year of the reign of King Richard

* "Queen Jane and Queen Mary," p. 79.

† See Dr. Maitland's curious papers on "Puritan Style," and "Puritan Politics," in "Essays on the Reformation."

‡ See Dr. Maitland's "Essays on the Reformation," p. 41.

§ Tytler, vol. ii. p. 369.

* 1 & 2 Philip and Mary, c. 8.

the Second, concerning the arresting and apprehension of erroneous and heretical preachers, and one other statute made in the second year of the reign of King Henry the Fourth concerning the repressing of heresies and punishment of heretics, and also one other statute made in the second year of King Henry the Fifth, concerning the suppression of heresy and Lollardy, and every article, branch, and sentence contained in the same three several acts, and every of them, shall from the 20th day of January next coming be revived and be in full force, strength, and effect, to all intents, constructions, and purposes, forever." *

CHAPTER LXVI.

The Marian persecution—Summary of the victims—Commission to try preachers and heretics—Hooper and four others condemned—Martyrdom of Hooper—Rowland Taylor—His martyrdom at Hadleigh—Married clergymen especially persecuted—Thomas Hawkes and bishop Bonner—Philpot—Toleration not practised by Reformers—The spy system for discovery of heresy—Martyrdom of Latimer and Ridley—Cranmer's recantation—His repentance, and last exhortation—His martyrdom.

The act of 1555, for the renewing of the statutes for the punishment of heretics, which statutes had been repealed in 1547, was not to sleep. Gardiner and Bonner were not to play the part of "fond fathers," who had "bound up the threatening twigs of birch," only to stick the rod "in their children's sight for terror, not to use." With exquisite candor we are told, "One knows perfectly, and is tired of being told over and over again, that the law for burning heretics was a very bad law, and ought never to have existed. But, in fact, it did exist, and it was the law of the country." † On the 19th of January, 1555, that law was not in force. On the 20th of January it came into full operation. On the 4th of February John Rogers was burned in Smithfield under the act for the renewal of the statutes "concerning punishment and reformation of heretics and Lollards." On the 8th of February Laurence Saunders was burned at Coventry. On the 9th John Hooper was burned at Gloucester. On the same day Rowland Taylor was burned at Hadleigh. Previous to the enactment which came into force on the 20th of January, the Ordinaries had "wanted authority to proceed" against those who were infected with "errors and heresies which of late have arisen, grown, and much increased within this realm;" ‡ and thus these four of the first Protestant martyrs could not have been burned until a new law was passed. The meaning of the law was made perfectly intelligible to all England from the 4th of February, 1555, to the 10th of November, 1558, that crowning offering of five heretics at Canterbury, of whom two were women, having taken place one week before the death of Queen Mary. These executions were not sharp and passionate outbursts of ecclesiastical power, exasperated by popular fury; or of regal tyranny, hurried into extremities by dread of rebellion. They were the calm and deliberate exposition of the principles by which England was to be governed under its Roman Catholic church and sovereigns. The appetite for blood was to be sustained in healthful energy, and not sickened by inordinate meals. In 1555, seventy-one heretics were executed; in 1556, eighty-three; § in 1557, eighty-eight; in 1558, forty. There was also a nice adjustment of the number of victims to the local demand. We are accustomed to talk of "the fires of Smithfield," as if London had a very undue proportion of the instruction of such sights. But in these four years, during which London and Middlesex saw fifty-eight executions, Kent had fifty-four, Essex fifty-one, Sussex forty-one, Suffolk and Norfolk thirty-one, Gloucester nine, Warwick six, while thirty-two were distributed over thirteen other districts. Nor was the lesson of the fagot confined to bishops and priests. Strype makes a total of the burnings to be 288; Speed, 277; and he classifies them as five bishops, twenty-one divines, eight gentlemen, eighty-four artificers, a hundred husbandmen, servants, and laborers, twenty-six wives, twenty widows, nine unmarried women, two boys, and two infants. No selection could have been more impartial.

On the 1st of January, 1555, the work was actively commenced that, in the end, was to make England thoroughly Protestant. Many of the leading divines were in prison; but smaller birds were to be taken in the fowler's net. On that day Thomas Rose, a man whose somewhat extravagant zeal had brought him into trouble in the days of King Henry, was arrested with thirty of his congregation, at a sheerman's house in Bow Churchyard. Driven from the use of the English service book which was banished from the churches, offended with the doctrines and ceremonial observances which had again become universal, they prayed in secret, and often changed their places of meeting. They assembled in ships lying in the Thames, in empty lofts, in the fields. They held correspondence with those in exile; they made collections for those in prison. When men are oppressed for conscience sake no dread of imprisonment or death can prevent their combination. In the meetings of these impassioned men, the English spirit of hatred of tyranny was probably as strong as the Christian spirit of patience; and thus it has been a reproach to the sufferers in the Marian persecution that, smitten on one cheek they did not invariably turn the other cheek to the smiter. In all this terrible history there is nothing more remarkable than the boldness with which the reproofs and scoffs of their judges were often met by defiance and contempt from learned and ignorant. These men knew that they were set upon a stage, to fight or to yield. There was only one of two courses open to them—to apostatize or to die. When they made up their minds to die, they were not likely to show any especial reverence to the persons, or the offices, of the chancellor or the bishop whom they knew to be the instigators of their persecution. The men of the conventicle in Bow Churchyard went to join many of the same minds in the Marshalsea, the Fleet, and the Clink; and Hooper, the deprived bishop of Gloucester, wrote to them from his own prison a letter of consolation, in which he says, "Dear brethren and sisters, continually fight the fight of the Lord. Your cause is most just and godly. . . . The adversaries' weapons against you be nothing but flesh, blood, and tyranny. . . . Boldly withstand them, though it cost you the price of your life." * On the 22d of January the preachers who were in prison were brought up before Gardiner, the bishop of Winchester, and others, at the bishop's house in Southwark, and to the question whether they would become convert, having replied that they would stand to what they had taught, were committed to stricter confinement. Rogers, who had been a prebendary of St. Paul's, was one of these. Cardinal Pole, on the 23d, exhorted the members of convocation to repair to their cures, and there to win the people with gentleness, and not endeavor to overcome them by rigor. On the 25th, St. Paul's day, there was a solemn procession of bishops and priests to St. Paul's to offer thanksgiving for their conversion to the Catholic Church; and the king was there, and the cardinal; and that day was ever afterward to be celebrated as The Feast of the Reconciliation. But though Pole was probably sincere when he exhorted to gentleness instead of rigor, he left a little instrument in the hands of the bishop of Winchester, under which, as he might easily have anticipated, some rough work would be accomplished. On the 28th a commission, under the authority of the cardinal legate, held its first sitting in the church of St. Mary Overies, to order, according to the laws, all such preachers and heretics as were in prison. Including Gardiner and Bonner, there were present thirteen bishops, and several noblemen and other lay commissioners.

They sat again on the 29th and 30th. On these occasions there were no long scholastic disputations, as in the cases of Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, at Oxford. The mode of proceeding with Dr. Rowland Taylor, which he has himself recorded, was probably nearly the same with all. "First, my lord chancellor said, 'You among others are at this present time sent for, to enjoy the king's and queen's majesties' favor and mercy, if you will now rise again with us from the fall which we, generally, have received in this realm; from the which, God be thanked, we are now clearly delivered miraculously. If you will not rise with us now, and receive mercy now offered, you shall have judgment according to your demerit.' To this I answered, that so to rise should be the greatest fall that ever I could receive; for I should so fall from my dear Saviour Christ to Antichrist." There were then exhortations to submit, as-

* 1 & 2 Philip and Mary, c. 6.

† Dr. Maitland, "Essays," p. 420.

‡ 1 Philip and Mary, c. 6.

§ Strype gives the total for 1556 as eighty-nine; but in his local divisions of that year the aggregate is only eighty-three.

* Strype, vol. iii. part ii. pp. 275, 276.

uming various forms of reproach or solicitation, which were refused
n no very measured terms. The colloquy between Gardiner and
ogers offers a characteristic example. "Gardiner said it was vain-
lory in him to stand out against the whole church. He protested it
as his conscience, and not vain-glory, that swayed him; for his
art, he would have nothing to do with the antichristian Church of
ome. Gardiner said by that he condemned the queen, and the
hole realm, to be of the church of Antichrist. Rogers said the
ueen would have done well enough if it had not been for his coun-
el. Gardiner said the queen went before them in those counsels,
hich proceeded of her own motion. Rogers said he would never
elieve that. The bishop of Carlisle said they could all bear him
itness to it. Rogers said they would all witness for one an-
ther."* On the first day of these scenes at St. Mary Overies, the
roceedings were public, and a great crowd filled the church. On
ie other days the doors were shut. The boldness of such resolved
ien was a dangerous example. The commissioners abruptly termi-
ated their immediate work in the condemnation of Hooper, Rogers,
aylor, Saunders, and Bradford, who at the same time were excom-
unicated. The sentence upon Bradford was not executed till July.
he fate of the other four was more quickly decided.

It has been truly observed by a judicious writer, that in the limited
istorical reading of young persons, "the horrors of this period have
een suffered to hold too prominent a place."† Minute details of
hysical suffering, even when they are associated with the heroic for-
tude of the sufferers, had better be imagined than related. Yet it is
npossible to pass over this momentous period of English history
ith any vague notice of the great battle that was then fought be-
ween Romanism and Protestantism. We must look upon the com-
atants in this unequal fight of conscience against power, as they pre-
ent themselves in their individual actions and characters, to be en-
bled properly to appreciate their spiritual victory in their deepest
egradation. Beautifully has it been said, "The firm endurance of
ufferings by the martyrs of conscience, if it be rightly contemplated,
s the most consolatory spectacle in the clouded life of man; far
iore ennobling and sublime than the outward victories of virtue,
hich must be partly won by weapons not her own, and are often
he lot of her foulest foes. Magnanimity in enduring pain for the
ake of conscience is not, indeed, an unerring mark of rectitude; but
t is, of all other destinies, that which most exalts the sect or party
hom it visits, and bestows on their story an undying command over
he hearts of their fellow-men." ‡

Fuller, in two of his suggestive sentences, has attempted to give
he characteristics of the chief of the sufferers: "The same devotion
ad different looks in several martyrs; frowning in stern Hooper,
eeping in meek Bradford, and smiling constantly in pleasant Tay-
or." § Again: "Of all the Marian martyrs, Mr. Philpot was the
est-born gentleman; bishop Ridley, the profoundest scholar; Mr.
radford, the holiest and devoutest man; archbishop Cranmer, of
he mildest and meekest temper; bishop Hooper, of the sternest and
usterest nature; Dr. Taylor had the merriest and pleasantest wit;
Ir. Latimer had the plainest and simplest heart." ‖ Let us first look
t the stories of "stern Hooper" and "pleasant Taylor," to see how
he same earnest convictions elevate the "austerest" and the "mer-
iest" natures into equal sublimity and beauty. They suffered on the
ame day.

After Hooper's condemnation he was visited by Bonner and his
haplains, in Newgate, to persuade him to recant. The rumor
ent forth that the fear of death had prevailed over his constancy.
ox says that the persecuting bishop and his emissaries spread these
umors to bring discredit on Hooper and his devotion. "What
notive could Bonner and his chaplains have for spreading such a re-
ort?" is confidently asked.¶ Hooper wrote a letter to rebut the
umor. He conversed and argued, he says, with the bishop and his
haplains, that he might not be accused of want of learning, or of
ride; but that he was more than ever confirmed in the truth which
he had preached. He sums up his letter in these solemn words: "I have taught the truth with my tongue, and with my pen, heretofore; and hereafter shortly shall confirm the same, by God's grace, with my blood." Hooper, with his fellow-convict, Rogers, underwent together the ceremony of degradation on the 4th of February. Rogers went to the stake at Smithfield. Hooper was sent to his former episcopal city of Gloucester, where he arrived after a ride of three days. The mayor and aldermen of Gloucester received their once honored bishop with kindness. They could not forget that he had been the friend of the poor, whom he fed and taught daily in his hall. He was to have been lodged in the common jail; but the men who had guarded him from London entreated that he might remain in a private house, for that he had deported himself so patiently on his way that a child might keep him. On the morning of the 9th he went forth to his execution. It was the market-day, and round the stake, fixed near a great elm-tree in front of the cathedral, many thousand persons were assembled. As he walked through the crowd, leaning upon a staff, he looked cheerfully upon those whom he knew; and as he heard the bitter laments of the people he lifted his eyes up to heaven. A pardon was offered him if he would recant; but he exclaimed, "If you love my soul, take it away." Raising his voice in prayer, the crowd was commanded back. When he was fastened by hoops of iron to the stake, he said the trouble was needless, for God would give him strength to abide the extremity of the fire without bands. His sufferings were of the most lingering nature; but he remained calm and still to the last; and while flames were slowly consuming him, died as quietly as a child in his bed.

Of all the heroes of the Reformation, Rowland Taylor is, to our minds, the most interesting, because the most natural. Of a hearty, bluff English nature, full of kindliness and pleasantry, he is perfectly unconscious of playing a great part in this terrible drama, and goes to his death as gayly as to a marriage-feast. Fuller says that those "who admire the temper of Sir Thomas More jesting with the axe of the executioner, will excuse our Taylor making himself merry with the stake." He has been compared to Socrates in his simplicity and jocularity, his affection for his friends, and his resolution to shrink from no danger rather than compromise the goodness of his cause.* The account which Fox has given of Rowland Taylor is held to be only inferior to the eloquence and dignity of the Phædon of Plato.† It is difficult to give the spirit of such a narrative without impairing its force; but we may select one or two of its more remarkable points. Taylor had been chaplain to archbishop Cranmer; but having been appointed rector of Hadleigh, in Suffolk, he devoted himself most zealously to the duties of his parish. He was married, and had nine children. Soon after the accession of Mary some zealous papists took forcible possession of his church, and brought a priest to perform mass. Taylor remonstrated, with more wrath than worldly prudence, against what he called popish idolatry; and he was cited to appear in London before the chancellor. He was strongly urged to fly; and his faithful servant, John Hull, who rode with him to London, entreated him to shun the impending danger, and declared that he would follow him in all perils. He came before Gardiner, with whom his long conference ended by the overpowering argument, "Carry him to prison." He remained in confinement for about a year and three quarters, when he was brought before the commissioners and condemned as a heretic. His degradation was performed by Bonner; the usual mode being to put the garments of a Roman Catholic priest on the clerk-convict, and then to strip them off. Taylor refused to put them on, and was forcibly robed by another. "And when he was thoroughly furnished therewith, he set his hands to his sides, and said, 'How say you, my lord, am I not a goodly fool? How say you, my masters, if I were in Cheap should I not have boys enough to laugh at these apish toys?'" The final ceremony was for the bishop to give the heretic a blow on his breast with his crosier-staff. "The bishop's chaplain said, 'My lord, strike him not, for he will sure strike again.' 'Yes, by St. Peter, will I,' quoth Dr. Taylor, 'the cause is Christ's, and I were no good Christian if I would not fight in my Master's quarrel.' So the bishop laid his curse on him, and struck him not." When he went back to his fellow-prisoner, Bradford, he told him the chaplain had said he

* Burnet, part ii. book ii. p. 301, abridged from Rogers' own narrative, in Fox.
† "Historical Parallels," vol. iii. p. 271.
‡ Mackintosh, "History," vol. ii. p. 327.
§ "Worthies of England," vol. ii. p. 328.
‖ "Church History," book viii. part ii.
¶ Dr. Maitland, "Essays," p. 450.

* "Historical Parallels," vol. iii. p. 272.
† Heber, "Life of Jeremy Taylor."

would strike again; "and by my troth," said he, rubbing his hands, "I made him believe I would do so indeed." We give the scene as we find it, as an exhibition of character and of manners. What Heber calls "the coarse vigor of his pleasantry" may justly appear to some as foolish irreverence. But under this rough contempt of an authority which he despised there was in this parish priest a tenderness and love most truly Christian. At two o'clock on a February morning one of the sheriffs of London led Taylor out of his prison, to deliver him to the sheriff of Essex, in Aldgate. "Now when the sheriff and his company came against St. Botolph Church, Elizabeth, his daughter, cried, saying, 'O my dear father! Mother, mother, here is my father led away.' Then cried his wife, 'Rowland, Rowland, where art thou?' for it was a very dark morning, that the one could not see the other. Dr. Taylor answered, 'Dear wife, I am here,' and stayed. The sheriff's men would have led him forth, but the sheriff said, 'Stay a little, masters, I pray you, and let him speak to his wife;' and so they stayed. Then came she to him; and he took his daughter Mary in his arms, and he, his wife, and Elizabeth kneeled down and said the Lord's Prayer: at which sight the sheriff wept apace, and so did divers other of the company. After they had prayed, he rose up and kissed his wife, and shook her by the hand, and said, 'Farewell, my dear wife, be of good comfort, for I am quiet in my conscience. God shall stir up a father for my children.' And then he kissed his daughter Mary, and said, 'God bless thee, and make thee his servant:' and kissing Elizabeth, he said, 'God bless thee, I pray you all stand strong and stedfast unto Christ, and his words, and keep you from idolatry.' Then said his wife, 'God be with thee, dear Rowland. I will with God's grace meet thee at Hadleigh.' And so he was led forth to the Woolsack [an inn], and at his coming out, John Hull, before spoken of, stood at the rails with Dr. Taylor's son. When Dr. Taylor saw them, he called them, saying, 'Come hither, my son Thomas;' and John Hull lifted up the child and set him on the horse, before his father. Then lifted he up his eyes towards heaven, and prayed for his son; laid his hand on the child's head, and blessed him; and so delivered the child to John Hull, whom he took by the hand and said, 'Farewell, John Hull, the faithfullest servant that ever man had.' And so they rode forth; the sheriff of Essex, with four yeomen of the guard, and the sheriff's men leading him." The narrative of Fox conducts the condemned man by slow steps to his beloved Hadleigh. He is placid and even merry to the last. He jests upon his burly and corpulent frame, and holds that the worms in Hadleigh churchyard will be deceived, for the carcass that should have been theirs will be burned to ashes. He asks to be taken through Hadleigh. The streets are lined with his old parishioners. He could see them, but they could not look upon his face, which had been covered through his journey with a hood, having holes for the eyes and mouth. In Hadleigh there still stand some almshouses, built by William Pykeham, the rector, at the end of the fifteenth century. Taylor, "stopping by the almshouses, cast out of a glove to the inmates of them such money as remained of what charitable persons had given for his support in prison, his benefices being sequestrated; and missing two of them he asked, 'Is the blind man and the blind woman that dwelt here alive?' He was answered, 'Yea, they are there within.' Then threw the glove and all into the window, and so rode forth." When he came to Aldham Common, where he was to suffer, he said, "Thanked be God, I am even at home;" and lighting from his horse he tore the hood from his head. "When the people saw his reverend and ancient face, and long white beard they burst out with weeping tears, and cried, saying, 'God save thee, good Dr. Taylor.'" He would have spoken to them; but a guard thrust a tipstaff into his mouth. As they were piling the fagots a brutal man cast a fagot at him, which wounded him so that the blood ran down his face. "O friend," said he, "I have harm enough; what needed that?" Let us draw a veil over his sufferings, and see only the poor woman who knelt at the stake to join in his prayers, and would not be driven away.

In the persecution of the Protestant divines there was one distinct evidence of their secession from the principles of the Church of Rome, which marked them out as victims. The greater number of them were married. Rogers, when he requested that his wife might be with him after his condemnation, was told that she was not his wife, and Gardiner and Bonner refused him this consolation. As he went to the stake at Smithfield, the faithful woman met him on his way with her ten children. Laurence Saunders was allowed to see his infant, when his wife was denied admittance to him at the Marshalsea. Taking the child in his arms, he exclaimed, "Yea, if there were no other cause for which a man of my estate should lose his life, yet who would not give it, to avouch this child to be legitimate, and his marriage to be lawful and holy!" He wrote to that wife to prepare him a shirt, "which you know whereunto it is consecrated. Let it be sewed down on both sides, and not open." When Hooper was brought before Gardiner, the crafty prelate asked him whether he was married. "Yea, my lord," was the answer; "and will not be unmarried till death unmarry me." Rowland Taylor, kneeling with his wife and daughters on the dark February morning in the porch of St. Botolph, is the crowning example of the holiness of the family affections. Of such men it has been touchingly said that "during this persecution the married clergy were observed to suffer with most alacrity. They were bearing testimony to the validity and sanctity of their marriage, against the foul and unchristian aspersions of the Romish persecutors. The honor of their wives and children was at stake. The desire of leaving them an unsullied name and a virtuous example combined with the sense of religious duty; and thus the heart derived strength from the very ties which, in other circumstances, might have weakened it."*

Gardiner, according to our Protestant historians, "having broken the ice of burning heretics, and taken off the heads and captains," left the work to be carried on by Bonner. On the day on which Taylor and Hooper suffered, six persons were arraigned and condemned before the bishop of London, the lord mayor and sheriffs, and members of the council. They were of various callings—a butcher, a barber, a weaver, a gentleman, a priest, and an apprentice to a silk-weaver. On the 10th, being Sunday, Alfonso de Castro, a Spanish friar, the confessor of King Philip, preached before the king; "and in his sermon inveighed against the bishops for burning of men, saying that they learned it not in Scripture, to put any to death for conscience, but on the contrary, rather to let them live and be converted."† It was the desire of Philip to make himself acceptable to the English; and, probably, at this time, the severe bigotry which led him four years later to be present at an *auto-da-fé* in Valladolid might have been kept down by kindlier feelings. There was a suspension of these cruel exhibitions for about five weeks after this remarkable sermon. But on the 17th of March Thomas Tomkins, the weaver, condemned on the 9th of February, was burned at Smithfield; on the 26th William Hunter, the silk-weaver's apprentice, was burned at Braintree; on the 28th William Pigot, the butcher, was also burned at Braintree, and Stephen Knight, the barber, at Maldon. John Laurence, the priest, was burned at Colchester on the 29th. Thomas Hawkes, the gentleman, was reserved to suffer at Coggeshall on the 10th of June.

The story of Thomas Hawkes, as told by himself, affords a very fair illustration of the mode in which the lay "heretics" were dealt with in these times, and of the resolution with which they stood up for their opinions. It is held that this young man was "in his conduct and carriage very unlike a humble Christian;" and that "within the rough exterior of the bishop [Bonner] there must have been something more or less resembling that charity which is not easily provoked, nay, even suffereth long, and is kind. . . . It is not that the bishop let a forward young man say his say out, once or even twice, and then dispatched him, but that after such a beginning he had him on his hands for near a twelvemonth."‡ The reason that the bishop had this "forward young man" so long on his hands is left to be inferred. The law by which Bonner could have effectually "dispatched him," did not come into operation till nineteen days before its efficacy was tried on Thomas Hawkes and three other Essex Protestants. He was apprehended because he would not suffer his child to be baptized according to the Romish ceremonials; and was sent to Bonner, to be used according to his discretion. At their very first conference the bishop asked him if he knew Knight and Pigot, the barber and the butcher. He is also asked if he knew one Bagot; and Bagot is called. The man, "not easily provoked,"

* Southey, "Book of the Church," vol. ii. p. 151.
† Strype, "Ecclesiastical Memorials," vol. iii. p. 332.
‡ Dr. Maitland, "Essays," p. 495.

shes Bagot to give his opinion upon the refusal of Hawkes to have child christened; upon which Bagot says that Hawkes is old ough to answer for himself. "Ah! sir knave," says the bishop, re you at that point with me? Go call me the porter. Thou shalt in the stocks, and have nothing but bread and water." Having rified Bagot into saying that baptism, as then practised in the urch, was good, he sent Hawkes to dine at the steward's table. nversation after conversation occur between the bishop and his isoner; and the end of their contests is that he who "suffereth ig, and is kind," says, "Sir, it is time to begin with you. We ll rid you away, and then we shall have one heretic less." On anher occasion the candid bishop says, "Ye think we are afraid to t one of you to death: yes, yes, there is a brotherhood of you, but will break it, I warrant you." Bold enough, insolent enough, if u please, was this young Thomas Hawkes; but his "conduct and rriage" were those arising out of a conscientious resistance to a wer which he knew would destroy him. The "conduct and carge" of the proud man in authority were those which exhibit the potence of tyranny even in its most sanguinary resolves. Hawkes fused to sign the petition which Bonner had drawn up.

"Then the bishop thrust me on the breast with great anger; and id he would be even with me, and with all such proud knaves in sex.

"*Hawkes.* 'Ye shall do no more than God shall give you ve.'

"*Bonner.* 'This gear shall not be unpunished—trust to it.'

"*Hawkes.* 'As for your cursings, railings, and blasphemings, I re not for them; for I know the moths and worms shall eat you, they eat cloth or wool.'

"*Bonner.* 'I will be even with you when time shall come.'"

The time did come; for on the 9th of February Bonner read the ntence of death upon Thomas Hawkes.

In looking back upon the awful transactions of this time of persetion, let us not form too severe a judgment of the evil deeds of our ring forefathers. It was not a time when the rights of conience, looking beyond the opinions of the alternately dominant eeds, could be adequately acknowledged by Roman Catholic or otestant. The broad foundation upon which to establish those ghts was undoubtedly laid in the principles of the Reformation. t it has required the struggles of three centuries to make these ghts a living rule of charitable action, even in secular legislation. her disturbing influences were to arise, out of which were to grow any a severe contest between the ruling powers in church and ate, and the sacred claims of private judgment. At this worst pe-od in England of triumphant persecution against those who were lled heretics, the very heretics themselves were ready to become rsecutors. Philpot, "the best-born gentleman" of Fuller, had deared that he would confound any six of his adversaries upon the estion of transubstantiation, and if not, he said, "let me be burned fore the court gates with as many fagots as be in London." When amined before Bonner, he had told him, in the true spirit of toler-ion, using the words of St. Ambrose to Valentinian, "Take away e law, and I shall reason with you." There could be no equal reaning, when the renewed statutes for punishing heretics with death ere written over the judgment-seat of the examiner. But Philpot mself was ready to become a persecutor when the case lay between s own opinions and those which Catholic and Protestant had greed in condemning. Courageous, enthusiastic, in the assertion of s principles, the martyr Philpot had no respect for those who went rther than he did in asserting what they held to be truth. He pubished a vindication of himself for an action which was scarcely comtible with the character even of the "best-born gentleman." He ad spat upon an Arian. Does he apologize for an act of passion hen his conscience was offended by what he considered the enunci-ion of a creed which he held was damnable and wicked? He says, ith perfect honesty, but in a spirit which may induce us to judge t too harshly of those who asserted their convictions even with uelty, "Should not the mouth declare the zeal for his Maker, by ittings on him that depraveth his Divine Majesty? . . . I tell ee plain that I am nothing ashamed of that fact, but give God anks that I bear evil for well doing." He denounces as heretics "such as break the unity of Christ's church, neither abide in the me, neither submit their judgment to be tried, in the causes which they brabble for, by the godly learned pastors thereof." * Surely this self-reliance is an apology for those who also relied upon "the unity of Christ's church," as maintained by their own doctrines and ceremonies. Such was the temper of Calvin, when, in 1546, he thus declares his hatred of what he calls "the delirious fancies" of Servetus: "He takes it upon him to come hither, if it be agreeable to me. But I am unwilling to pledge my word for his safety; for if he shall come, I shall never permit him to depart alive, provided my authority be of any avail."† Let us bear in mind how long a time of probation is required before individual fidelity to a strong religious conviction can be united with respect for adverse opinions; how long before love shall prevail over zeal, and the essential agreements of the spiritual life be more regarded than the doctrinal differences. Let us bear this in mind, even when we view the conduct of a Bonner, "whom all generations shall call bloody,"‡ according to the judgment of an honest man in his generation; but who it would better become us in our day to pity than to vituperate, if we cannot forbear, as we ought not to forbear, to hate cruelty and oppression in whatever form they present themselves.

The wickedness of the Marian persecution, regarding it with every allowance for the errors of those engaged in it, can only be exceeded by its folly. If the martyrdoms had been confined to the great leaders and teachers of the Reformation—to those who exulted in its principles, and welcomed suffering and death as the crowning glory of their labors—we may understand how the spirit of revenge might have obliterated the quality of mercy. Bonner said to Hawkes, "We will show such mercy unto you as ye showed unto us; for my benefice or bishopric was taken away from me, so that I had not one penny to live upon." We see the vulgarity and meanness of Bonner's mind in this avowal; and his ferocity is therefore intelligible when he has to deal with Ridley, who supplanted him in his bishopric. So of Gardiner, when he has to influence the fate of his old opponent Cranmer. But that a government, knowing well that the elements of public hatred were surrounding it on every side—that a thousand martyrdoms could not change the secret opinions which had been the growth of nearly two centuries—that a government politically and religiously obnoxious to many, should have chosen to hunt out the heretics from the most obscure recesses, is an example of that judicial blindness which precedes destruction. When we read in the sad history of these times, that the humblest of the people were called into the ecclesiastical courts, and, being required to make answers to certain questions, were condemned if judged heretical, we may ask what possible feeling could have been produced, other than the most intense hatred and disgust, by such sacrifices of artificers and laborers and fishermen—when even the lowly housewife was dragged out of her cottage, upon the information of some spiteful neighbor? Those who would extenuate the practices of these times, as the fashion now is, would do well to study the public acts of the government of Mary, rather than prove that she was kind to her dependants; that she loved her husband; that she was conscientiously pious and charitable; that she had a sincerer nature than her sister Elizabeth. It is as a queen that she must be judged; and as a queen she went further to degrade and enslave England than any sovereign who ever sate upon England's throne. There is such a document in existence as "An Order prescribed by the King and Queen to the Justices of the Peace," dated March 26th, 1555, in which, after enjoining that "they must lay special weight upon those which be preachers and teachers of heresy, or procurers of secret meetings for that purpose," we have this memorable direction: "They shall procure to have in every parish, or part of the shire, as near as may be, some one or more honest men secretly instructed, to give information of the behavior of the inhabitants amongst or about them." § The justices of the peace, in some districts, were ready enough to bring such as "do lean to erroneous and heretical opinions" before the Ordinaries. But, as we learn by a royal letter dated the 24th of May, the bishops either refused to receive such persons, or dealt with them mercifully. Then the pious king and queen wrote to each bishop to admonish him that "when any such offenders shall be by the said justices of the peace brought unto you, ye do use your good wisdom

* Strype, vol. iii. part ii. p. 372.
† Letters of Calvin, by Bonnet, vol. ii.
‡ Fuller, "Church History," vol. ii. p. 343.
§ Burnet, "Records," No. 19.

and discretion, in procuring to remove them from their errors, if it may be, or else in proceeding against them, if they shall continue obstinate, according to the order of the laws."* Honor be to those justices and bishops in whose districts the old English spirit of honesty and freedom made the attempts to introduce the spy system into every household recoil with hatred and contempt upon their originators. Many dioceses, especially the large ones of Lincoln, York, and Durham, were almost wholly exempt from these disgraces. The merciful and, we may say, politic dispositions of many bishops stood between those who read their English Bibles in secret, and the bigotry that would have dragged them to sign articles against their consciences, or to burn. One more expedient was tried, to remedy the supineness of justices and ordinaries. In 1557 a commission was issued to the bishops of London and Ely, with other ecclesiastics and many laymen, by which any three were empowered to search after all heresies, and the sellers and readers of heretical books; to examine and punish all misbehavior and negligences in church or chapel; to try all priests that did not preach of the sacrament of the altar, and all persons that did not hear mass, or did not go in procession, or did not take holy bread or holy water. They were to call before them what witnesses they pleased, and compel them to swear, so as to discover the heresies and offences thus to be hunted out.† "So now," says Burnet, "all was done that could be devised for the extirpation of heresy, except Courts of Inquisition had been set up; to which, whether this was not a previous step to dispose the nation to it, the reader may judge."‡

We have endeavored, without dwelling too minutely upon the horrors of this frightful time, to lead the reader to understand how that temper was roused in the English nation which produced an abhorrence to the Roman Catholic religion, "to be derived down from father to son"—"an aversion so deeply rooted, and raised upon such grounds, as does, upon every new provocation or jealousy of returning to it, break out in most violent and convulsive symptoms." So wrote Burnet in the time of Charles II. So may we still write, when the "jealousy of returning to it" is excited by indiscretions which proceed from a singular ignorance of the character of the English nation. Let us conclude this painful narrative with a brief view of the final triumphs of the three most eminent of the sufferers.

From the 28th of April, 1554, when Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer had been condemned as obstinate heretics, they had remained in prison in Oxford. In September, 1555, a court was held under the papal authority at Oxford, for what was called their trial. Ridley and Latimer were brought before the commissioners, the bishops of Lincoln, Gloucester, and Bristol, to answer to certain articles. The next day a solemn session was held at St. Mary's Church—solemn as far as thrones and cloth of tissue could impart solemnity to a proceeding which was a mockery of justice, in refusing to hear the accused. They had only to hear the sentence pronounced, to be degraded, to be burned. The place of their execution is now distinguished by what is called "the Martyrs' Memorial." No monument is necessary to commemorate an event which will be remembered, through the power of a few thrilling words, as long as the English language shall endure. Stripped of his prison dress, the aged Latimer—the bent old man—"stood bolt upright, as comely a father as one might lightly behold." He stands, bolt upright, in his shroud. Ridley and he "stand coupled for a common flight" and he says, "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man! We shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as shall never be put out."

When Cranmer came before the commissioners he was cited to appear at Rome within eighty days, there to answer the charges against him. This was one of the mockeries of the papal rule in England. There were prison-walls between the archbishop and Rome, and at the end of the time he was declared contumacious. Bonner and Thirlby were appointed to degrade him. Bonner was brutal; Thirlby wept. The courage of Cranmer was never very strong. He had made too many compromises in life not to be tempted into one more compliance with firmer wills, when a hope was offered to him that he might quietly descend into the grave, at the natural expiration of his allotted years. He signed papers of recantation, under these false promises. The hateful betrayers thought by this cruel policy to make the great leader of the Reformation die a cowardly apostat They were deceived. A better spirit—an inspiration—came ov the fallen man, to make his final glory even greater from his temp rary abasement. There can be no question of the authenticity of t narrative of his last end, for it was drawn up by a Romanist; and t original document is among the Harleian Manuscripts, heade "Archbishop Cranmer's death, related by a bystander." On t 21st of March, the morning being rainy, the sermon, which was a pointed to be preached at the stake, was preached in St. Mary Church. Cranmer having heard the sermon, in which he was r minded of his wretched estate—"of a counsellor to be a caitiff knelt down and prayed, the men of the university praying wi him; "for they that hated him before now loved him for his co version." After that he prayed aloud; and then addressed an e hortation, to care not overmuch for the world; to obey the king a queen; to love one another; to be good to the poor. He then d clared that he believed in God, in every article of the Catholic fait and every word and sentence taught by our Saviour, his apostles, a prophets, in the Old and New Testament. The conclusion of h exhortation was a startling one:

"And now I come to the great thing that troubleth my conscien more than any other thing that ever I said or did in my life: a that is, the setting abroad of writings contrary to the truth. Whic here now I renounce and refuse, as things written with my han contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and written f fear of death, and to save my life, if it might be: and that is s such bills which I have written or signed with mine own hand, sin my degradation: wherein I have written many things untrue. A forasmuch as my hand offended in writing contrary to my hear therefore my hand shall first be punished therefore: for if I m come to the fire, it shall be first burned. And as for the pope, I r fuse him, as Christ's enemy and antichrist, with all his false doctrine.

"And here being admonished of his recantation and dissemblin he said, 'Alas, my lord, I have been a man that all my life loved plai ness, and never dissembled till now against the truth; which I a most sorry for.' He added hereunto, that, for the sacrament, he b lieved as he had taught in his book against the bishop of Wincheste And here he was suffered to speak no more."

"He so far deceived all men's expectations, that, at the hearin thereat they were much amazed." He was led away, "great nur bers exhorting him, while time was, to remember himself." H did remember himself; and thus vindicated his character, for t love and pity of all after-time:

"Coming to the stake with a cheerful countenance and willin mind, he put off his garments with haste, and stood upright in h shirt: and a bachelor of divinity, named Elye, of Brazennose Co lege, labored to convert him to his former recantation, with the tw Spanish friars. And when the friars saw his constancy, they said Latin one to another, Let us go from him; we ought not to be nig him, for the devil is with him. But the bachelor in divinity w more earnest with him; unto whom he answered, that, as concernin his recantation, he repented it right sore, because he knew it w against the truth; with other words more. Whereby the Lord W liams cried, 'Make short, make short.' Then the bishop took ce tain of his friends by the hand. But the bachelor of divinity refus to take him by the hand, and blamed all others that so did, and sa he was sorry that ever he came in his company. And yet, again, h required him to agree to his former recantation. And the bishop a swered, showing his hand, 'This was the hand that wrote it, a therefore shall it suffer first punishment.'

"Fire being now put to him, he stretched out his right hand, a thrust it into the flame, and held it there a good space, before the fi came to any other part of his body; where his hand was seen every man sensibly burning, crying with a loud voice, 'This ha hath offended.' As soon as the fire got up, he was very soon dea never stirring or crying all the while."

CHAPTER LXVII.

Sights and events in London in the first year of the persecution—Ki Philip leaves England—Abdication of Charles V.—Parliament Pope Paul IV.—The Dudley Conspiracy—The Princess Elizab again suspected—Pole consecrated archbishop of Canterbury—V

* Burnet, "Records," No. 20.
† Ibid., No. 32.
‡ "History of the Reformation," part ii. book ii. p. 347.

itation of the universities—Exhibitions of bigotry—Philip returns to England—Quarrel of the Pope with Spain, and his alliance with France—Philip urges a declaration of war against France—Stafford's seizure of Scarborough Castle—English forces sent to the Flemish frontier—Battle of St. Quentin—Hostilities between England and Scotland—Calais taken by the French—Guines surrendered, and Hammes evacuated—The war ill-conducted—Interview of Philip's ambassador with Elizabeth—Death of Mary.

THERE is no more curious record of the outward life of London in these fearful times than "The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant Taylor." Let us glance at the jottings-down of the sights beheld, and the events gossiped about, by this dweller near Queenhithe, for a few months of 1555, to obtain a notion of the strange scenes which were then exhibited. On the 30th of April tidings came that the queen was delivered of a prince; and the bells were rung in every steeple, and Te Deum sung in every choir. The intense desire of the queen for an heir to the throne was the repeated source of ridiculous rumors, not confined to the gaping Londoners, but solemnly transmitted to the emperor, as the crowning joy of the marriage of his son. On the 5th of May the ambassador to Charles V. writes home that the emperor had sent for him at four o'clock in the morning, to know if the news were true.* Machyn's record tells of the disappointed hope in few words. "The morrow after, it was turned otherwise." The Whitsun season brings various amusements. Master Cardmaker, the vicar of St. Bride's, with an upholsterer and his wife, are burned at Smithfield. The clerks go in procession, and a goodly mass is performed, and the waits are playing round Cheap, and the host is borne about by torchlight. There are May games at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, and at Westminster, with giants and morris-dancers, and the hobby-horse, and the lord and lady of the May riding gorgeously. In a day or two after seven men are taken out of Newgate, to be carried to Essex and Suffolk, to burn; and on the 1st of July Master Bradford and a tallow-chandler's apprentice are burned in Smithfield, with a great company of people. With an occasional burning to keep the multitude in remembrance of their blessings, the summer passes; and on the 15th of September the pope's jubilee and pardon are declared at St. Paul's, "and as many as will receive his pardon, to be shrived and fast three days in one week, and to receive the blessed sacrament the next Sunday after, and then clean remission of all their sins." In November the Romish ceremonies burst forth in unusual splendor, upon the occasion of the death of Gardiner, chancellor and bishop of Winchester; when there are dirges in every parish, and the mass of requiem, "and so prayed for after the old custom." The great burnings at Oxford have preceded the death of the chancellor, and Bonner does not immediately honor his memory by any exhibitions in Smithfield. But "a stripling" is whipped about Paul's Cross, "for speaking against the bishop that preached the Sunday before;" and "an old man, a shepherd," who spoke certain things before the sermon at the Cross, is taken to the Counter. There was a delay of three months before Gardiner was carried to his final resting-place at Winchester; and while his embalmed body lay in a hearse at St. Mary's Overies, five men and two women went into Smithfield to burn; and there was a commandment through London over night that "no young folk should come there." The Christian duty of putting men and women to a cruel death for their opinions was too subtle to be properly impressed upon tender minds, by the bonfire lighting up the gabled roofs on a dark January morning.

It is recorded in the citizen's diary that on the 29th of August "the king's grace took his journey toward Dover, and with a great company; and there tarried for the wind." Philip reached Calais on the 4th of September. His sojourn in England had not been an agreeable one to him. The parliament would not consent to his being crowned as king of England. He was obnoxious to the people, although he conducted himself with an evident desire not to offend by unnecessary interference with the ordinary course of government, and by keeping his haughty nature under control. He maintained his state without being a burden upon the English revenue, and scattered his money with a liberal hand. "With all this," says Micheli, "he cannot live with dignity in this country, on account of the insolence with which foreigners are treated by the English."

* Tytler, vol. ii. p. 470.

Mary wept over his departure, but was somewhat consoled by his promise to return in the spring. He returned not to England till March, 1557. When the sickly and irritable queen expected her husband, and received only his excuses, she would shut herself up in her room, and see no one for days. On one occasion, according to a document dated March 26th, 1556, "the queen, on hearing that the king would not return to England for a long time, was in a rage, and caused his picture to be carried out of the Privy Chamber."* Philip was called to a destiny more suited to his proud and ambitious nature than to be the unequal partaker of sovereign power over a jealous insular people. He was summoned to become the head of the greatest European monarchy, by the voluntary abdication of his father. Charles had been sovereign of the Netherlands for nearly fifty years; he had been king of Spain for forty years; he had been emperor of Germany for thirty-six years. On the 25th of October, 1555, Charles, in a solemn assembly at Brussels, although only in his fifty-sixth year, and in full possession of his faculties, resigned the sceptres of the Netherlands and of Spain in favor of his son. He had already bestowed upon Philip the kingdom of Naples and Sicily. In a monastery of Estremadura the greatest prince of his time was to close his long career of ambition. His "cloister life" offers a curious study of human nature.

It has been pointed out that Philip, when he had left England, and the prospect of a child who should succeed to the English crown had become visionary, did not disregard "the affairs of a turbulent people, upon whom he had no hold but the slight thread of a hypochondriacal woman." The opinion of his neglect which Mackintosh expressed is disproved by communications between the privy council and the king. The minutes of the council were translated into Latin, and transmitted to him at Brussels, and were returned with his remarks, also in Latin. His notions of the functions of parliament, as expressed in one of these papers, show how well it was for the civil as well as religious liberty of our country that his influence and authority here were soon at an end. He "desires that nothing should be proposed in parliament without its having been first communicated to his majesty."† Better was it for us that the bigoted Romanist should be free to preside at *auto-da-fés* in Spain, rather than dictate laws to England through the subservient council of his confiding wife. The absence of Philip from England probably caused the parliament, which assembled on the 21st of October, 1555, to dare some opposition to the proceedings of the crown. Sir Anthony Kingston was imprisoned by the council for his conduct as a member of the House of Commons. Although the parliament of England had crouched at the feet of Rome, and the supremacy of the pope was established, there were certain limits beyond which the most strenuous Romanists were not willing to go. Under a pontiff of moderate views, Julius III., the restitution of the church property was not insisted upon; and the success of cardinal Pole's measures had been mainly accomplished by his concessions to those possessors of the abbey-lands and chantry revenues who were not disposed to show their aversion to the Reformation by any great sacrifice of their own interests. The queen had manifested her strong convictions by placing in the hands of the legate such church lands as remained in the possession of the crown. But in 1555 Julius III. was succeeded by Paul IV. "It was the destiny of this most furious zealot to contribute more perhaps than any of his predecessors to the spread of that Protestantism which he hated, abhorred, and persecuted."‡ At the period of his accession he had not exhibited those passionate resolves for the re-establishment of the temporal dominion of the See of Rome which brought him into a posture of hostility to Philip of Spain. But he endeavored most unwisely to assert his spiritual supremacy, by proclaiming, to the English ambassadors, "the restitution of the lands of the church to be an indispensable duty, the neglect of which would draw upon the culprit the penalty of eternal damnation. He also tried to re-establish the collection of the Peter's pence."§ Mary was herself ready to yield to the first thunders of the Vatican, and caused some of the lay nobility to be sounded upon this very delicate question. The answer was, "that they would never part with their abbey-lands, as long as they were able to wear a sword by their sides."‖ An act was however passed, not without

* "Calendar of State Papers," p. 77. † Tytler, vol. ii. p. 484.
‡ Ranke, "History of the Popes," vol. i. p. 317. § Ibid., p. 318.
‖ Heylin.

strong opposition, to restore the tenths and first-fruits to the church; and the impropriations in the queen's gift. This Act had many saving clauses; and one especially, that the legate should apply the revenues so restored to the increase of poor livings; for the finding of able curates to instruct the people; and for the exhibition of scholars. A proposal to given the queen a subsidy and two fifteenths was so strenuously opposed that the secretary of state declared to the House of Commons that her majesty would only accept the subsidy. There was no other parliament held for two years.

The disquietudes and suspicions which were associated with the fact that, however prudent was the Princess Elizabeth, she was the hope of those both abroad and at home who were oppressed by the bigotry of the government, were kept alive by the most trifling incidents. Dr. John Dee, an astrologer and magician, who went on casting nativities and raising spirits till the days of James I., had come into repute in the middle of the sixteenth century; and he got into trouble, according to his own account, through being suspected of "endeavoring, by enchantments, to destroy Queen Mary." In June, 1555, some persons were apprehended "that did calculate the king's and queen's, and my Lady Elizabeth's nativity; whereof one Dee, and Davy, and Butler, and one other of my Lady Elizabeth's, are accused, and that they should have a familiar spirit."* The familiar spirit was believed in, because one of their accusers had "immediately upon the accusation, both his children stricken, the one with present death, the other with blindness." But there was a danger gathering, somewhat more formidable than the conjurations of Dee and his associates. Some young men of good family had conceived the project of assembling together the English exiles of Germany and other parts of the continent, to free England from the Roman pontiff and the Spanish king. Mary was to be sent to Spain, and Elizabeth placed on the throne. The chief leader was Henry Dudley, supposed to have been connected by relationship with the duke of Northumberland, who had paid the price of his rash ambition. His notion was to organize those whom Mary called heretics and traitors, and to land them in the Isle of Wight. He would drive out the Spaniards, he said, or he would die for it. He had obtained some encouragement from the French ambassador in London, and had been courteously received by the French king. But although Richard Uvedale, the captain of Yarmouth Castle in the Isle of Wight, had agreed not to molest their landing, there was little hope of transforming into armed bands the serious and aged religious exiles, even if they had countenanced any attempts to change the government by force. They were mostly suffering extreme poverty. Money was to be got to raise soldiers; and a bold device was set on foot, which none but the most sanguine of men would have ventured upon. In the office of the receipt of exchequer at Westminster there were bars of Spanish silver lying idle in chests, to the value of 50,000*l.* William Rossey, keeper of the Star Chamber, lived near this office, and had a garden running along the margin of the Thames. Three of the conspirators were enabled to obtain access to these precious chests. They were too heavy to be removed; and they were therefore to be broken open, and the bars carried through Rossey's garden, to a vessel which was to be brought up alongside. The ship was hired; the searcher at Gravesend was bribed to let it pass; and the "great bullion robbery" might have been accomplished, had not Thomas White, one of the company, revealed the scheme to the government. On the 18th of March, 1556, about twenty of the accused were conveyed to the Tower. There were persons of good family among them who had opposed the measures of the court in the preceding parliament. Throgmorton, a connection of the man whose acquittal had made him famous, and Uvedale, were first tried. They were convicted, and suffered the death of traitors on the 28th of April. Eight others were executed in May, June, and July. Lord Bray was confined many months on suspicion; but was finally released. Others were pardoned. Mr. Bruce, who has related with great spirit the history of this plot, upon which most historians are silent, says that the ease with which some who were the queen's officers were "seduced from their allegiance, must have added to the many evidences of how slight was the queen's hold upon the affections of the people."† It was the misfortune of the Princess Elizabeth, although a natural consequence of her position, to afford cause of jealousy and suspicion to the court, upon the discovery of any treasonable conspiracy. All that could be established against Lord Bray was that he had said, "If my neighbor of Hatfield might once reign (meaning the Lady Elizabeth), he should have his lands and debts given him again, which he both wished for, and trusted once to see." Elizabeth was again questioned by an agent of the council, and was written to by her sister; "whereat she wrote a well-penned letter," dated the beginning of August, utterly detesting and disclaiming the rebellion and its actors.* Strype has printed Elizabeth's "well-penned letter"—a curious specimen of her rhetorical style, of which one sentence will suffice. "And among earthly things, I chiefly wish this one, that there were as good surgeons for making anatomies of hearts, that might show my thoughts to your majesty, as there are expert physicians of the bodies, able to express the inward griefs of their maladies to their patient. For then, I doubt not, but know well, that whatsoever other should suggest by malice, yet your majesty should be sure by knowledge; so that the more such misty clouds offuscate the clear light of my truth, the more my tried thoughts should glisten to the dimming of their hidden malice. But since wishes are in vain, and desires oft fail, I must crave that my deeds may supply that my thoughts cannot declare, and that they be not misdeemed, thereas the facts have been so well tried." Elizabeth's handwriting was as characteristic as her style.

The day after the murder of Cranmer, cardinal Pole was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury; and he then assumed the public functions of the papal legate. He was a man of too much moderation to suit the temper of the furious Paul IV., who subsequently attempted to supersede him as legate, which attempt Mary had the spirit to resist. But he either wanted the inclination or the power to control the extravagant bigotry of the English universities, whose authorities, in 1551, perpetrated deeds that show how little learning is akin to wisdom, when it associates itself with superstitions that outrage the natural feelings of mankind. At the period when two new colleges were founded in Oxford—Trinity by Sir Thomas Pope, and St. John's by Sir Thomas White—that university was visited by the commissioners of the cardinal, who not only burned all the English bibles and other heretical books, but went through the farce of making a process against the body of Peter Martyr's wife, who had been buried in one of the churches. They could find no witnesses who had heard her utter any heresies, for she could speak no English. So, under the direction of the cardinal, they transferred her body to a dunghill, upon the plea that she had been a nun and had died excommunicated. A scene equally disgusting was perpetrated by Pole's commissioners at Cambridge. They laid the churches of St. Mary's and St. Michael's under interdict, because the bodies of the great reformers, Bucer and Fagius, were buried in them. The dead were then cited to appear; but not answering to the summons, they were judged to be obstinate heretics, and their bodies were to be taken out of their graves and delivered to the secular power. On the 6th of February these bodies were publicly burned, according to the ancient ceremonies, which Rome had found so effectual in the case of Wycliffe.

In March, 1557, Philip returned to England. He came, not out of affection for his wife, or of regard for his turbulent insular subjects, but to stir up the old English hatred of France, and to drag the nation into a war for his personal advantage. The fiery pope, Paul IV., had conceived that the time had arrived for renewing the attempt of Julius II. to throw off the predominant power of Spain. He panted for the freedom of Italy as it existed in the fifteenth century; he wanted to accomplish his wishes by an alliance with France; he would place French princes on the thrones of Milan and Naples. The Spaniards he pronounced as the spawn of Jews and Moors, the dregs of the earth. When there was a question of temporal dominion to be fought out, the pope did not hesitate to wage war against that faithful son of the Church, King Philip; nor did King Philip hesitate to send the duke of Alva, the exterminator of Protestants, to enter the Roman states and lay waste the territories of the pope. France and Spain were upon the brink of open war when Philip arrived in England. He urged a declaration of war against France. There were grievances in the alleged encouragement

* Letter in State Paper Office; Tytler, vol. ii. p. 479.
† "Verney Papers," p. 58 to 76.

* Strype, "Ecclesiastical Memoirs," vol. iii. part i. p. 547.

which had been given in Wyat's rebellion, and in the lukewarmness with which Henry II. met Queen Mary's desire that he should afford her the means of vengeance upon the exiles for religion who took shelter in France. The most recent complaint was that France had connived at the equipment of a force by Thomas Stafford, a refugee, who had invaded England with thirty-two followers, and had surprised Scarborough Castle. This adventurer claimed to be of the house and blood of the duke of Buckingham, who was beheaded in the time of Henry VIII. The proclamation which he issued from his castle of Scarborough, which he held only two days, was addressed to the English hatred of the Spaniards, rather than directed against the ecclesiastical persecution under which the country was suffering: "As the dukes of Buckingham, our forefathers and predecessors, have always been defenders of the poor commonalty against the tyranny of princes, so should you have us at this juncture, most dearly beloved friends, your protector, governor, and defender against all your adversaries and enemies; minding earnestly to die rather, presently, and personally before you in the field, than to suffer you to be overrun so miserably with strangers, and made most sorrowful slaves, and careful captives, to such a naughty nation as Spaniards."* Stafford and his band were soon made prisoners; and he was beheaded on Tower Hill, and three of his followers hanged, on the 25th of May. Seizing upon this absurd attempt as a ground of quarrel, war was declared against France on the 7th of June; and Philip quitted the country on the 6th of July, never to return.

An English force of four thousand infantry, a thousand cavalry and two thousand pioneers, joined the Spanish army on the Flemish frontier. That army was partly composed of German mercenaries—the lanzknechts and reiters; the pikemen and cavalry, who, at the command of the best paymaster, were the most formidable soldiers of the time. But the Spanish cavaliers were there, leading their native infantry, and there the Burgundian lances. The army was commanded by Emanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy, who had aspired to the hand of Elizabeth. Philip earnestly seconded his suit, but Mary, wisely and kindly, would not put a constraint upon her sister's inclinations. The wary princess saw that the crown would probably be hers at no distant day, and she would not risk the loss of the people's affection by marrying a foreign Catholic. She had sensible advisers about her, who seconded her own prudence; and thus she kept safe amid the manifold dangers by which she was surrounded. The duke of Savoy, though young, was an experienced soldier, and he determined to commence the campaign by investing St. Quentin, a frontier town of Picardy. The defence of this fortress was undertaken by Coligni, the admiral of France, afterward so famous for his mournful death. Montmorency, the constable, had the command of the French army. The garrison was almost reduced to extremity, when Montmorency, on the 10th of August, arrived with his whole force and halted on the bank of the Somme. On the opposite bank lay the Spanish, the English, the Flemish, and the German host. The arrival of the French was a surprise, and the duke of Savoy had to take up a new position. He determined on battle. The issue was the most unfortunate for France since the fatal day of Agincourt. The French slain amounted, according to some accounts, to six thousand; and the prisoners were equally numerous. Among them was the veteran Montmorency. On the 10th of August Philip came to the camp. Bold advisers counselled a march to Paris. The cautious king was satisfied to press on the siege of St. Quentin. The defence which Coligni made was such as might have been expected from his firmness and bravery. The place was taken by storm, amid horrors which belong to such scenes at all times, but which were doubled by the rapacity of troops who fought even with each other for the greatest share of the pillage. After a few trifling successes the army of Philip was broken up. The English and Germans were indignant at the insolence of the Spaniards; and the Germans were more indignant that their pay was not forthcoming. Philip was glad to permit his English subjects to take their discontents home. They had found out that they were not fighting the battle of England.

The war between England and France produced hostilities between England and Scotland. Mary of Guise, the queen dowager and regent of Scotland, was incited by the French king to invade England. The disposition to hostilities was accompanied by a furious outbreak of the Scottish borderers. They were driven back. But the desire of the queen dowager that England should be invaded was resisted by the chief nobles, who declared themselves ready to act on the defensive, but who would not plunge into war during their sovereign's minority. The alliance of France and Scotland was, however, completed, in the autumn of 1558, by the marriage between the dauphin and the young Queen Mary, which was solemnized at Paris, in the cathedral of Notre Dame. The duke of Guise, the uncle of the queen of Scots, at the beginning of 1558, was at the head of a powerful army to avenge the misfortune of St. Quentin. The project committed to his execution was a bold and patriotic one—to drive the English from their last stronghold in France. Calais, over whose walls a foreign flag had been waving for two centuries, was to France an opprobrium and to England a trophy. But it was considered by the English government as an indispensable key to the continent—a possession that it would not only be a disgrace to lose, but a national calamity. The importance of Calais was thus described by Micheli, the Venetian ambassador, only one year before it finally passed from the English power:

"Another frontier, besides that of Scotland, and of no less importance for the security of the kingdom, though it be separated, is that which the English occupy on the other side of the sea, by means of two fortresses, Calais and Guisnes, guarded by them (and justly) with jealousy, especially Calais, for this is the key and principal entrance to their dominions, without which the English would have no outlet from their own, nor access to other countries, at least none so easy, so short, and so secure; so much so that if they were deprived of it they would not only be shut out from the continent, but also from the commerce and intercourse of the world. They would consequently lose what is essentially necessary for the existence of a country, and become dependent upon the will and pleasure of other sovereigns, in availing themselves of their ports, besides having to encounter a more distant, more hazardous, and more expensive passage; whereas, by way of Calais, which is directly opposite to the harbor of Dover, distant only about thirty miles, they can, at any time, without hindrance, even in spite of contrary winds, at their pleasure, enter or leave the harbor (such is the experience and boldness of their sailors), and carry over either troops or anything else for warfare, offensive and defensive, without giving rise to jealousy and suspicion; and thus they are enabled, as Calais is not more than ten miles from Ardres, the frontier of the French, nor further from Gravelines, the frontier of the Imperialists, to join either the one or the other, as they please, and to add their strength to him with whom they are at amity, in prejudice of an enemy. For these reasons, therefore, it is not to be wondered at, that, besides the inhabitants of the place, who are esteemed men of most unshaken fidelity, being the descendants of an English colony settled there shortly after the first conquest, it should also be guarded by one of the most trusty barons which the king has, bearing the title of deputy, with a force of five hundred of the best soldiers, besides a troop of fifty horsemen. It is considered by every one as an impregnable fortress, on account of the inundation with which it may be surrounded, although there are persons skilled in the art of fortification, who doubt that it would prove so if put to the test. For the same reason Guisnes is also reckoned impregnable, situated about three miles more inland, on the French frontier, and guarded with the same degree of care, though, being a smaller place, only by a hundred and fifty men, under a chief governor. The same is done with regard to a third place, called Hammes, situated between the two former, and thought to be of equal importance, the waters which inundate the country being collected around."* Ninety years later Calais was regarded in a very different light: "Now it is gone, let it go. It was but a beggarly town, which cost England ten times yearly more than it was worth in keeping thereof, as by the accounts in the exchequer doth plainly appear."†

The expedition against Calais was undertaken upon a report of the dilapidated condition of the works and the smallness of its garrison. It was not "an impregnable fortress," as Micheli says it was considered. The duke of Guise commenced his attack on the 2d of Jan-

* Strype, "Ecclesiastical Memorials," vol. ii. part ii. p. 518.

* Ellis, "Original Letters," Second Series, vol. ii.
† Fuller, "Church History," book viii.

uary, when he stormed and took the castle of Ruysbank, which commanded the approach by water. On the 3d he carried the castle of Newenham bridge, which commanded the approach by land. He then commenced a cannonade of the citadel, which surrendered on the 6th. On the 7th the town capitulated. Lord Wentworth, the governor, and fifty others, remained as prisoners. The English inhabitants, about four thousand, were ejected from the home which they had so long colonized, but without any exercise of cruelty. "The Frenchmen," say the chroniclers, "entered and possessed the town; and forthwith all the men, women, and children were commanded to leave their houses, and to go to certain places appointed for them to remain in, till order might be taken for their sending away. The places thus appointed for them to remain in were chiefly four, the two churches of Our Lady and St. Nicholas, the deputy's house, and the stable, where they rested a great part of that day, and one whole night, and the next day till 3 o'clock at afternoon, without either meat or drink. And while they were thus in the churches, and those other places, the duke of Guise, in the name of the French king, in their hearing made a proclamation, charging all and every person that were inhabitants of the town of Calais, having about them any money, plate, or jewels to the value of one groat, to bring the same forthwith, and lay it down upon the high altars of the said churches, upon pain of death; bearing them in hand also that they should be searched. By reason of which proclamation there was made a great and sorrowful offertory. And while they were at this offertory within the churches, the Frenchmen entered into their houses, and rifled the same, where was found inestimable riches and treasures; but especially of ordnance, armor, and other munitions. Thus dealt the French with the English, in lieu and recompense of the like usage to the French when the forces of King Philip prevailed at St. Quentin; where, not content with the honor of victory, the English in sacking the town sought nothing more than the satisfying of their greedy vein of covetousness, with an extreme neglect of all moderation."

Within the marches of Calais the English held the two small fortresses of Guisnes and Hammes. Guisnes was defended with obstinate courage by Lord Grey, and did not surrender till the 20th of January. His loss amounted to eight hundred men. From Hammes the English garrison made their escape by night. In the midst of the national irritation at this great discomfiture, the parliament assembled on the 20th of January. The chief business was that of granting a subsidy to carry on the war against the French king and the Scots, who "daily do practise by all dishonorable ways and means, with the aid and power of all their confederates and allies, to annoy their majesties and this their realm, and other the dominions of the same; and by all likelihood, if opportunity of time and place so permit, do mind to make some invasion into sundry parts of this realm, as well upon the seacoast as elsewhere." * The forces of the country were probably never in a less efficient state. The greater portion of the reign of Mary had been spent in persecution, and in the detection and punishment of conspirators. The nation was out of heart, thoroughly hating the Spanish alliance, and almost ready to welcome a French or Scottish invasion, if it were to drive out a weak and cruel government. If the administration of Scotland had been less divided in opinion, an army might have crossed the border with little chance of effectual resistance. The want of the material means of warfare appears perfectly ludicrous. There is a letter to the earl of Shrewsbury, the president of the council of the north, dated October, 1557, in which the writer earnestly begs that ships laden with corn may be sent from Newcastle to Berwick, instead of carrying the corn by land, "which is impossible to do, for all the carriages between York and Newcastle, and all the sacks within twenty miles of Newcastle will not serve that turn." † The subsidy granted by the clergy and laity was employed in fitting out a fleet, to co-operate with a squadron of King Philip in laying waste the French coast. The English ships were under the command of the high admiral, Lord Clinton. Their success, if success it could be called, was of the most paltry nature. The combined English and Flemish landed near the town of Conquet, having been destined for an attack upon Brest. After pillaging and burning small towns and villages they retreated to their ships, without attempting any exploit that would have influenced the fortune of the war. An English squadron, by a successful co-operation with the Spanish infantry at Gravelines, contributed to an important victory. But in this short period of hostilities during the reign of Mary there was nothing accomplished which could be held to redeem the disgrace of Calais. England had fallen. The time was near at hand when the world should see "a noble and puissant nation, rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking his invincible locks." *

In October, 1558, the queen once more entertained the delusion that she should present her subjects with a successor to the throne. An ambassador arrived from Philip to offer his congratulations "on the best piece of news which he had received since his grief for the loss of Calais." When this ambassador, the count de Feria, saw Mary, he found her dying of the dropsy, with which she had been long afflicted. She was so ill that it became necessary to discuss the question of the succession; and Mary showed no displeasure, but the contrary, when it was proposed that Elizabeth should be declared her successor. † The count de Feria, on the 10th of November, had an interview with Elizabeth. He brought a kind message from Philip; and he endeavored to impress the princess with the belief that the declaration of her right to the crown was to be attributed to the good offices of the king, and not to Mary or her council. Elizabeth desired to acknowledge the kindness which she had received from Philip when she was in prison; but she declared that she owed her present position to the people. De Feria says, in his dispatch, "It appears to me, that she is a woman of extreme vanity, but acute. I would say that she must have great admiration for the king her father's mode of carrying on matters. I fear much that in religion she will not go right, as I perceive her inclined to govern by men who are held to be heretics; and they tell me that the ladies who are most about her are all so. Besides this, she shows herself highly indignant at the things done against her in the lifetime of the queen. She is much attached to the people, and is very confident that they are all on her side (which is indeed true); indeed she gave me to understand that the people had placed her where she now is. On this point she will acknowledge no obligations either to your majesty or to her nobles, although she says they have one and all of them sent her their promise to remain faithful. Indeed there is not a heretic or traitor in all the country who has not started as if from the grave to seek her with expressions of the greatest pleasure." The ambassador adds some remarks upon those who were likely to be the favorites of Elizabeth: "I am told for certain that Cecil, who was secretary to King Edward, will be her secretary also. He has the character of a prudent and virtuous man, although a heretic." ‡

On the 7th of November Queen Mary had sent for the speaker of the House of Commons, the parliament having assembled on the 5th, and informed him that conferences for peace between England, Spain, and France had been opened at Cambray. On the 17th the queen was no more. She is stated to have said, "When I die, Calais will be found written on my heart." The more terrible events of her reign—the persecutions which will ever be associated with her memory—were most probably not regarded by her either as calamities or crimes. Cardinal Pole only survived the queen twenty-four hours. Charles V. had, two months before, closed his career in a spirit of fanaticism which, although a cruel persecutor, he often kept under subjection to his policy. In a codicil to his will the emperor conjures his son, most earnestly, by the obedience he owes him, to follow up and bring to justice every heretic in his dominions; and this without exception, and without favor or mercy to any one. He implores Philip to cherish the holy Inquisition as the best instrument for accomplishing this good work. "So," he concludes, "shall you have my blessing, and the Lord shall prosper all your undertakings." §

CHAPTER LXVIII.

Elizabeth proclaimed queen—She refuses to attend Mass on Christmas-day—Philip proposes marriage to Elizabeth—The Commons

* 4 and 5 Philip and Mary, c. 11.

† Letter from a counsellor of Philip, in Gonzales' "Transactions of the Royal Historical Academy of Madrid." Tytler, vol. ii. p. 497.

* Milton, "Areopagitica."

† Letter from a counsellor of Philip, in Gonzales' "Transactions of the Royal Historical Academy of Madrid." Tytler, vol. ii. p. 497.

request that she would marry—Her answer—The coronation progress through the city—Cecil's plans for the restoration of Protestantism—Opening of parliament—Statute for restoring the supremacy to the crown—Statute for the uniformity of Common Prayer—Deprivation of bishops—Peace with France—Pretensions of Mary Stuart—Elizabeth the head of the Protestant party of Europe—Scotland—Hostility of the queen-regent of Scotland to the Reformers—Their desire for an alliance with England—French troops sent to Scotland—England sends an army and fleet—Siege of Leith—Peace concluded at Edinburgh—Assembly of the parliament of Scotland—Acts establishing the reformed religion—Mary refuses to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh—Death of Francis II.—Mary determines to return to Scotland—Elizabeth refuses her a safe conduct—Mary embarks at Calais—Arrival in Scotland—Contrasts in the fortunes of Mary and Elizabeth.

On the 17th of November, 1558, the day of her half-sister's death, Elizabeth was proclaimed queen by the Lords of the Council. It is a remarkable fact connected with the popularity of this reign, that the 17th of November was called "The Queen's Day," up to very recent times. Sir John Harrington has preserved the speech which she made to the council at her accession, in which she requires their assistance, "that I with my ruling, and you with your service, may make a good account to Almighty God, and leave some comfort to our posterity in earth."* Her speech to Cecil, from the same authority, is more characteristic: "I give you this charge, that you shall be of my privy council, and content yourself to take pains for me and my realm. This judgment I have of you, that you will not be corrupted with any manner of gift, and that you will be faithful to the state, and that, without respect of my private will, you will give me that counsel that you think best: and if you shall know any thing necessary to be declared to me of secrecy, you shall show it to myself only, and assure yourself I will not fail to keep taciturnity therein. And therefore, herewith I charge you."

The unanimity with which the accession of Elizabeth was received, even by the servants of the late queen, may be ascribed to the caution with which she concealed her intentions on the subject of religion. The release of all prisoners confined for religious opinions, which took place upon her entry into London on the 24th of November, might have been considered only as a politic act of grace. Her exception of Bonner to the cordial reception which she gave to the bishops might have passed without any marked inference. But on the Christmas-day there was an occurrence which could not be mistaken, as far as regarded the queen's personal opinions. It is thus related, in a letter of Sir William Fitzwilliam: "This night I came home late from London; and for news you shall understand that yesterday, being Christmas-day, the queen's majesty repaired to her great closet with her nobles and ladies as hath been accustomed in such high feasts; and she passing a bishop preparing himself to mass, all in the old form, she tarried there until the Gospel was done; and when all the people looked for her to have offered according to the old fashion, she with her nobles returned again from the closet and the mass unto her privy chamber, which was strange unto divers."† The refusal to hear mass was followed, two days after, by a proclamation forbidding the elevation of the host, and all unlicensed preaching. It was also ordered that the Gospels and Epistles, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Litany, should be used in English.

According to the custom of sovereign princes, Elizabeth dispatched messengers to the various European courts announcing her accession. Among these the pope was included. There can be little doubt that the queen and her ministers desired to temporize, in some degree. The arrogant Paul IV. replied to Elizabeth's messenger, that it was great boldness in her to assume the crown without his consent, and that she must submit all her claims to his decision. Philip of Spain thought that the principles of Elizabeth were so unsettled that she might consent to marry him, upon the condition that she should become Catholic. He proposed himself as her husband within a month after her accession. She received these proposals with great civility, and gave, at first, no decided refusal. Philip hoped to obtain a fairer bride than the wife he had lost. Elizabeth was thus described in 1557 by Micheli, the Venetian: "The princess is as beautiful in mind as she is in body; though her countenance is rather pleasing from its expression than beautiful. She is large and well made; her complexion clear, and of an olive tint; her eyes are fine, and her hands, on which she prides herself, small and delicate. She has an excellent genius, with much address and self-command, as was abundantly shown in the severe trials to which she was exposed in the earlier part of her life. In her temper she is haughty and imperious, qualities inherited from her father, King Henry VIII., who, from her resemblance to himself, is said to have regarded her with peculiar fondness." Elizabeth told the ambassador of Philip that she could take no step without consulting her parliament. The two houses met on the 21st of January, six days after the queen's coronation. She had soon the opportunity of declaring her opinions on the subject of marriage. On the 10th of February the Commons waited upon her with an address that she would vouchsafe some match capable of supplying heirs to her royal virtues and dominions. Elizabeth's answer was as follows:* "The queen, after a sweet graced silence, with a princely countenance and voice, and with a gesture somewhat quick but not violent, returned answer, that she gave them great thanks (as she saw great cause) for the love and care which they did express as well toward her person as the whole state of the realm; 'and first,' said she, 'for the manner of your petition, I like it well, and take it in good part, because it is simple, without any limitation, either of person or place. If it had been otherwise; if you had taken upon you to confine, or rather to bind, my choice; to draw my love to your likings; to frame my affections according unto your fantasy; I must have disliked it very much; for as, generally, the will desireth not a larger liberty in any case than in this, so had it been a great presumption for you to direct, to limit, to command me herein, to whom you are bound in duty to obey. Concerning the substance of your suit, since my years of understanding, since I was first able to take consideration of myself, I have hitherto made choice of a single life, which hath best, I assure you, contented me, and, I trust, hath been most acceptable to God; from which, if, either ambition or high estate, offered unto me by the pleasure and appointment of my prince, whereof I have some testimony in this place (as you our treasurer well do know); or, if avoiding the malice of my enemies, or the very danger of death itself, whose messenger, or rather continual watchman, the prince's indignation, was daily before my eyes; if any of these, I say, could have dissuaded me, I had not now remained as I do. But so constant have I always continued in this determination—albeit my words and my youth may happily seem hardly to agree—that it is most true I stand now free from any other meaning. Nevertheless, if any of you suspect that, in case it shall please God hereafter to change my purpose, I will determine something to the prejudice of the realm, put the jealousy out of your heads, for I assure you—what credit my assurance have with you, I cannot tell, but what it doth determine to have, the sequel shall declare—I will never conclude anything in that matter which shall be hurtful to the realm, for the preservation and prosperity whereof as a loving mother I will never spare to spend my life. And upon whomsoever my choice shall fall, he shall be as careful for your preservation—I will not say as myself, for I cannot for another as for myself—but my will and best endeavor shall not fail that he shall be as careful for you as myself. And albeit it shall please God that I still persevere in a virgin's state, yet you must not fear but he will so work, both in my heart and in your wisdom, that provision shall be made, in convenient time, whereby the realm shall not remain destitute of an heir who may be a fit governor, and, peradventure more beneficial than such offspring as I should bring forth, for, although I be careful of your well-doings, and ever purpose so to be, yet may my issue degenerate, and grow out of kind. The dangers which you fear are neither so certain, nor of such nature, but you may repose yourselves upon the providence of God, and the good provisions of the state. Wits curious in casting things to come are often hurtful, for that the affairs of this world are subject to so many accidents that seldom doth that happen which the wisdom of men doth seem to foresee. As for me, it shall be sufficient that a marble shall

* "Nugæ Antiquæ," vol. i. p. 56.
† Ellis, Second Series, vol. ii. p. 262.

* Sir Simonds d'Ewes kept a record of the parliamentary proceedings during the whole of this reign, which is accepted as authority. We give the speech of Elizabeth from Sir John Hayward, which contains the substance of d'Ewes's report.—"First Four Years of Queen Elizabeth." Camden Society, p. 31.

declare that a queen, having lived and reigned so many years, died a virgin. And here I end, and take your coming in very good part, and again give hearty thanks to you all; yet more for your zeal, and good meaning, than for the matter of your suit."

The progress of the queen from the Tower to Westminster, on the 14th of January, previous to her coronation on the 15th, is described by Holinshed with an extraordinary fulness. The pageants were of the most gorgeous description; but the chronicler dwells with an evident satisfaction upon the minutest circumstances that illustrate the demeanor of Elizabeth. It is clear that she felt that her strong hold upon power was to be found in the affections of the people. She was the first sovereign of England that built up the security of dominion upon so broad a foundation. She had enough of the "haughty and imperious qualities inherited from her father;" but from the very first she had the wisdom to see that the days had gone by when a king could repose safely upon the fear of the nobles or the amity of the churchmen. She desired to be loved and obeyed by a people, and not by a class. She and her wise advisers had taken their resolution to abide by Protestantism, with a conviction that the English were a people unsuited for burnings and inquisitions. The determination was not to be carried out without danger and difficulty; but the affections of the people would make that easy which would have been impossible to a selfish despotism. Let us see how Elizabeth cultivated those affections in the simplest courtesies of a city pageant: "When the people made the air ring with praying to God for her prosperity, she thanked them with exceeding liveliness both of countenance and voice, and wished neither prosperity nor safety to herself, which might not be for their common good. As she passed by the companies of the city, standing in their homes, she took particular knowledge of them, and graced them with many witty formalities of speech. She diligently both observed and commended such devices as were presented to her, and to that end sometimes caused her coach to stand still, sometimes to be removed to places of best advantage for hearing and for sight; and in the mean time fairly entreated the people to be silent. And when she understood not the meaning of any representation, or could not perfectly hear some speeches that were made, she caused the same to be declared unto her. When the recorder of the city presented to her a purse of crimson satin, very richly and curiously wrought, and therein a thousand marks in gold, with request that she would continue a gracious mistress to the city; she answered, That she was bound in a natural obligation so to do, not so much for their gold, as for their good wills: that as they had been at great expense of treasure that day, to honor her passage, so all the days of her life she would be ready to expend not only her treasure, but the dearest drops of her blood, to maintain and increase their flourishing state. When she espied a pageant at the Little Conduit in Cheape, she demanded (as it was her custom in the rest) what should be represented therein: answer was made, that time did there attend for her: 'Time? (said she) how is that possible, seeing it is time that hath brought me hither?' Here a bible in English, richly covered, was let down unto her by a silk lace from a child that represented Truth. She kissed both her hands, with both her hands she received it, then she kissed it; afterward applied it to her breast, and lastly held it up, thanking the city especially for that gift, and promising to be diligent reader thereof. When any good wishes were cast forth for her virtuous and religious government, she would lift up her hands toward heaven, and desire the people to answer Amen. When it was told her than an ancient citizen turned his head back and wept: 'I warrant you,' said she, 'it is for joy;' and so in very deed it was. She cheerfully received not only rich gifts from persons of worth, but nosegays, flowers, rosemary-branches, and such like presents, offered unto her from very mean persons, insomuch as it may truly be said, that there was neither courtesy nor cost cast away that day upon her. It is incredible how often she caused her coach to stay, when any made offer to approach unto her, whether to make petition, or whether to manifest their loving affections." *

The parliament which met on the 21st of January, 1559, had a task before it which required the greatest discretion. A great ecclesiastical revolution was to be accomplished, with as little violence as possible, and with some show of conciliation. Cecil was the chief adviser of Elizabeth. He was the first person sworn of her privy council; and to his sagacity must be attributed the comprehensive view which was taken of the whole domestic and foreign policy of the country. During the reign of Mary, the retired secretary of Edward VI., who had been so sound a Protestant, was one of those who outwardly conformed to the Roman Catholic religion, though unlike Paget, Petre, and others of Edward's counsellors, he held no office. But he was on terms of friendship with cardinal Pole; and he lived in affluence and security. The statements of some over-zealous writers that, under Mary, he was a conscientious adherent to Protestant opinions, are disproved by documents which show that he attended mass, and confessed to the priest, in the parish in which he held church-lands. He was more happily employed than in the disgusting service of persecution in which Mary's ministers were engaged. He was superintending his mother's property at Burleigh, making additions to the old family house there, holding correspondence about purchasing ewes, and setting kernels of apples, and pears, and chestnuts. It is interesting information to him that his fawns do well in the closes where the maidens go to milk, and that his calves are to be put in the horse-pasture when the snows shall be gone.* These unambitious occupations were Cecil's safety; and in his years of comparative freedom from business of state, he was enabled to devise a broad plan of action if the sceptre should again pass into the hands of a Protestant ruler. He was held by the Romanists, as we have seen, to have "the character of a prudent and virtuous man, although a heretic." When the time for action arrived, Elizabeth had the benefit of those earnest yet temperate convictions which he had formed during his retirement. He had studied the temper of the people of England. He knew the character of the princess, who, in all probability, would quickly succeed to the throne. When Cecil was called to the councils of Elizabeth he was prepared with the whole scheme for the restoration of Protestantism. He saw all the dangers of the course that was to be pursued; but he did not counsel evasion of its difficulties, or any delay beyond the time for the meeting of parliament. His "Device for the alteration of religion" is an interesting document, which has been thus abridged by Camden:

"It seemed necessary for the queen to do nothing before a parliament were called; for only from that assembly could the affections of the people be certainly gathered. The next thing she had to do was to balance the dangers that threatened her both from abroad and at home. The pope would certainly excommunicate and depose her, and stir up all Christian princes against her. The king of France would lay hold of any opportunity to embroil the nation; and by the assistance of Scotland, and of the Irish, might perhaps raise troubles in her dominions. Those that were in power in Queen Mary's time, and remained firm to the old superstition, would be discontented at the reformation of religion; the bishops and clergy would generally oppose it; and since there was a necessity of demanding subsidies, they would take occasion, by the discontent the people would be in on that account, to inflame them; and those who would be dissatisfied at the retaining of some of the old ceremonies would on the other hand disparage the changes that should be made, and call the religion a cloaked papistry, and so alienate many of the most zealous from it. To remedy all these things it was proposed to make peace with France, and to cherish those in that kingdom that desired the Reformation. The courses and practices of Rome were not much to be feared. In Scotland those must be encouraged who desired the like change in religion; and a little money among the heads of the families in Ireland would go a great way. And for those who had borne rule in Queen Mary's time, ways were to be taken to lessen their credit throughout England; they were not to be too soon trusted or employed, upon pretence of turning; but those who were known to be well affected to religion and the queen's person were to be sought after and encouraged. The bishops were generally hated by the nation: it would be easy to draw them within the statute of Præmunire, and upon their falling into it, they must be kept under it, till they had renounced the pope and consented to the alterations that should be made. The commissions of the peace and for the militia were to be carefully reviewed, and such men were to be put

* This description by Sir John Hayward is a condensation of the

in them as would be firm to the queen's interests. When the changes should be made, some severe punishments would make the rest more readily submit. Great care was to be had of the universities, and other public schools, as Eton and Winchester, that the next generation might be betimes seasoned with the love and knowledge of religion. Some learned men, as Bill, Parker, May, Cox, Whitehead, Grindall, Pilkington, and Sir Thomas Smith, were to be ordered to meet and consider of the Book of Service. In the mean while the people were to be restrained from innovating without authority; and the queen, to give some hope of a reformation, might appoint the Communion to be given in both kinds."

Sir Nicholas Bacon, the brother-in-law of Cecil—a lawyer who had filled no important office, and had attained no great distinction—was appointed lord keeper. He opened the session of parliament with a speech of which the moderation was the most remarkable feature. He exhorted the members to "fly from all manner of contentions, reasonings, and disputations, and all sophistical, captious, and frivolous arguments and quiddities, meeter for ostentation of wit than consultation of weighty matters." He trusted that "contumelious and opprobrious words, such as heretic, schismatic, papist," would be banished out of men's mouths. He implored them to use great and wary consideration that nothing be advised or done, which might "breed or nourish any kind of idolatry or superstition;" but, on the other hand, to take heed lest, by "licentious or loose handling, any manner of occasion be given, whereby any contempt or irreverent behavior toward God and godly things, or any spice of irreligion might creep in, or be conceived." * It was certainly in a spirit of moderation that the parliament, though decidedly Protestant, proceeded to establish the great religious change by statute law. The first statute is called "An Act restoring to the crown the ancient jurisdiction over the state ecclesiastical and spiritual, and abolishing all foreign power repugnant to the same." The Lords and Commons say that by the repeal by Philip and Mary of the statutes of Henry VIII., the queen's subjects "were eftsoons brought under an assumed foreign power and authority, and yet do remain in that bondage." Two temporal lords, the archbishop of York, eight bishops, and the abbot of Westminster, opposed this bill. Lord Montacute, who, with the bishop of Ely, had negotiated with the pope that England might be restored to the unity of the Church of Rome, contended that "the hazard would be as great as the scandal, should the pope thunder out his excommunication, and expose the nation, by that means, to the resentment of its neighboring enemies." † The government of Elizabeth was not to be frightened by the thunders of the Vatican. It went steadily forward in carrying the measures necessary for bringing back the kingdom to its ecclesiastical condition at the end of the reign of Edward VI. In the act against foreign jurisdiction the statute for receiving the Sacrament of the Altar in both kinds was restored; and the statute of Philip and Mary for reviving the old laws for the punishment of heresies was repealed. All archbishops, bishops, judges, and all ministers and officers spiritual and temporal, were to make a declaration upon oath, "that the queen's highness is the only supreme governor of this realm, and of all other her highness's dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal." The title "supreme governor" was adopted in preference to that of "head of the church." The penalties under this act, against persons maintaining the authority of any foreign prince or prelate were fine and imprisonment for a first offence; the incurring a præmunire for the second; and death for a third, as in cases of high treason. The sagacious statesman, Walsingham, pointed out the lenity of this law, as compared with the statutes of Henry VIII., "whereby the oath of supremacy might have been offered at the king's pleasure to any subject, so he kept his conscience never so modestly to himself, and the refusal to take the same oath, without further circumstances, was made treason. But contrariwise, her majesty not liking to make windows into men's hearts and secret thoughts, except the abundance of them did overflow into overt and express acts or affirmations, tempered her law so as it restraineth every manifest disobedience, in impugning and impeaching; advisedly and maliciously, her majesty's supreme power, maintaining and extolling a foreign jurisdiction." * In contrast to this we must not forget that some of the laws against Roman Catholics, in a later period of this reign, were conceived in a far less moderate spirit. By this law of the first year of Elizabeth, it was provided that the commissioners who might be appointed by the crown to exercise spiritual and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, were not to adjudge matters to be heresy, but such as had been decided to be so by the Holy Scripture, or by the first four general councils. This provision is held to be "equivalent to an exemption of Roman Catholics, as such, from the imputation of heresy." † Care was also taken, under the act which was passed "for the uniformity of Common Prayer" to omit from the Service Book of Edward VI. the offensive passage in the liturgy, praying for deliverance "from the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities." Yet the change thus established was so sweeping, after six years of the Latin mass-book, that we cannot be surprised that nine prelates and nine temporal peers voted against the statute. In the Commons there was only one dissentient. The act must, however, have been felt as a great grievance by a large body; for it absolutely interdicted the celebration of the Catholic rites, even in private; and rendered all persons who should absent themselves from church, on Sundays and holidays, liable to a fine of one shilling. The statute was, as all enactments are which interfere with the rights of conscience, capable of being converted into an instrument of public oppression or private malice. Many Roman Catholics went into exile to avoid imprisonment under the authority of the Court of High Commission. The moderation which was professed by the government of Elizabeth was in some degree rendered difficult, if not impossible, by the uncompromising temper of the clergy in convocation. Disregarding a warning from the queen, they set forth a document asserting the supremacy of the pope, the real presence in the sacrament, and the exclusive right of the Church to treat of doctrine and regulate public worship. A solemn disputation, the lord-keeper presiding, was held in Westminster Abbey, between Catholic and Protestant divines, which only produced mutual irritation. The new statutes for taking the oath of supremacy, and for the use of the English liturgy, came into operation on midsummer-day, 1559. Fifteen bishops refused the oath, and resigned their sees, or were deprived. There were ten vacant sees. Only two bishops conformed. A very small proportion of the beneficed clergy surrendered their livings. At the end of the year Matthew Parker was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury; and he then proceeded to the consecration of four other bishops, who had been exiles in the time of Mary.

There were some peculiarities in Elizabeth's religious opinions which were not wholly in accordance with the great change which her government had carried through with so little opposition. She had a dislike to the marriages of the clergy; and she had a lingering fondness for some of the gorgeous ceremonies of Catholicism. But to the general principles of Protestantism she was fully committed not only by inclination but by the force of political circumstances. A peace with France was concluded in April, 1559, in which the restoration of Calais was postponed for eight years, under a condition that if either party acted in contravention of the treaty all claim to the disputed territory should be forfeited. At the congress during the last days of Queen Mary, the English envoys said, that if they returned without the recovery of Calais they would be stoned to death by the people. The condition in the treaty of April was evidently introduced only to conciliate this popular feeling, by the delusion that the old conquest had not been irrevocably lost. Scotland was included in this peace. Philip II., of Spain, and Henry II., of France, were now free to pursue their plans for the extermination of heretics; and their friendship was completed by the marriage of Philip with Elizabeth, the daughter of Henry. The duke of Alva officiated as his sovereign's proxy. In the tournaments which followed this wedding the French king was accidentally killed by the lance of Montgomery, a young Scottish noble. He was succeeded by his eldest son, who became Francis II. Mary Stuart was now queen of France. She was the next heiress to the throne of England. According to the Catholic notions of that time, that the pope had the disposal of earthly crowns, a pretence was set up that Elizabeth's claim having been rejected by the pope, the queen of France

* As reported by D'Ewes. "Parliamentary History," vol. i. p. 638.
† Ibid., p. 659.

* Burnet, part ii. book 3.
† Mackintosh, "History," vol. iii. p. 10.

and Scotland was now also the lawful queen of England. Among Cecil's papers there are "notes of Queen Elizabeth's reign," in which are the following entries, under the year 1559 :

Jan. 16. "The dauphin of France, and his wife, queen of Scots, did by the style of king and queen of Scotland, England, and Ireland, grant to the Lord Fleming certain things."

June 28. "The justs at Paris, wherein the king dauphin's two heralds were apparelled with the arms of England and Scotland."

July 16. "Ushers, going before the queen of Scots, being now the French queen, to the chapel, cry, '*Place pour la Reine d'Angleterre.*' "

At the marriage of the French king's daughter there were shown escutcheons of the arms of Scotland and England, as "the arms of Mary, queen dolphin of France," recording, moreover, that she was of Scotland queen, of England, and of Ireland. The constable, Montmorency, interfered to stay these dangerous exhibitions. But these pretensions were stimulated by Mary's ambitious relatives of the house of Guise ; and they became the foundation of that hostility which was the cause of so much disquiet to Elizabeth, and of such dire calamity to Mary. Scotland became a theatre for the contests between a French party, representing Roman Catholic interests, and the national party of reformers, with whom Elizabeth allied herself. When the connection of Mary with France was terminated by the death of her boyish husband, she came to a government in which her own opinions were opposed to those of the predominant religious power, and she became an alien amid a majority of her subjects.

The character and position of Elizabeth very soon placed her at the head of the Protestant party of Europe ; and her whole reign must be viewed with reference to this leadership. It was a struggle which called forth all the decision of her own nature, all the prudence of her counsellors, and all the energies of her people. This was a great period, in which the English mind asserted itself with a vigor and independence which heralded every future triumph of the national intellect and the national courage. There was a battle for life and death going on in Europe, and England was joined in the battle with the weaker numerical party. The serious differences between the various Protestant persuasions—the hostilities between the puritan party at home and the church, which had retained many of the ceremonials of the ancient faith—these dissensions did not disqualify Elizabeth from being the acknowledged head of the reformed religion. The great leader of the Roman Catholic party was Philip II. England had as her companions in the struggle the Scandinavian countries, and those who spoke the German language on the eastern shores of the Baltic. A large part of Germany was Protestant. "A Venetian ambassador reckons that only a tenth part of the inhabitants of Germany had remained faithful to the old religion." * In France Protestantism had taken root ; but its growth was to be stopped by barbarities which were in contemplation when Elizabeth came to the throne. In the Netherlands Charles V. and his son were pursuing the work of extermination. Spain was in the grasp of the Inquisition ; one of the powers which had been organized to support the Church of Rome in the contest which had assumed such formidable dimensions. Another engine devised for the security of Catholicism was the Order of the Jesuits. With the Inquisition and the Jesuits, the papal power had a devoted army at its command, every member of which was prepared to extinguish heresy by force or by cunning. When these spiritual arms were wielded under the temporal power of a determined bigot such as Philip II., such scenes of horror were exhibited as still curdle the blood when they are related. Such scenes would probably have been exhibited in England had the throne not been left vacant for the accession of Elizabeth. Had Philip ruled here, the spirit of her people might have been crushed, as Spain was crushed two centuries ago, when "the hand of the Inquisition drew the line which said No Further." † The time was coming when the English government, not only for its own safety but for the assertion of a high principle, would have to mix itself up with the affairs of Scotland in a way which involved much dissembling policy and many acts which the spirit of better times must regard as oppressive ; but which could scarcely be avoided in the position of self-defence which England was compelled to take against the force and intrigue which would have subjected that portion of the island to a foreign Catholic domination. The time was close at hand when England would have to fight the Protestant battle, by giving aid to the reformed faith in France and the Netherlands. The government of Elizabeth had taken its side, and wisely, because the cause of Protestantism was the cause of progress. The bold, masculine signature of Elizabeth to the State Papers in which she proclaimed her consistent adherence to the opinions upon which political and religious liberty were eventually to be built—a liberty much more enlarged than she and her advisers could contemplate—was the terror of superstition and tyranny ; and when we look upon that signature let us never forget, among her many faults, what we owe to that great woman.

From the time when the ecclesiastical policy of the government of Elizabeth was fully manifest, the affairs of Scotland became all-important to England. In the relations, either by Scottish or English historians, of the complicated transactions between the two countries for more than forty years, it has been too generally assumed that the intrigues of England were constantly fomenting the divisions of Scotland ; and, to use the words of one of the most sensible of antiquaries, "Elizabeth has been set forth in this respect as the very demon of discord, ever occupied in blowing coals of strife." * This writer adds, "Upon this point we desire to see an entire revision of the historical evidence." At the beginning of Elizabeth's reign the connection of the house of Guise with the queen of Scotland—a house determined to oppose Protestantism by the most violent proceedings—made the watchfulness, and even hostile intervention of England, a measure of self-defence. Cecil broadly laid down this principle : "It is agreeable to God's law for every prince and public state to defend itself, not only from present perils but from peril that may be feared to come. It is manifest that France cannot any way so readily, so puissantly offend, yea, invade and put the crown of England in danger, as if they recover an absolute authority over Scotland. The long, deep-rooted hatred of the house of Guise, which now occupieth the king's authority, against England, is well known." † Although the foolish demonstrations of a claim to the throne of England on the part of the queen of Scotland had been disavowed by the French minister, that claim was not allowed to sleep by the bigoted uncles of Mary. In 1559 a great seal was sent to Scotland, on which were engraved the arms of France, Scotland, and England. Elizabeth had to choose between two policies ; either to unite in friendship with the cousin who indirectly claimed not only succession, but a prior title to the English crown—a queen whose steadfast opposition to the reformed religion was at variance with the opinions of her own subjects—or to manifest a sympathy with the Protestant leaders in Scotland, who were bent upon resisting the attempts of the French to rule over them. One of the reformed leaders, Maitland of Lethington, wrote to Cecil, "When we see them, the French, attempt conquest, and you, the English, show us friendship, shall we not hate them and favor you, especially now that we are come to a conformity of doctrine?" The differences between the regent, the mother of Mary, and the Scottish reformers, were coming to a head. By the assistance of the reformers she had attained her own position as the actual ruler of the country ; and the dauphin of France, the husband of her daughter, had been recognized as king of Scotland. But after the peace of 1559 she was won over to the designs of the house of Guise for the re-establishment of the Roman Catholic religion in Europe, and, as a necessary consequence, for putting down the Reformation in Scotland, and eventually for removing Elizabeth from the throne of England. The queen-regent of Scotland boldly issued a proclamation for conformity of religion ; in which all persons were commanded to resort daily to mass and confession. She was reminded of her promises of toleration by some of the lords of the congregation—the leaders of the reformers being so styled—to whom she replied that "promises ought not to be urged upon princes, unless they can conveniently fulfil them." At this juncture John Knox arrived in Scotland. During an absence of two years the doctrines which he had boldly preached in the face of danger had made extraordinary progress, although in many places the ascendency was still with the Romish party. Within a week of his arrival, under the excitement produced by his

* Ranke, vol. ii. p. 12. † Prescott, "Philip II."

* Mr. Bruce. Introduction to "Letters of Elizabeth and James VI.," p. xx. † Forbes' "State Papers."

vehement oratory operating upon the indignation caused by the regent's hostility, there was an outburst of popular fury at Perth, when the religious houses of the Grey Friars and Carthusians were devastated and plundered. The struggle appeared likely to end in bloodshed; for an army was assembled on either side. But a treaty was concluded, which Knox denounced as only intended to deceive. Tranquillity was not long preserved. After various acts of violence, the reformers having obtained possession of Perth, the army of the congregation entered Edinburgh on the 29th of June. Knox had at this time prepared a letter to Cecil, in which, addressing the queen, he says, "My eyes have long looked to a perpetual concord betwixt these two realms, the occasion whereof is most present, if you shall move your hearts unfeignedly to seek the same. For humility of Christ Jesus crucified, now begun here to be practised, may join together the hearts of those whom Satan, by pride, have long dissevered. For the furtherance hereof I would have license to repair toward you. God move your heart rightly to consider the estate of both the realms, which stand in greater danger than many do espy. The common bruit, I doubt not, carrieth unto you the troubles that be lately here risen for the controversy in religion. The truth is, that many of the nobility, the most part of barons and gentlemen, with many towns and one city, have put to their hands to remove idolatry and the monuments of the same. The Reformation is somewhat violent, because the adversaries be stubborn. None that possesseth Christ Jesus with us usurpeth anything against the authorities, neither yet intendeth to usurp, unless strangers be brought in to subdue and bring in bondage the liberties of this poor country; if any such thing be espied, I am uncertain what shall follow." *

The great object of the leaders of the Scottish Reformation was to make a firm alliance with England. They gave repeated assurance to the ministers of Elizabeth that their design did not contemplate sedition or rebellion against any lawful authority. The queen-regent was diligent in spreading the contrary opinion, that their object was to overturn the existing government. Elizabeth was too cautious to give any direct encouragement to subjects to resist their rulers; and she required assurances upon this point, reserving, however, the right of resistance in a case of extreme necessity. Cecil gave them vague promises of support, if such a necessity should arise. A convention was concluded between the regent and the lords of the congregation; but neither party trusted to any enduring tranquillity. The regent was looking for support from France; the reformers to England for the aid of men and money. At last Elizabeth rendered some secret assistance; and the Guises, who were now the real rulers of France, sent a force of a thousand Frenchmen to Scotland, who disembarked at Leith. The regent then intrenched and fortified that port, against which proceeding the leaders of the congregation prematurely remonstrated. At length they made a decided demonstration of war. On the 15th of October they marched into Edinburgh with a force of twelve thousand men, and the regent retired to her stronghold of Leith. The congregation formed two councils, one for civil affairs, another for religion; and they addressed a letter to the regent, requiring her instantly to command all foreigners and men-at-arms to depart from Leith. She replied that Frenchmen were naturalized subjects, and commanded the duke of Chastelherault,† who had joined the reformers, and his company, to depart from Edinburgh. They decided that the queen-regent should be deposed from her authority. The army of the congregation, ill-disciplined, and composed of vassals who would not remain long in the field, was defeated in an assault upon Leith, and the capital was again occupied by the royal forces. The castle of Edinburgh was, nevertheless, held by the reformers, the governor refusing to surrender it unless under the authority of the parliament, who had committed it to his charge. Elizabeth at last consented to render real and open assistance to the reformers, who entreated her prompt aid upon the sole ground that it was the intention of France to make a conquest of Scotland, and then to dispossess the queen of England of her throne. In January, 1560, a treaty was concluded at Berwick, in which the duke of Norfolk agreed with the commissioners of the congregation that Elizabeth should send assistance, and that she would support the confederated lords, while they recognized Mary as their queen, and maintained the rights of the crown. They stipulated that they would not sanction any other union of Scotland with France than then existed, and if England should be attacked by France, would furnish an auxiliary force of four thousand men. On the 2d of April, 1560, Lord Grey entered Scotland with an army of two thousand horse and six thousand foot, and was joined at Preston by the army of the congregation, to the number of eight thousand. The English council very wisely did not incumber the commander of their army with more than a soldier's work. They sent Sir Ralph Sadler to negotiate, and wrote to Lord Grey, "Stick not to go through with this enterprise, and your praise will be more than all the rest of your life, if all your life were laid together. Take heed of French enchantments. They will win time of you, if ye take not good heed. Well: thus we leave your lordship to your business."

The Scottish and English army marched on to Leith. The English fleet, under the command of William Winter, had entered the Frith of Forth at the end of January. When Cecil had dispatched the squadron, he wrote to Sadler, "Our ships be on the seas, God speed them." In the northern parts of Scotland the French had succeeded in forming a league, by which the clans and men of the isles had engaged to uphold the Romish faith and the French authority. The siege of Leith commenced. At this crisis the queen-regent became dangerously ill; and at an interview which she requested with the leaders of the congregation, at Edinburgh, she endeavored to reconcile the differences which had led to such extremities, and exhorted them to send both the French and English troops out of the kingdom. She died on the 10th of June. Leith was defended by the French troops with great bravery, and the siege went slowly on. The town was at last surrendered, after the conclusion of a treaty of pacification. Hayward has well described the extremities of hunger to which the garrison had been reduced: "All this time the English army was well furnished with victuals from all parts of Scotland, and that upon very easy prices. But the French were so straitly girt up within Leith, that no supplies were brought unto them. Hereupon they grew very short in strength of men, and no less in provision of food for those men which they had; the one happening to them by the force of their enemies, the other either by disability or negligence of their friends; so, their old store being spent, they were enforced to make use of everything out of which hunger was able to draw nourishment. The flesh of horses was then more dainty than ever they esteemed venison before; dogs, cats, and vermin of more vile nature were highly valued; vines were stripped of their leaves and tender stalks; grass and weeds were picked up, and being well seasoned with hunger, were reputed among them for dainties and delicate dishes." Upon its surrender the French governor, D'Oysell, entertained the captains of the besiegers within the fortress; "where," says Stow, "was prepared for them a banquet of thirty or forty dishes, and yet not one either of flesh or fish, saving one of a powdered (salted) horse, as was avouched by one that avowed himself to have tasted thereof."

The peace which put an end to this brief period of English warfare in Scotland was concluded at Edinburgh on the 6th of July. The negotiations on the part of England had been managed with remarkable skill by Cecil. He succeeded in obtaining from the French commissioners a renunciation of the pretensions to the crown of England, which had been assumed by the king and queen of France; and he obtained a complete recognition of the liberty of conscience for which the reformers had taken up arms. This was most difficult of accomplishment; for they were regarded as rebels to their sovereign. But Cecil insisted that the treaty of Berwick between his mistress and the lords of the congregation should be recognized and confirmed. The able minister accomplished this by a flattering "preface" to the article which secured this acknowledgment; "and we," he writes, "content with the kernel, yielded to them the shell to play withal." The congregation were to be secured by an act of oblivion; a general peace and reconciliation were to take place among the nobility and subjects of the land, including the reformers and the adherents to the ancient faith; a council was to govern the kingdom in the absence of the queen, of whom she was to appoint seven, and the estates five; all foreign troops were to quit the country; and a parliament was to be held in August. In this treaty no express recognition of the reformed worship was intro-

* Letter in State Paper Office, given in Tytler's "History of Scotland," vol. vi. p. 131.

† The French title of the earl of Arran, who had been regent at a former period.

duced ; and the bishops and other churchmen who had received injuries were to be redressed. But the reformers were filled with gratitude to Elizabeth, although she had preserved a strict neutrality upon the great question of religion. Their queen was to send over a commission for assembling a parliament ; and they left the future to the well-known disposition of the great body of the people to favor the Reformation.

The treaty of Edinburgh was so unpalatable to the house of Guise that for nearly a year the queen of Scotland refused to ratify it. The estates of the kingdom, however, assembled, at the time stipulated by the treaty, without receiving any commission from their queen. It was held that the express words of the treaty provided that such a meeting of the estates should be lawful without being so convoked. There was no doubt what course affairs would take ; for the question of the legality of the parliament was carried by an overwhelming majority. The first proceeding of the estates was to draw up a Confession of Faith, founded on the reformed doctrines as received by Calvin. The opposition of the bishops and other Romanists was useless. This remarkable summary of doctrine must have been the result of the most careful consideration. The solemn earnestness of its tone was characteristic of the Scottish people and their spiritual leaders in the Reformation. It concludes with this prayer : "Arise O Lord, and let thy enemies be confoundit ; let theme flee fra thy presence that hait thy godly name : Give thy servandis streuth to speik thy worde in baldness, and lat all natiounis cleif to thy trew knawledge. Amen." * The Confession of Faith was followed up by three acts, which established the reformed religion upon legislative sanction, much more rapidly and sweepingly than had been accomplished in England ; and with a more signal display of intolerance. The first abolished the power and jurisdiction of the pope in Scotland, the second repealed all statutes in favor of the Romish Church ; and the third provided that all who should say mass, or hear mass, should incur confiscation of goods for the first offence, banishment for the second, and death for the third. During the sitting of this parliament Knox was preaching in Edinburgh with his accustomed vehemence ; and he scrupled not to call upon the Protestant leaders to restore the patrimony of the Church, which they had appropriated, that it might be applied for the support of ministers, the encouragement of learning, and the assistance of the poor. The proceedings in the parliament of Scotland necessarily gave offence to Queen Mary, and she again refused to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh. When urged to do so by Throckmorton, the English ambassador, she thus addressed him : "Such answer as the king, my lord and husband, and his council hath made you in that matter, might suffice ; but, because you shall know I have reason to do as I do, I will tell you what moveth me to refuse to ratify the treaty ; my subjects in Scotland do their duty in nothing, nor have they performed one point that belongeth unto them. I am their queen, and so they call me, but they use me not so. They have done what pleaseth them, and though I have not many faithful subjects there, yet those few that be there on my party, were not present when these matters were done, nor at this assembly. I will have them assemble by my authority, and proceed in their doings, after the laws of the realm, which they so much boast of, and keep none of them. They have sent hither a poor gentleman to me, whom I disdain to have come in the name of them all, to the king and me, in such a legation. They have sent great personages to your mistress. I am their sovereign, but they take me not so. They must be taught to know their duty." †

On the 6th of December, 1560, Francis II., the young king of France, died, after a reign of seventeen months. His death prevented the execution of a project for rooting the reformed doctrines out of France, by holding an assembly of the States-General, at which all should sign a confession of the Catholic faith, which should then be tendered for signature to every person in the kingdom, the refusal to be punished by banishment or death. Mary appears very soon to have determined upon a return to Scotland ; hoping, by previous negotiation, to have won over her subjects to a willing obedience. She was admirably fitted, by her beauty, her winning manners and her acute intellect, to obtain the homage of all hearts, could she have resolved to separate herself from the policy of her family, even if she did not choose to conform to the religion which had been so solemnly proclaimed by a vast majority of the Scottish people assembled in parliament. It was determined in Scotland to send as an ambassador to Mary, the Lord James Murray, the illegitimate son of James V. He was the chief leader of the congregation, and was intrusted with full powers to request Mary to return home, if unaccompanied by a foreign force, in which case she might repose with confidence upon the loyalty of her subjects. Murray wisely and bravely stipulated, in opposition to the remonstrances of the reformed ministers, that his sister should be left free to the private exercise of her own religion. After the death of Francis, Elizabeth also sent an ambassador to condole with her ; to assure her of the desire of England to remain at peace ; but to demand her confirmation of the treaty concluded by her commissioners at Edinburgh. Again Mary refused to ratify this treaty till she had returned to her own kingdom, and submitted the matter to her parliament. In her conferences with Murray, in whom she seems to have firmly trusted, although he was in intimate correspondence with the English government, Mary "did not scruple to admit that the amity between England and Scotland was little agreeable to her, and that, considering the terms of the league lately made betwixt the two realms, she was anxious to have it dissolved." * "Murray," continues the historian, "having secretly met the English ambassador, insidiously betrayed to him everything that had passed between Mary and himself." Throckmorton, in conveying the particulars to Elizabeth, wrote, under date of 29th April, 1561, "At this present, thanks be to God, your majesty hath peace with all the world ; and I see no occasion to move unto your majesty or your realm any war from any place or person, but by the queen of Scotland and her means." Those who write of the secret transactions of this period, as imperfectly laid open by official letters, have the craft of Elizabeth, the confiding sincerity of Mary, and the treachery of Murray and his associates always ready for argument or illustration. It would be well to consider what the rupture of the amity between England and Scotland, so desired by Mary, really meant. It meant a civil war in Scotland, which the alliance with England kept down. It meant the establishment of the French interest in Scotland, under the policy of the Guises, which has been thus described : "To put down the Huguenots in France, to encourage the Romanists in England and Scotland, to sow dissensions among the Protestant princes of Germany, to support the council of Trent, now sitting, and, in a word, to concentrate the whole strength of France, Spain, Italy, and the Empire against that great moral and religious revolution, by which light and truth were struggling to break in upon a system of long-established error, was the main object to which they directed their efforts." † That Mary Stuart was fully imbued with the desire to support this main object, and that Elizabeth Tudor was equally resolved to oppose it, may more satisfactorily account for the early hostility between these queens than the received theory that the government of England was "constant in nothing, save in a desire to profit by the strifes and embarrassments of the Scottish people." The able writer who has so justly denounced this prevailing fallacy says, with a distinct knowledge of the historical evidence, that "there were two principles which consistently regulated the English policy in Scotland during the time of Elizabeth. The one was a determination that no continental power should interfere by force of arms in Scottish affairs ; the other, a similar determination to uphold Protestantism and the Protestant party, in opposition to that party which befriended Mary." ‡ When the queen of Scotland desired to return to her native country, she was assuring the English ambassador that she was most anxious for the friendship of Elizabeth : "I, for my part, am very desirous to have the perfect and the assured amity of the queen, my good sister ; and I will use all the means I can to give her occasion to think that I mean it indeed." She was telling Murray, in confidence, that she desired to have the amity dissolved. Elizabeth, with a perfect knowledge of her real wishes, received the ambassador, D'Oysell, whom Mary had sent to solicit a safe conduct from the queen, either on her voyage to Scotland, or should she land in

* "Acts of the Parliament of Scotland," A.D. 1560.
† Letter of Throckmorton to Elizabeth, in State Paper Office. Tytler's "Scotland," vol. vi. p. 225.

* Tytler. "Scotland," vol. vi. p. 255. † Tytler, vol. vi. p. 231.
‡ Mr. Bruce's Introduction to "Letters of Elizabeth and James VI." p. xx.

the English dominions. He was also to ask for a passport for himself to pursue his journey to Scotland. Elizabeth, with undisguised anger, refused both requests. "Let your queen," she said, "ratify the treaty, and she shall experience on my part, either by sea or land, whatever can be expected from a queen, a relation, or a neighbor." It was the point of the renunciation of the present claim to the crown of England that made Elizabeth so resolved. Sir James Mackintosh has pointed out that Dr. Robertson "confounded the right of succession with the claim to possession;" and that "the claim to possession, asserted by the arms, supposed Elizabeth to be an usurper; the right of succession recognized her as a lawful sovereign." * This most unwise pretension of Mary, thus reasserted by her refusal to ratify the treaty, was a real declaration of hostility, affecting the quiet of the English nation. The refusal of a safe conduct had undoubtedly the approval of Elizabeth's ministers, who could not forbear to look with apprehension upon the return to Scotland of one so opposed to their general policy. Their conduct might be ungenerous, but it was not inconsistent. Cecil thus notices the resolve in a letter to the earl of Sussex: "Many reasons moved us to mislike her passage, but this only served us for answer—that where she had promised to send the queen's majesty a good answer for the ratification of the last league of peace made in Edinburgh, and now had sent none, her majesty would not disguise with her, but plainly would forbear to show her such pleasure until she should ratify it; and, that done, she should not only have free passage, but all helps and gratuities." †

The indignation of Mary at this refusal was such as might have been expected from so high-spirited a woman. Throckmorton has related his interview with her on this occasion, and has reported her address to him, eloquent and slightly sarcastic. She desired her attendants to retire, and thus spoke to the ambassador: "I know not well my own infirmity, nor how far I may with my passion be transported, but I like not to have so many witnesses of my passions as the queen, your mistress, was content to have when she talked with Monsieur d'Oysell. There is nothing doth more grieve me, than that I did so forget myself as to require of the queen, your mistress, that favor which I had no need to ask. I needed no more to have made her privy to my journey than she doth me of hers. I may pass well enough home into mine own realm, I think, without her passport or license; for though the late king, your master, used all the impeachment he could, both to stay me and catch me when I came hither, yet you know, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, I came hither safely, and I may have as good means to help me home again, as I had to come hither, if I would employ my friends. Truly, I was so far from evil meaning to the queen, your mistress, that at this time I was more willing to employ her amity to stand me in stead than all the friends I have, and yet you know, both in this realm and elsewhere, I have both friends and allies, and such as would be glad and willing to employ their forces and aid to stand me in stead. You have oftentimes told me that the amity between the queen, your mistress, and me, was very necessary and profitable for us both; and now I have some reason to think that the queen, your mistress, is not of that mind, for I am sure, if she were, she would not have refused me thus unkindly. It seemeth she maketh more account of the amity of my disobedient subjects than she doth of me their sovereign, who am her equal in degree, though inferior in wisdom and experience, her nighest kinswoman and her next neighbor." ‡ At this interview, however, Mary said, with reference to the complaint of her assumption of the arms of England, that she acted under the commandment of Henry, the king of France, and of her husband: "Whatsoever was then done was their act, not mine, and since their death I have neither borne the arms, nor used the title, of England."

Among the imprudent avowals of Mary was the declaration of her hatred to John Knox, before she had acquired any experience of his severe judgment of her character, and his rough mode of urging his opinions upon her. On the eve of Mary's departure from France, Throckmorton wrote to Elizabeth: "I understand that the queen of Scotland is thoroughly persuaded that the most dangerous man in all her realm of Scotland, both to her intent there, and the dissolving of the league between your majesty and that realm, is Knox; and therefore is fully determined to use all the means she can devise to banish him thence, or else to assure them that she will never dwell in that country as long as he is there; and to make him the more odious to your majesty, and that at your hands he receive neither courage nor comfort, she mindeth to send very shortly to your majesty (if she have not already done it), to lay before you the book that he hath written against the government of women (which your majesty hath seen already), thinking thereby to animate your majesty against him." This book of "The Government of Women" was a violent attack, while Knox was in exile, upon the rule of Mary Tudor, and his lightest word for her was "Jezabel." There were many other works issued to the same effect as that of Knox, in which a female monarchy was denounced as "monstrous." It may readily be understood how the queen of Scotland thought this book presented an excellent reason for the queen of England giving no countenance to Knox and his adherents. But Throckmorton, who knew how important it was that passion should be subjected to policy, thus gave his opinion about Knox and his "Blast" against female government: "But whatsoever the said queen shall insinuate your majesty of him, I take him to be as much for your majesty's purpose, and that he hath done, and doth daily, as good service for the advancement of your majesty's desire in that country, and to establish a mutual benevolence and common quiet between the two realms, as any man of that nation; his doings wherein, together with his zeal well known, have sufficiently recompensed his faults in writing that book, and therefore he is not to be driven out of that realm." He was not driven out when Mary arrived; and she had a bitter experience how unequal she was, with her ready wit, to cope with the dogged enthusiasm of the great reformer.

On the 14th of August, 1561, Mary embarked at Calais on her voyage to Scotland. There was an evil omen in the wreck of a vessel before her eyes as she left the harbor. Brantome has recorded those touching displays of her feelings, which show how reluctantly she quitted the country where she had moved amid the universal homage of a gay court; where pleasures surrounded her on every side; and where there were no severe religionists to interpret the most innocent actions into evidences of immorality. Yet at that dangerous court, where female purity had ceased to be regarded as a virtue, and female prudence was ridiculed and despised, this fascinating woman might have learned to forget that self-respect which would have shielded her from harm, even among the most stern judges of human conduct; and thus France might have been to her a cruel step-mother. She could now only look back upon its shores as the seat of past joys, and exclaim, "Farewell, France!" Again, when the evening was drawing on, would she again gaze, and say, "It is now, my dear France, that I lose sight of thee. I shall never see thee more." Awakened at the first dawning, as she had desired to be, if the coast were still in sight, she exclaimed, "Farewell, France. It is over." On they went to the North Sea, when a fog came on, and they cast anchor in the open sea. It was this fog, according to some writers, which prevented the galleys of Mary being captured by Elizabeth's cruisers. One vessel was taken and carried into port; but, says Tytler, "as soon as it was discovered that the young queen was not on board the prize was released, and pursued her voyage into Scotland. The incident, however, demonstrated clearly the sinister intentions of the English queen." This statement is scarcely candid, to say the least. The counter-statement, upon the authority of Cecil, is that the small English squadron was in pursuit of pirates, who were then cruising in the Scottish sea; that this squadron saluted the royal galleys, but detained one baggage vessel, suspected of having pirates on board. "The conduct of the English commanders toward Mary's vessels minutely corresponds with the assurance of Elizabeth, in her letter of the 16th of August, that she suspended her displeasure at the refusal to ratify the treaty, and had given orders to her naval officers which were equivalent to a safe conduct." * This document must have been familiar enough to the historian who so boldly affirms "the sinister intentions of the English queen." Elizabeth says, "It seemeth that report hath been made to you, that we had sent out our admiral with our fleet to hinder your passage. Your servants know how false that is. We have only, at the desire

* "History of England," vol. iii. p. 55.
† Wright's "Queen Elizabeth."
‡ Keith's "Affairs of Scotland," quoted by Tytler, vol. vi. p. 270.

* Mackintosh, "History," vol. iii. p. 57.

of the king of Spain, sent two or three small barks to sea, in pursuit of certain Scottish pirates."* Mary landed at the port of Leith on the 19th of August. She was received by a deputation, and conducted to the palace, or abbey, of Holyrood—that seat of Scottish royalty whose chief interest is associated with her name, but of which a very small portion of the original building remains. Mary had been accustomed to grander pageants than now welcomed her. Mean hackneys, wretchedly caparisoned, waited her arrival. She went on to Edinburgh, having no magnificence to show the French courtiers who surrounded her. Under the windows of Holyrood the citizens sang psalms to discordant three-stringed rebecks, which kept the weary queen from sleeping; and the next morning, when a popish priest was about to perform mass in her private chapel, he would have been slain by the master of Lindsay, and a furious multitude, had not Murray placed himself at the door of the chapel, and maintained the principle for which he had contended, that the queen should not be molested in the private exercise of her religion.

The fortunes of Mary Stuart and Elizabeth Tudor suggest the most remarkable contrasts, even up to this period. When Mary was in her girlhood she was married to the heir of one of the greatest monarchies of Europe; and she dwelt in the French court, surrounded with all the pomp and luxury of a refined but licentious age. When Elizabeth had scarcely reached her twenty-first year she became the object of suspicion to her sister; was a close prisoner under apprehension of immediate death; and passed several years of durance and solitary anxiety. The taint of supposed illegitimacy was upon her, and her succession to the crown was more than doubtful. When she came to the throne she had to decide upon heading an ecclesiastical revolution that would make her the proscribed of Rome, and the contemned of Rome's supporters, or to support a system which had become odious in England. She threw herself upon her people—and she triumphed. When Mary became the widowed queen of France, and returned to assume the rule of Scotland, she found herself supported by the great Catholic powers, but opposed to her people—and she failed. She had to bear the rough monitions of Knox, the ill-concealed hostility and uncertain support of her nobles, and the secret or proclaimed dislike of an angry nation. While the government of England was carrying out its resolved policy with regard to Scotland, and all there was strife and bitterness, Elizabeth was moving among her subjects with the love of the many and the fear of the few. Mary could depend upon no advisers; for the adherents to the old religion were too rash in their weakness, and the reformers too harsh in their strength. Elizabeth had the ablest men of the time as counsellors, who held to a settled principle of action without provoking hostility by capricious and passionate exercises of authority. Mary was the sovereign of a people among whom the feudal tyrannies had not yet been held in subjection by the growth of profitable industry. Elizabeth governed a community in which the strength of the middle classes had asserted itself against monarchical and ecclesiastical tyranny, and new channels of prosperity were being opened wherever commerce developed the energies of capital, and adventurous men went forth for the conquests of peace. The most prosaic record of the first two years of Elizabeth's reign shows how remarkably the tranquillity of England was opposed to the turbulence of Scotland.

CHAPTER LXIX.

Public spirit under Elizabeth—Sports and processions—England sends aid to the French Protestants—Scotland—Plans for Mary's marriage—Leicester and Darnley—Marriage of Mary and Darnley—The Reformers indignant at the marriage—Revolt of Murray and other nobles—Revolt suppressed, and the lords banished—Darnley and Riccio—Quarrels of the queen and Darnley—Plot against Riccio—Murder of Riccio—Birth of a Scottish prince—Ascendency of Bothwell—Darnley at the Kirk of Field—Assassination of Darnley—Mock trial of Bothwell—Mary carried off—Marriage of Mary and Bothwell—Mary surrenders to her nobles.

The aspect of the English metropolis under the Protestant government of Elizabeth is suggestive of the change that had taken place in the thoughts and habits of the people. In 1555, when we opened the "Diary of a Resident in London," we were following the traces of burnings and penances, of processions of the host and proclamations of the papal legate. We saw little of the salutary interference of the state with the ordinary concerns of life, in smoothing the road of industry by removal of unnatural barriers to prosperity; or in the association of municipal authority with central power for the establishment of laws that directly affected every member of the community by introducing economical reforms. In 1560, when the wise Council of Elizabeth had called in the base coin, which depreciation was now acknowledged to be the main cause of the excessive dearness of commodities, members of the various crafts "walk in every market with a white rod in their hands, to look that men should take testons of the rate as the queen has proclaimed in all markets through all London."* This difficult operation of restoring the current money to a just value was carried through successfully, because it was set about boldly. The teston of Edward VI. had been coined to pass at the rate of twelvepence; it was afterward reduced to sixpence; and lastly to fourpence, its intrinsic value. Fine sterling money was exchanged at the mint for the base coin, according to this last rate. No doubt there was individual suffering in this apparent deterioration of property; but the great body of the laborers now knew that they were paid the agreed value for their labor, and were not deluded by receiving, as twelvepence, what would only exchange for the third of a bushel of wheat instead of the bushel which the honest twelvepence would have bought. There required much public spirit in the people, as well as firmness in the government, to carry through such a change without serious confusion. But it was accomplished with no recorded difficulty; and to this correction of the evils produced by the frauds of her despotic predecessors may much of the steady commercial advance of England under Elizabeth be ascribed. Public spirit at this time also manifested itself in a manner which has characterized our country for three centuries. In 1561 the steeple of St. Paul's was destroyed. "The 4th day of June, being Corpus Christi, between four and five of the clock at afternoon, the lightning took and entered into one of the holes that was in the outward part of the steeple, and set the steeple on fire, and consumed both wood and lead, and the bells tell below where the great organs stood beneath the chapel where the old bishop was buried." Some of the ancient devotees ascribed this calamity to the new religion; for there were relics of saints, deposited two centuries and a half before by a bishop of London, for the express purpose of protecting the steeple from the danger of tempests. The misfortune, however, did not discourage the Protestants from instantly beginning the repairs of the beautiful church. The magnificent steeple was never restored; but the roofs, which were entirely burned, were replaced in the course of a year, at the cost of nearly six thousand pounds. This sum was raised by contributions from the queen, from the citizens of London, from the clergy of the province of Canterbury and of the diocese, and from voluntary subscribers. In earlier times the especial funds of the Church would have been devoted to the restoration of this splendid cathedral. But the Church property was now scattered; and in that distribution among the laity, the popular interests became more identified with the ecclesiastical, and the Church ceased to stand apart in self-supporting grandeur. The union of the high and the humble, the sovereign and the burgher, the noble and the priest, to carry through some object of common good, is one of the social principles of England which we see thus developing in the restoration of St. Paul's. That principle has formed one of the foundations of a generous and confiding nationality, in which the inequality of ranks is lost in a concurrence of duties; an union whose monuments are the results of systematic growth rather than of sudden creation, and therefore more extensively and permanently useful than the solitary wonders of capricious despotism.

The English love of sports and popular amusements seems to have revived after the years of martyrdoms. Though the displays of a terrible criminal justice are revolting to our present notions, and we cannot read without some disgust, month after month, of burglars and cut-purses being hanged by dozens at Hyde Park Corner and Tyburn, yet the people of that time thought these things just and right; and went, without any sad reflections, from the scenes of the

* Robertson, "Scotland," Appendix.

* Machyn's Diary, p. 245.

gallows and the pillory, to look upon matches of archery and aquatic games. While St. Paul's is still smouldering, a great wager of archery was shot in Finsbury Field, in which Lord Robert Dudley, afterward earl of Leicester, was the challenger; and on Midsummer Day, there was a great triumph on the river at Greenwich, with a sham fight, and shooting of guns, and hurling of balls of wild-fire, and a bark for the queen's grace to be in to see the pastime. On the 10th of July all London is out to behold Elizabeth go in grand procession from the Tower "unto Aldgate church, and so down Houndsditch to the Spital, and so down Hog Lane, and so over the fields to the Charterhouse, my Lord North's place." The next day the queen travels "from the Charterhouse by Clerkenwell, over the fields into the Savoy, unto Master Secretary Cecil to supper, and there was the council and many lords and ladies and gentlewomen, and there was great cheer till midnight; and after, her grace rid to my Lord North's to bed at the Charterhouse." These country excursions in the midst of the now "populous city," sound strange to the pent-up two millions and a half, for whom the fields, even "among the pleasant villages and farms adjoin'd," are a dream of the past. One more glimpse of the English queen, in her early days of triumph and splendor, if only to make us look more compassionately upon the poor Mary of Scotland, whose first recreation was to behold a pageant of the godly citizens of Edinburgh, in which Korah, Dathan, and Abiram were destroyed as they offered strange fire upon the altar—the show signifying the divine vengeance against such idolatry as that of the Romish Church. On the 14th of July all the streets of London were new gravelled, as Elizabeth set forth from the Charterhouse to Whitechapel, on her progress. The houses were hung with cloth of arras, and carpets, and silk, with cloth of gold and silver, and velvet of all colors. The crafts of London stood in their liveries; and there were trains of pensioners, and knights and lords, and the aldermen in scarlet, and heralds in their coat-armors, and my lord mayor bearing the sceptre, and the Lord Hunsdon bearing the sword. Then came the queen, and her footmen richly habited; and ladies and gentlemen, and lords' men and knights' men in their masters' liveries; and at Whitechapel my lord mayor and the aldermen took their leave of her grace, and so she went on her way. All these pomps look like profitless vanity. But they were the poetry of the real life of that time; and we may believe that they were not without their influence on the glorious imaginations that have reflected this age in harmonious association with the permanent and the universal.

When Charles IX., a boy eleven years old, succeeded to the crown of France, the religious differences of the people had become so extended that they imparted their character to the political factions of the time. The direction of the government was in the hands of the duke of Guise and the cardinal his brother; who, joined in interest with the queen-mother, were naturally opposed by the princes of the blood, headed by the prince of Condé. The Guises persecuted the Protestants; the other party supported them. The religious wars which divided the French into two great hostile bands of Catholic and Huguenot now commenced in terrible earnest. There were two fierce armies in the field, by whom the people were alike plundered and harassed. In 1561, according to some writers, a hundred thousand persons were butchered by the contending factions. The Protestants, although inferior in numbers, fought with desperation; and the duke of Guise solicited and obtained assistance against them from Philip of Spain. The prince of Condé, on the other hand, concluded a treaty with Elizabeth, who, after some attempts at mediation, sent a force of three thousand men to take possession of Havre. The queen was at first careful that this should not be deemed an act of hostility to France, declaring to the French ambassador that her desire was to free the young king from the tyranny of the Guises. But the contest soon assumed a national character. The English warlike operations, though conducted with great bravery, were finally unsuccessful. The Catholics and Protestants concluded a hollow peace; and at length both parties agreed in determining that the English should hold no position in France. The garrison of Havre defended themselves for two months, and then capitulated. They were released without ransom, and came with their property to London. But they brought with them the pestilence which had thinned their ranks; and the French Catholics looked upon the infliction as a judgment upon the English heretics. In this year, 1563, the parliament again met, and a statute of increased rigor was passed against Papists. This was entitled, "An Act for the assurance of the queen's royal power over all estates and subjects within her dominions;" and, with what has been justly called "an iniquitous and sanguinary retrospect," it provided that all persons who had been in holy orders, or taken a degree in the universities, or had practised as lawyers, or held office in the execution of the law, should take the oath of supremacy when tendered to them, under the penalty of a præmunire, and if continuing to refuse for three months, should incur the pains of high treason. The statute was inefficient from its very severity; and although the first penalty was incurred by some of the higher clergy, archbishop Parker warned the bishops, with whom it rested to enforce the oath, to do so with great circumspection, and never to tender it a second time without his special sanction. In 1563 Edmund and Arthur Pole were convicted of a conspiracy to set Mary of Scotland on the throne. Their associates were executed, but they wore out their lives as prisoners in the Tower of London.

In 1563 an act was passed against "fond and fantastical prophecies."* One description of prophecy that it was declared unlawful to promulgate was that founded upon the armorial bearings of any person. There was a famous prophecy of Thomas the Rhymer which might come within this punishable class:

> "However it happen for to fall,
> The Lion shall be lord of all;
> The French queen shall bear the son
> Shall rule all Britain to the sea."†

The predictions which were familiar to the people of Scotland might have become current on the English side of the border; and the notion that the son of the queen of Scots, "the lion with the floure-de-lyce" would "rule all Britain," would at that period be naturally denounced by the government of Elizabeth as "fond and fantastical," delusive and dangerous. At this time it was feared by the reformers in Scotland, and their fears were communicated to the English court, that intrigues were going forward for marrying Mary to some foreign prince of her own religion. When the Scottish parliament met in 1563 Knox preached a vehement sermon, in which he said that those who would consent that an infidel—for all Papists were infidels—should be head to their sovereign, would do as far as in them lay to banish Christ Jesus from the realm, and to bring God's vengeance on the country. The queen summoned the bold preacher before her, and asked what he had to do with her marriage. Knox repeated the words he had said in public; and, with a passionate burst of tears, Mary commanded him to leave her. There can be little doubt that the queen would have sought a foreign Catholic alliance, had she not been deterred by the power of the reformers at home, and her apprehensions of giving dire offence to England. Whatever shows of amity might have passed between the queens at this period, their policies were systematically opposed, and contained the germs of hostility. While Elizabeth was lending aid to the Huguenots, and Mary was writing letters to the Council of Trent, in which she professed that if she succeeded to the throne of England she would subject both kingdoms to the apostolic see, there must have been dissimulation on both sides. They were to have met in 1562; but the interview was postponed, as if there were insuperable barriers to a cordial personal agreement. As it was not likely that the queen of Scotland would remain a widow, with princes eager to wed one so beautiful and of such high pretensions, it was the policy of the queen of England to induce her to marry an English subject—"some noble person within the kingdom of England, having the qualities and conditions meet for such an alliance."‡ Lord Robert Dudley, the younger son of the duke of Northumberland, the father of Lady Jane Grey, was recommended. It is one of the mysteries connected with the capricious character of all Elizabeth's own matrimonial negotiations and female preferences, that Robert Dudley, afterward earl of Leicester, her chief favorite, should have been pressed upon

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* 5 Eliz., c. 15.

† Mr. Aytoun, in his notes to "Bothwell, a Poem," has clearly shown that this Scottish prophecy was referred to in a poem by Alexander Scott, addressed to Mary on her return in 1561; and that therefore the belief of Lord Hailes, that it was an interpolation after the death of Elizabeth, is unfounded. Page 232.

‡ Cecil's instructions to Randolph.

Mary as a husband. But even in that protracted negotiation, it was not the reluctance of Mary to "embase herself," as she thought would be the effect of a marriage with a subject, nor any lingering wish of the queen to retain Leicester as her devoted follower, which prevented it being successfully concluded. Cecil, at the end of 1564, wrote: "I see the queen's majesty very desirous to have my lord of Leicester to be the Scottish queen's husband; but when it cometh to the conditions which are demanded, I see her then remiss of her earnestness." * While Mary was always pressing that her succession to the English crown should be recognized by a declaratory act, Elizabeth was as reluctant to comply; for the eyes of the Roman Catholic party were constantly turned toward Mary as the legitimate branch of the Tudors,—the descendant of the daughter of Henry VII., although unrecognized in the will of Henry VIII. "The conditions which are demanded" under this proposed marriage with Leicester were probably such as Elizabeth did not choose to bring too prominently before her subjects. She had a strong dislike even to hear of this question of the succession; and said that Maitland, the Scottish minister, was always, like a death-watch, ringing her knell in her ears. In looking at the delays and evasions about this demand of Mary, it is usual to represent the conduct of Elizabeth as marked by "fraud, falsehood, and selfishness;" and that of Mary as "warm, generous, and confiding." † This is an easy mode of disposing of a great and difficult public question. The eagerness of Mary for the recognition, and the reluctance of Elizabeth to grant it, may each be explained by the fact that Mary was the instrument of those who had determined to eradicate the reformed religion, and that Elizabeth was equally resolved to support it. The negotiations for the marriage with Leicester gradually faded away. There was another candidate for Mary's hand, ready at an opportune moment. Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, was the son of the earl of Lennox, by the daughter of Margaret Tudor, queen of Scots, who had married the earl of Angus after the death of her royal husband. The countess of Lennox was the next to Mary in hereditary succession to the English crown. The earl of Lennox had long resided in England as an exile, and in 1564, having returned to Scotland with letters from Elizabeth urging the reversal of his attainder, he was finally restored. Then came his countess and their son to the Scottish court. Darnley arrived on the 13th of February, 1565. In a fortnight, Randolph, the English ambassador, had observed the favors which Mary bestowed upon this youth. He soon manifested a preference for the Romish party, and gave offence to the reformers. Within two months of Darnley's arrival an envoy was sent by Mary to desire Elizabeth's approval of her marriage with her cousin. That assent was refused by the council on the ground that the marriage would be dangerous to the Protestant religion; would strengthen the league of Catholic princes which was now organizing; and that Mary not yet having renounced her claim to the crown of England, this marriage would more imperil Elizabeth's title. That there was danger to the cause of the Reformation in Scotland may be inferred from the fact that Lord Murray, who for four years had kept the kingdom in tolerable peace, holding the scales of justice even between bitterly opposing factions, though an earnest friend to the reformers, now withdrew from the court of Mary. The strong resolve with which Murray and other Protestants opposed this union must have been founded upon something more than vague apprehensions of the power of a husband over the queen. They dreaded him as an unreasoning tool of her more determined will. Darnley had no force of character. He was a handsome simpleton. Mary had apparently conceived a passion for the tall stripling, whose folly was only equalled by his pride. They were married on the 29th of July, and he was proclaimed king the same day. "They were married with all the solemnities of the popish time, saving that he heard not the mass. . . . Rather he seemeth a monarch of the world than he that not long since we have seen and known the Lord Darnley." ‡ The register of marriages in the Canongate has this entry: "Henry and Marie, kyng and qweine of Scots."

The three years which followed this marriage are crowded with strange and tragical events. Romance has seized upon them as its peculiar property; and history has been somewhat too eager to follow in the wake of romance. The occurrences which had so material an influence upon the destinies of the Scottish and English nations are almost unheeded in their public aspects; and thus the writer who desires to convey a sober view of what truly belongs to the province of the historian finds himself bewildered amid interminable controversies about the moral character of Mary, and the contradictory evidence as to her participation in the foulest of crimes. We are called upon, according to all precedent, to pronounce upon her guilt or innocence; to hold, with the few, that she was the most shameless and abandoned of women; or, with the many, that she was the pure and guileless victim of the most wicked conspiracies. These three years in which, whether supremely guilty or singularly unfortunate, she underwent far more than a common share of peril and anxiety, present the following salient points: In 1565, on the 29th of July, Mary married Henry Darnley. Murray, who had been her chief adviser since her return from France, headed a revolt, without success, and then took refuge in England with other reforming leaders. Mary was now free to give the most open encouragement to the Romanists, having the countenance of her imbecile husband. The reforming party was too strong to be permanently resisted; and Mary's husband professed to have adopted their views. Within seven months of his marriage Darnley became jealous of David Riccio, an Italian favorite of the queen, and he with a band of fierce nobles murdered him in Mary's presence on the 9th of March, 1566. Murray returned to Scotland. The differences between the queen and her husband became notorious. James Bothwell was now Mary's chief adviser. In 1567, on the 10th of February, Darnley was murdered in a lone house in Edinburgh, called the Kirk of Field, and Bothwell was accused of the murder, but was acquitted. On the 24th of April he carried off the queen to one of his castles, and she was married to him on the 15th of May. The nobles now took up arms; and, in little more than two months from this last marriage, Mary was compelled to resign her crown, and was a prisoner at Lochleven. Mary's resignation of her crown to her infant son, who was born June 19th, 1566, took place on the 24th of July, 1567. After nine months' imprisonment in the castle of Lochleven, she escaped on the 2d of May, 1568. Her Roman Catholic friends assembled an army, which encountered that of Murray, the regent, on the 13th of May; and the queen's supporters being defeated, she fled to England, and landed in Cumberland on the 15th of May. We shall endeavor to tell this story as impartially as we can, keeping in view, as much as possible, its national bearings, rather than entering into the minute details of a personal history which, even when viewed under the most favorable light, is sufficiently painful and revolting.

Mary was in her twenty-third year when she married, and Darnley was nineteen. The dissatisfaction of Murray and the other reformers was so great at the prospects involved in this marriage that they had been making preparations to oppose it by direct resistance in arms. Within three days of the nuptial ceremony Murray was commanded to appear at court, or to be proclaimed a rebel. If we may credit one party representation of the troubles of this period, we must believe that the ambition of Murray and his followers, stimulated by the intrigues of England, was the sole cause of the opposition to this union. If we are to trust in another view of the matter, we must consider that the resistance of the lords was founded upon a sincere belief that Mary, in taking a husband of her own religious persuasion, who would give additional strength to her will, and to the desire of her foreign relations to re-establish the Roman Catholic ascendency, was perilling the great interests of the Reformation. We must bear in mind not only the character of those times, but the peculiar temper of the Scottish people, to enable us to form a right judgment of the actions of the two great parties in the state. The Reformation in England had attained its consistency, step by step; and having passed through its most perilous crisis under Mary Tudor, had become the established religion of the country, never to be seriously shaken. It had attained this position by a cautious adaptation to popular usages and opinions—a graft upon the ancient stock rather than the forced growth of a new plant taking the place of the old decaying tree. The Reformation in Scotland was, from the first, a negation. Whatever was Protestant was to be diametrically opposed to Catholic. Old things were to be destroyed before new things could be established. Whatever made the slightest approach

* Ellis, Second Series, vol. ii. p. 294. † Tytler, vol. vi. p. 373.
‡ Randolph to Leicester. Ellis, First Series, vol. ii. p. 201.

to the ceremonies of the earlier church was idolatry. Whatever, in a stern refusal to comply with habits either harmless or indifferent, was opposed to the practice of the Romanists, was true religion. The character of the queen, as exhibited under its most innocent aspects, was an offence to this severe judgment. Her general cheerfulness, her fondness for the chase, her balls and masquerades, her love of poetry and music, were represented as sins. It is scarcely to be wondered at, however to be lamented, that she often acted in defiance of a prudent decorum. It is less a matter of surprise that she had a deep hatred of the Reformers, and entertained a vague desire for a political alliance that would free her from the control of her Protestant subjects, and from the supervision of England. In the first four years of her personal rule in Scotland she yielded to the strong power that was over her. She would not surrender her own habits of ceremonial religion to what had become the prevailing faith of the majority of her subjects; but she abstained from any rash attempts to interfere with the course they were following. Had she been less cautious her fall would have been more immediate. But supported probably by the avowed determination of France and Spain to uproot Protestantism—probably stimulated by the growing coldness, if not enmity, between herself and Elizabeth, and by the idle belief that the English Catholics would support her pretensions to the crown which she claimed as the legitimate descendant of Henry VII.—she grew bolder upon the occasion of her marriage, and resolved, not indeed to persecute the reformers in Scotland, but only to tolerate them. Cecil, in August, 1565, wrote thus to the English ambassador in France: "The duke [Chatelherault], the earls of Argyle, Murray, and Rothes, with sundry barons, are joined together, not to allow of the marriage otherwise than to have the religion established by law; but the queen refuseth in this sort—she will not suffer it to have the force of law, but of permission to every man to live according to his conscience." The great minister adds, "And herewith she hath retained a great number of Protestants from associating openly with the other." The leading reformers knew that the queen's rejection of the legal establishment of their religion would be its destruction among a people whose inborn habit was to take one of two sides. If Protestantism ceased to be regarded as "established by law," Catholicism would come back to be so established. The reformers would not accept this toleration, and they rose in arms. Murray was proclaimed a rebel. "She hath put the earl of Murray to the horn," writes Cecil. His life and estates were declared forfeited by sound of horn.

Mary, who had caused Darnley to be proclaimed king upon the occasion of their marriage, was desirous that the Scottish parliament should bestow upon him the crown-matrimonial. Chastelherault, who was next to Mary in succession, was offended at this, and took part with Murray. This able man, with kingly blood in his veins, is held to have had himself designs upon the crown. The sundry barons are reputed to have opposed Mary, lest with the re-establishment of the Romish religion they should lose their church-lands. Elizabeth envied Mary, as Lord Herries writes, "the comfort of a husband and the happiness of children." These are the base and sordid motives which are assigned as the impelling causes of the opposition to the queen at this juncture. It is singular that some of the Scottish historians, and some English, will not allow anything for the strength of a great principle; and constantly present to us the ministers of England as base intriguers and the Scottish statesmen as anti-national mercenaries. Elizabeth sent an envoy to Mary, to endeavor to promote her reconciliation with Murray. There were cold and sarcastic words delivered by Tamworth, Elizabeth's messenger, and haughty answers returned by Mary. She engaged for herself and her husband that they would attempt nothing to the prejudice of the queen of England; but she required that the English crown should be settled by act of parliament upon herself and Darnley; and that Elizabeth should afford no countenance to Scottish rebels. It is held that Murray was countenanced and assisted by Elizabeth, though to a very limited extent. Mary showed her vigor of character at this crisis. She took the field with her forces, and headed her troops with pistols at her saddle-bow. The revolt was crushed without any decisive contest. The rebel lords transmitted to the English government a declaration that they were persecuted as traitors for their zeal for true religion, and for their attempt to redress "the great enormities lately crept into the public regimen of this miserable commonwealth." They affirmed that the efforts of Mary and Darnley were solely directed to the subversion of the reformed religion within the realm, and the re-establishment of superstition and papistry." There was ample foundation for this assertion. The Roman see had sent money to Mary; and Philip II. had placed twenty thousand crowns in the hands of his ambassador at London, to be employed "with secrecy and address, in the support of the Scottish queen and her husband." That the English government knew well that the combinations for the restoration of Catholicism in Scotland were connected with the pretensions of Mary to the throne filled by the Protestant Elizabeth, is evident from its incessant watchfulness over every indication of Mary's projects. It was a measure of self-defence to hold a steadfast alliance with the Scottish reformers. There would be intrigue and dissimulation in pursuing this policy; but that Elizabeth was actuated by a mere womanly jealousy of Mary, as we are asked to believe, and that her ministers causelessly sought to embroil Scotland, is the dream of a very weak prejudice, which assumes the garb of a poetical nationality. Elizabeth is held to have dissembled when, Murray having fled to her court, she "spoke very roundly to him, before the ambassadors, that whatsoever the world said or reported of her, she would by her actions let it appear that she would not, for the price of a world, maintain any subject in any disobedience against a prince."* The right divine of princes was too deeply rooted in her thoughts to carry her beyond a certain point of opposition to her most dangerous enemy. In this she spoke her true mind.

In the declaration of the banished lords to the English government, they complained that two crafty Italians, David Riccio and Francisco, with other unworthy persons, had dispossessed the ancient nobility of their place in the queen's council. Riccio, a Milanese, had been a singer in Mary's service, and was afterward promoted to the office of her private secretary. He had soon acquired considerable influence; had been assiduous in promoting Darnley's marriage; and when Mary's first passionate love for that weak young man had given way to contempt for his follies and vices, Riccio became her chief adviser in place of the husband she had chosen. At the beginning of 1566 Randolph, the English ambassador, wrote to Cecil that the Protestants were in such fear and doubt that they knew not what shall become of them; and that the wisest desire nothing more than the return of the banished lords.† There were agencies at work to inspire the Protestants with still greater dread. There came from France an envoy of the cardinal Lorraine, and a messenger from the Scottish ambassador. They had high powers intrusted to them. They were to oppose the recall of the banished lords; they were to induce Mary to sign the "Bond" which had been concluded, under the auspices of Catherine de Medici and the duke of Alva, for the extermination of the Protestants in Europe. "Riccio, who at this moment possessed much influence, and was on good grounds suspected to be a pensioner of Rome, seconded these views with all his power."‡ Mary did join this league; did become a party to the dark conspiracy, whose grand result was the massacre of St. Bartholomew in France, and which, but for the wisdom of Elizabeth and her counsellors, might have produced a St. Bartholomew in England. The passionate impulses of Mary were equally the safety of Scotland. She was unfitted for the conduct of a policy which would cherish its schemes of vengeance, and smile upon its devoted victims, as in France, until thousands could be cut off as if they had but one neck. Mary had strong hatreds, but she looked only at individuals for their gratification. Murray and his adherents were the objects of her wrath in 1565; when she "declared to Randolph that she would rather peril her crown than lose her revenge."§ Deeper offences than rebellion were now to agitate her. Darnley had been displaced from her confidence, and perhaps justly so. Riccio was her most cherished counsellor. Darnley used to sign his name to public documents as king, before that of Mary. The queen now signed her name, and Riccio was provided with a stamp to add that of Darnley. The weak young man abandoned himself to drinking; quarrelled with the queen in public; was persuaded that Riccio was the instigator of his humiliations; and, says Mr. Tytler, "had the folly to be-

* Memorandum of Cecil, in Raumer, p. 70.
† Ellis, First Series, vol. ii. p. 206.
‡ Tytler's "Scotland," vol. vii. p. 19.
§ Ibid., p. 8.

come the dupe of a more absurd delusion—he became jealous of the Italian secretary." The absurdity of this jealousy must be estimated by the general impression as to Mary's character. In the unhappy affair of Chastellart, three years before, Randolph pointed out "what mischief ensues of the over-great familiarity that any such personage showeth unto so unworthy a creature and abject a varlet, as even her grace used with him."* The man was hanged for the presumption which this "over-great familiarity" encouraged. Mary brought to Scotland the indiscretions of the French court, if not its vices; and her education in this school of impurity may suggest some apology for the imprudences which her warmest advocates cannot wholly defend. No one doubts that the deportment of Riccio was calculated to excite the suspicion of a neglected husband, and the hatred of those who saw his influence over the queen employed for their personal abasement and the subversion of their religious opinions. The common desire for revenge associated Darnley with some of the fierce Scottish nobles, such as Morton and Ruthven, in a conspiracy against the life of the obnoxious secretary. The king was engaged with the superior Protestant leaders, in a separate bond for the restoration of the banished lords, upon their promise to support him and to give him the crown-matrimonial. They were to maintain the Protestant religion as one of the conditions of this alliance. Mixing up these separate contracts, "for the murder of Riccio, the restoration of Murray, and the revolution in the government," we are told that "one only step remained: to communicate the plot to the queen of England and her ministers, and to obtain their approval and support."† On the 6th of March the earl of Bedford and Randolph wrote to Cecil, from Berwick, of the jars between the queen and her husband, "for that he hath assured knowledge of such usage of herself as altogether is intolerable to be borne; which, if it were not overwell known, we would both be very loth to think that it could be true. To take away this occasion of slander he is himself determined to be at the apprehension and execution of him whom he is able manifestly to charge with the crime, and to have done him the most dishonor that can be to any man, much more being as he is." They then inclose the copies of "Conditions for the earls to perform to their king," and "Conditions to be performed by the king of Scots to the earls." Bedford and Randolph thus communicate to their government that the king of Scots has determined personally to revenge himself on the man who has dishonored him; and that he has covenanted with the Protestant leaders in Scotland and England to accomplish their recall, on the condition of receiving their support in his desire for the crown-matrimonial. A political revolution was to be accomplished against the Roman Catholic ascendency, to which ascendency the queen of Scots had lent herself. It was to be accomplished before the meeting of parliament, in which the Romanist interests would have succeeded in confiscating the estates of Murray, Rothes, Grange, and the other lords who had fled to England; and probably would have attempted the re-establishment of the ancient religion. Bedford and Randolph add that "persuasions" would be tried with the queen; but if they did no good, "they propose to proceed we know in what sort." If she attempted to raise a power at home, she was to be withstood; if she sought any foreign support, the aid of England was to be asked. In this communication to the English government we can scarcely see any ground for the charges which it is held to raise against the conduct of Elizabeth. It proves, says Mr. Tytler, that the queen of England had the most precise intimation of the intended murder of Riccio. He should have added, as the personal act of Darnley. It proves, we are further told, that it was intended to put an end to Murray's banishment, to replace him in power; and by one decided and triumphant blow to destroy the schemes which were in agitation for the re-establishment of the Roman Catholic religion in Scotland. It is held that Elizabeth ought to have imprisoned Murray, discomfited the plans of the conspirators, saved the life of the victim marked for slaughter, and preserved Mary from captivity, "if she had been alive to the common feelings of humanity." This view of the duty of Elizabeth and her government arises out of the desire to treat such questions as personal ones, entirely separated from a great political principle. If it were safe for England that the queen of Scots should be supported in her alliances with those who sought, in the destruction of Elizabeth, the extinction of Protestantism in Britain, then the English queen might have been what is called magnanimous. She interfered not; and the Protestant nobles and preachers were not swept from the island. But all such reasoning upon the letter of Bedford and Randolph is wholly beside the mark. The date of this communication to the English court of the approaching political revolution has not been heeded, in the eager desire to blame Elizabeth and her ministers for not having saved Riccio, and prevented the banished lords from returning to Scotland. The letter of Bedford and Randolph to Cecil was written from Berwick on the 6th of March. It enjoined the strictest secrecy. It was the first intimation of "a matter of no small consequence being intended in Scotland." With extraordinary dispatch Cecil might have received that letter on the 8th of March. On the night of the 9th Riccio was murdered. On the 11th Murray and the banished lords were in Edinburgh. When Murray was safe at Berwick on the 8th of March, ready to step across the border, he sent his secretary with a letter to Cecil to tell him of his plans. That Elizabeth or her ministers could, in consequence of these communications from Berwick, have prevented the catastrophe of the 9th, or detained Murray till the Scottish parliament, which met on the 4th, had passed a statute of treason against him and the other banished lords, will be difficult to establish in the face of these dates, to which the able historian of Scotland, in many respects so candid, has shut his eyes.

It is about an hour after sunset on Saturday, the 9th of March, when the court of Holyrood Palace is suddenly filled with armed men, and the glare of torches lights up the old monastic walls. This band, in number a hundred and fifty, is led by the earls of Morton and Lindsay. They close the outer gates, and the inmates of Holyrood are in their power. Bedford and Randolph, in a letter to the council of England, give the most circumstantial relation of the events which immediately followed: "The king conveyeth himself, the Lord Ruthven, George Douglas, and two other, through his own chamber by the privy stairs up to the queen's chamber, joining to which there is a cabinet about twelve feet square, in the same a little low reposing bed, and a table, at the which there were sitting at the supper the queen, the Lady Argyle, and David, with his cap upon his head. Into the cabinet there cometh in the king and Lord Ruthven, who willed David to come forth, saying that there was no place for him. The queen said that it was her will; her husband answered that it was against her honor. The Lord Ruthven said that he should learn better his duty, and offering to have taken him by the arm, David took the queen by the plaits of her gown and put himself behind the queen, who would gladly have saved him; but the king having loosed his hands, and holding her in his arms, David was thrust out of the cabinet through the bed-chamber into the Chamber of Presence, where were the Lord Morton, Lord Lindsay, who intending that night to have reserved him and the next day to hang him, so many being about them that bore him evil will, one thrust him into the body with a dagger, and after him a great many other, so that he had in his body above fifty-five wounds. It is told for certain that the king's own dagger was left sticking in him. Whether he stroke him or not we cannot know for certain. He was not slain in the queen's presence, as was said, but going down the stairs out of the Chamber of Presence."* There is a letter from Queen Mary herself to her ambassador in Paris, which, in the main circumstances, agrees with this account. But Mary says that when Ruthven addressed Riccio, she asked her husband if he knew anything of this attempt; adding, "and on his denying it, we commanded Lord Ruthven, on pain of treason, to quit our presence, while Riccio had sought shelter behind us." She then briefly tells of the murder in the antechamber, and says that immediately after the deed Ruthven returned, and upbraided her with tyranny, and her submission to the counsels of Riccio. But the letter of Bedford and Randolph details a frightful scene of violence between Darnley and the queen, in which he reproached her with infidelity, and said that "for her honor and his own contentment he gave his consent that *he* should be taken away." She replied, "Well; you have taken your last of me, and your farewell." Ruthven remonstrated, and said that Riccio "was mean, base, enemy to the nobility, shame to her, and destruction to her grace's country." She rejoined:

* Raumer, p. 21. † Tytler, vol. vii. p. 29.

* Ellis, First Series, vol. ii. p. 209.

"Well; it shall be dear blood to some of you if his be spilt." This account exhibits a most characteristic group: "Her husband this time speaketh little. Her grace continually weepeth. The Lord Ruthven being evil at ease, and weak, calleth for a drink, and saith 'This I must do with your majesty's pardon.'" The queen, in a letter to the ambassador, says that against certain of her nobility, maintainers of her authority, who were in the palace at the time, "the enterprise was conspired as well as for David." These were Huntley and Bothwell, who escaped by ropes out of a back window; Atholl, Fleming, Livingston, Balfour, and Melvil, who also escaped. The concluding scene of that Saturday night is thus described by the queen: "The provost and town of Edinburgh having understood this tumult in our palace, caused ring their common bell, came to us in great number, and desired to have seen our presence, intercommuned with us, and to have known our welfare." But she was prevented speaking with these anxious citizens, "being extremely bested by those lords, who in our face declared if we desired to have spoken with them, they should cut us in collops, and cast us over the wall." The next day Murray arrived in Edinburgh. At his first interview with Mary he is said to have expressed great solicitude for her welfare, and she to have manifested a confidence in his affection. This reconcilement was very transient. At a meeting of the conspirators against Riccio with the lords who had returned to Scotland, strong measures were determined on as regarded the queen: "In their council," says Mary, "they thought it most expedient we should be warded in our castle of Stirling, there to remain while we had approved in parliament of all their wicked enterprises, established their religion, and given to the king the crown-matrimonial and the whole government of our realm." But in a few days Mary, who had subdued her weak husband to her will, persuaded him to fly with her at midnight to Dunbar. Whatever were the intentions of the conspirators toward her, she was now out of their power. She soon gathered a large force around her; and marching upon Edinburgh, issued writs of treason against Morton, Ruthven, and others, who fled to England. Murray denied all complicity in the murder of Riccio; and Darnley took refuge in denouncing those with whom he had been associated as traitors and murderers. They retaliated upon his baseness in a manner that in eleven months led to another more fearful catastrophe. On the 4th of April Randolph writes to Cecil, "The queen hath now seen all the covenants and bonds that passed between the king and the lords; and now findeth that his declaration before her and the council, of his innocency of the death of David, was false." From the hour of that disclosure Darnley was a doomed man.

On the 19th of June, 1566, Mary gave birth to the son who was afterward king of Scotland and of England. The differences between the various factions now began to be composed. Amicable relations with England were established. Elizabeth agreed to be godmother to the heir of the Scottish throne, and sent a golden font for his baptism. In November Mary renewed her claim to have a parliamentary recognition of her right of succession to the English crown, in a letter written by her to the lords of Elizabeth's council; but she stated her unwillingness "to press our said good sister further than shall come of her own good pleasure to put that matter in question. The English parliament, which had met in the beginning of November, had begun to debate about the succession; and, says Camden, "On the one side the papists propounded unto themselves the queen of Scots, which had newly brought forth a son; on the other, the Protestants, with different affections, propounded to themselves, some one man, some another. Mary alludes to this debate in her letter. Elizabeth was angry at the discussion of this matter; but in her instructions to Bedford, who was to be present at the baptism of James, she had, immediately previous to receiving Mary's letter, authorized him to declare that she would never suffer anything to be done prejudicial to Mary's right; but required that she should confirm so much of the treaty of Edinburgh as regarded Elizabeth's rights: "The same being since deferred upon account of some words therein prejudicial to the queen's right and title, before all others, after us, our meaning is to require nothing to be confirmed in that treaty but that which directly appertains to us and our children; omitting anything in that treaty that may be prejudicial to her title as next heir of us and our children." It was added that all this might be secured by a new treaty. Mary was in no hurry to embrace this reasonable proposal; and nothing was done to complete such an engagement, without which, Elizabeth said, "Though we are inclined to preserve amity, yet occasions may happen to incline either of us to be jealous one of another." The occasions of jealousy were never removed.

On the 17th of December the baptism of the infant prince took place at Stirling, according to the Roman Catholic ritual. Darnley, although living in the palace, refused to attend the ceremony. Between himself and the queen there was not only coldness but manifest dislike. Mary was profoundly melancholy, and Darnley was proud and moody. A remarkable man, James Hepburn, earl of Bothwell, had now become Mary's most intimate counsellor. She had recently manifested a more than common interest in his welfare. Bothwell had been dangerously wounded in an attempt to arrest Elliot of the Park, a border depredator; and he was carried to his castle of the Hermitage. The queen had been engaged for a week holding a court of justice at Jedburgh, while Bothwell was slowly recovering from his wound; and on one day she rode to Hermitage and back, a distance altogether of forty miles. She was accompanied by Murray and others, but the visit gave occasion to scandal, upon which the historians unfavorable to Mary have not failed to dwell. After this interview the queen became dangerously ill; and the melancholy which subsequently settled upon her was frequently expressed by her exclamation, "I could wish to be dead!" A divorce was proposed to her by Bothwell, Murray, and other counsellors; and it has been affirmed upon the confession of Ormiston, a confederate, that a bond for the murder of the king was executed about the same time by several of these persons. The mysteries of this period of dark intrigues and daring plots will never be satisfactorily disclosed, and the precise degree of guilt to be attached to individuals will remain unsettled. Let us briefly relate the ascertained circumstances of the momentous crime that was perpetrated on the 10th of February, 1567.

At the end of 1566 Mary had consented to pardon Morton, Lindsay, and others, with two exceptions, who had been concerned in the murder of Riccio. Darnley dreaded the return of the fellow-conspirators with whom he had broken faith; and he abruptly left the court, and went to his father, the earl of Lennox, at Glasgow. Morton, one of the pardoned nobles, returned to Scotland early in January, 1567. Darnley had fallen sick of a disease which was said to be the small-pox; and on the 22d of January Mary proceeded to Glasgow to visit him. Some explanation took place between them, and Darnley agreed to attend the queen to Craigmillar, by slow journeys, she having brought a litter for his conveyance. There is a deposition of Thomas Crawford, a gentleman attending upon Lennox, in which he relates a conversation between Darnley and himself, in which Crawford said, "She treats your majesty too like a prisoner. Why should you not be taken to one of your own houses at Edinburgh?" Darnley replied, "It struck me much the same way; and I have fears enough, but may God judge between us. I have her promise only to trust to; but I have put myself in her hands, and I shall go with her, though she should murder me." * The plan of going to Craigmillar was changed, and Darnley was carried to Edinburgh, where he arrived on the 31st of January. Holyrood was declared to be unhealthy, from its low situation; and the king was taken to a suburb called the Kirk of Field, where the duke of Chastelherault had a residence. The attendants were about to convey Darnley to the duke's mansion, when Mary said his apartments were to be in an adjoining house, to which she conducted him. It was a mean building belonging to Robert Balfour, one of Bothwell's dependants. The queen daily attended upon Darnley, and appeared assiduous in promoting his comfort, amid the rude domestic arrangements which this lodging afforded. Below the chamber where he slept she had one prepared for herself. On Sunday, the 9th of February, Mary passed much of the day with her husband, who is represented as having had his apprehensions of danger somewhat removed by her presence, and by the appearance of renewed confidence between them. On the evening of that Sunday the queen went to Holyrood, to celebrate by a masque the wedding of Bastian, a foreigner of her

* Tytler, vol. vii. p. 78. Mr. Tytler says that he has not been able to discover any sufficient ground to doubt the truth of this deposition.

household, with one of her favorite attendants. Bothwell was present at the festivities of the palace; but he left about midnight. Darnley had gone to rest, after repeating the 55th Psalm, his page being in his bedroom. At two o'clock in the morning of the 10th a loud explosion roused the inhabitants of Edinburgh from their sleep; and the terrified citizens soon learned that the Kirk of Field had been blown up, and that the king was dead. The house was completely destroyed. Mary has herself described the extent of the destruction: "The house wherein the king was lodged was in an instant blown in the air, he lying sleeping in his bed, with a vehemency that, of the whole lodging, walls and other, there is nothing remaining—no, not a stone above another, but all carried far away, or dung in dross to the very ground-stone." * But the body of the king was not among these ruins. It was found lying under a tree in an orchard, about eighty yards from the house; and the body of his page was lying beside him. The account which Buchanan gives of this circumstance agrees with the general evidence: "The king had only a linen shirt on the upper part of his body; the rest of it lay naked. His other clothes and his shoes lay just by him. The common people came in great crowds to see him, and many conjectures there were; yet they all agreed that he could never be thrown out of the house by the force of gunpowder, for there was no part broken, bruised, or black and blue about his body, which must necessarily have happened in a ruin by gunpowder. Besides, his clothes that lay near him were not so much as singed with the flame, or covered with any ashes." † It appears probable that Darnley was strangled in the orchard, as he hurriedly attempted to escape, and that his page shared his fate. The bodies of four of his servants were found in the ruins. Herries gives a circumstantial relation that Darnley and his attendant were strangled by Bothwell and his accomplices, in the bedroom; and being carried out by them by a back-gate, they fired some barrels of powder which they had put in a room below the king's chamber, and so blew up the house. This was the room which the queen had occupied; and according to the confessions of two servants who brought the powder, it was deposited in that room while Mary was with her husband above. An opinion has been expressed, with great plausibility, that the gunpowder, brought in a mail and trunk was insufficient to destroy the house as it was destroyed; that the walls had been undermined by another set of conspirators; that Bothwell was uninformed of this, and was left to take his own course; and that "in consequence, he was looked upon as the sole deviser of the murder, which, however, there are strong reasons for believing was not perpetrated by his means." ‡ This opinion opens up the great question of the guilt or innocence of the queen—the question which we shall have briefly to notice when we come to the judicial examinations which followed Mary's flight to England. Meanwhile, no one has attempted to deny that Bothwell was deeply concerned in this crime; that his servants placed the powder under Darnley's chamber; that he left the palace at mid night, and "went straight to the Kirk of Field, up Roblock's Wynd;" § that he returned to the palace under cover of the night; and that when a servant rushed into his chamber to tell the news of the catastrophe, he started up in well-feigned terror and cried "Treason." Mary was made acquainted with the event by Bothwell and Huntley, two of the conspirators, and she shut herself up in her chamber, as one lost in grief.

Two days elapsed before any public steps were taken to discover the perpetrators of this deed. Then a proclamation was issued offering a large reward. Placards were soon displayed in the city denouncing Bothwell, James Balfour, and others, as the murderers. Mary removed to the seat of Lord Seaton. Darnley was buried with great privacy; and his father made ineffectual solicitations to the queen that she should take steps for the immediate apprehension of those named in the placards. Bothwell continued about the queen, having the chief management of public affairs; and the court at Seaton was occupied with somewhat ill-timed amusements. The opportunities for a searching inquiry into the circumstances of the murder were passing away. Some of the inferior agents who were suspected were leaving Scotland. Bothwell rode through the streets of Edinburgh with fifty guards, passionately declaring that if he knew the authors of the placards he would wash his hands in their blood. The chief nobles, including Murray, absented themselves from court, as if in disgust. Even Beaton, the queen's ambassador at Paris, wrote to her in the following plain terms: "Of this deed, if I should write all that is spoken here, and also in England, of the miserable estate of the realm by the dishonor of the nobility, mistrust and treason of your whole subjects—yea, that yourself is greatly and wrongously calumniated to be the motive principal of the whole, and all done by your command—I can conclude nothing besides that which your majesty writes to me yourself that since it hath pleased God to preserve you to take a rigorous vengeance thereof, that rather than it be not actually taken, it appears to me better, in this world, that you had lost life and all." Mary did not do what this honest adviser exhorted her to do—"that you do such justice as the whole world may declare your innocence." She received from Elizabeth a message of condolence and advice; and she promised the queen of England's envoy that Bothwell should be brought to an open trial. But she immediately admitted the guilty man to greater favor than ever; bestowed upon him new marks of her confidence, such as the custody of Edinburgh Castle; and enabled him so to strengthen himself that the promised trial was a mockery and an imposture. No one dared to accuse the man who commanded all the military power of the state. The father of Darnley now besought Mary to delay the trial, so that the accused should be less able to control its issue by force. He applied to Elizabeth, who exhorted her sister-queen to listen to so reasonable a request. The provost-marshal of Berwick arrived with Elizabeth's letter on the 12th of April, the day appointed for the trial. The city was wholly in the power of Bothwell, who had four thousand of his followers in the streets and the court of the palace. The castle was under his command. Bothwell's armed men surrounded the Tolbooth, where the trial was to take place. Lennox was commanded to enter Edinburgh with no more than six attendants, and he naturally shrunk from the danger that appeared imminent, and declined to appear in person. A gentleman, on his part, boldly reiterated the charge against Bothwell, but requested delay. There was no accuser and no evidence, and a verdict of acquittal was pronounced. The parliament confirmed the acquittal. Murray had returned to France. Bothwell received new marks of the queen's favor; and his ultimate elevation was anticipated by the signatures of many nobles to a bond, in which they recommended him as a suitable husband for the queen. But some of the most important men in Scotland were roused by the insolence of the favorite and the infatuation of Mary; who, according to a letter written by Sir William Kirkaldy, the laird of Grange, to the earl of Bedford, had said, with reference to Bothwell, "She cared not to lose France, England, and her own country for him, and shall go with him to the world's end in a white petticoat, before she leave him." * The indignation of the people was soon completed by a most extraordinary proceeding. The queen had been on the 21st of April to Stirling, to see her child. As she was returning to Edinburgh, on the 24th, she was surrounded by a great band of Bothwell's followers, to the number of eight hundred, led by him; and was conducted, as if by force, to his castle of Dunbar. Grange, on the 26th, addressed a letter to Bedford, in which he accuses Mary of complicity in this seizure, "to the end that she may sooner end the marriage whilk she promised before she caused Bothwell murder her husband." Proceedings for a collusive divorce between Bothwell and his wife, the Lady Jane Gordon, were hurried through the courts. Craig, a Protestant minister, was ordered to proclaim the banns of matrimony between the queen and Bothwell, which he did in the High Church, adding, "I take heaven and earth to witness that I abhor and detest this marriage." On the 12th of May the queen came to Edinburgh and created Bothwell duke of Orkney and Shetland. On the 15th they were married. If there could be happiness in such an union it was quickly over. The French ambassador, within a fortnight after, wrote to Catherine de Medici, "On Thursday the queen sent for me, when I perceived something strange in the mutual behavior of her and her husband. She attempted to excuse it, and said, 'If you see me melancholy, it is because I do not

* Letter to Beaton. *Dung* is the preterite of *ding*, to strike down violently.

† Buchanan's "History of Scotland," translated by Bond, vol. ii. p. 323.

‡ W. E. Aytoun, Notes to "Bothwell," p. 263 § Herries.

* Letter in State Paper Office, Tytler, vol. vii. p. 106.

choose to be cheerful; because I never will be so, and wish for nothing but death.'"* It is related that she was treated with indignity by the man for whom she had sacrificed her peace of mind and her reputation; and that on one occasion, when she had been subjected to his insults, she called aloud for a knife to stab herself.

A confederacy of nobles was soon formed, with the declared intention of putting down the power of Bothwell. He and the queen were at Borthwick Castle, about ten miles from Edinburgh, when the place was surrounded by an armed force. Bothwell escaped by a postern, and reached his own castle of Dunbar. Mary fled, disguised as a man, and joined her new husband in his fortress. The confederates secured the capital. The queen called her followers round the royal banner at Dunbar; and on the 14th of June advanced with a considerable force toward Edinburgh. She intrenched herself on Carberry Hill—a place remarkable as the position which the English held before the battle of Pinkie. On Sunday, the 15th, the confederates marched out of Edinburgh; and the two armies were soon in presence of each other. Bothwell sent by a herald his personal defiance of any one who accused him of Darnley's murder. The challenge was accepted by Lindsay; but Mary forbade the encounter. Her own army began to desert her, and a general panic soon ensued. The queen demanded a parley. Grange came to meet her, and tendered the obedience of the lords in arms if Bothwell were dismissed. She did dismiss him. There was a brief farewell; and they met no more. He became a pirate and an outcast. Mary was conducted to the camp of the confederates; and she soon perceived that she was a prisoner. 'Give me your hand," she said to Lindsay; and placing her delicate fingers in his rough palm, she exclaimed, "By the hand which is now in yours, I'll have your head for this." Riding between Athol and Morton, she was conducted into Edinburgh amid the execrations of an infuriated populace. The soldiers carried a banner, on which was painted the body of the murdered Darnley lying under the tree near the Kirk of Field, and a child kneeling beside it, with the legend, "Judge and avenge my cause, O Lord." This terrible flag was paraded before her; and when she awoke next morning, and looked out of the window of the provost's house in which she had been lodged, the same dreadful representation was hung up to meet her first gaze. In her despair she attempted to address the people, who were moved to some pity at her agony. That day she was carried as a prisoner to Lochleven.

CHAPTER LXX.

Mary compelled to resign the crown—Murray accepts the regency—Escape of Mary from Lochleven—Circumstances of her escape—Battle of Langsyde—Mary takes refuge in England—Mary's detention in England—Conferences of York and London—Mary placed under charge of the earl of Shrewsbury—Anxiety for her safe custody—The duke of Norfolk and Mary—Lady Catherine Grey.

The captivity of Queen Mary was the signal for the return of John Knox to Scotland. If he were not privy to the conspiracy for the assassination of David Riccio, he did not withhold his satisfaction at an event which he considered essential to the safety of religion and the good of the commonwealth. He had fled from Edinburgh when Mary was in a condition to revenge that murder. He came back when she was a prisoner, to urge the strongest measures against her; grounding "the lawfulness to punish her upon Scripture history, the laws of the realm, and her coronation oath."† The confederacy against Mary and Bothwell was known as the Secret Council. Knox heartily embraced their cause, stipulating that the reformed religion should be restored to the position in which it was placed by the parliament of 1560. After various attempts to persuade Mary to renounce Bothwell, Knox "thundered out cannon-hot against her."‡ Morton told Throckmorton, the English ambassador, that he could not do for the queen what he wished; but was obliged to give way to the zeal of the clergy and the people. Elizabeth, no doubt with sincerity, was remonstrating against the confinement and proposed deposition of Mary; but she was, at the same time, not prepared to take any strong measures of forcible interference for her safety. The unhappy queen was hemmed about with violent enemies and doubtful friends. Elizabeth charged her ambassador to insist that subjects were not to be judges of a sovereign; it was "contrary to Scripture and unreasonable, that the head should be subject to the foot." Knox, Buchanan, Craig, and other preachers boldly maintained, and it was "a public speech among the people," that "their queen hath no more liberty nor privilege to commit murder nor adultery than any other private person, neither by God's laws nor by the laws of the realm." The people were inflamed to the highest fury. Mary's life appeared in danger, and she talked of seeking refuge in a French nunnery. The General Assembly of the Church united with the lords of the Secret Council in desiring the queen to be brought to trial, and, if found guilty, to be put to death; "and there seemed every probability that this dreadful result was about to take place, had it not been for the interference of Throckmorton."* Murray was absent in France. At last, another course was resolved upon. Lord Lindsay, under whose severe custody she had been five weeks at Lochleven Castle, and who had come to the capital to attend the General Assembly, now returned to the queen with three instruments to which her signature was demanded; whose tenor was to resign the crown in favor of her son; to appoint Murray regent of the realm during her son's infancy; and to constitute certain lords regents till Murray's return, or permanently if he should decline the office. Mary long refused compliance; but the stern Lindsay terrified her into submission. The immediate coronation of the infant prince was their next measure. The English ambassador was invited to attend the ceremony, but he gave a peremptory refusal, stating that the proceedings of the Secret Council had been wholly against the advice and remonstrances of Elizabeth. The abdication of Mary took place on the 24th of July; the coronation of James on the 29th. The earl of Mar, his governor, bore the infant prince to the throne at the High Church of Stirling; the deeds of resignation by his mother were read, and Lindsay and Ruthven swore that they were her voluntary acts; Knox preached; the child was crowned; Morton swore for him that he would maintain the reformed religion and extirpate heresy; the lords took the oath of allegiance; and the infant of thirteen months was carried back to his cradle. The indignation of Elizabeth at this proceeding was expressed in the strongest terms through her ambassador; but he was assured, without any reserve, that the hostility of the English government would only shorten Mary's days; for that those who pretended to be her friends, the party of the Hamiltons, had, within the last forty-eight hours, proposed to the interim-regents to put her to death. All that Throckmorton could accomplish in favor of the prisoner was that so fearful a measure, "the outgait" of the question, as they termed it, should be suspended till the return of Murray.†

Murray came from France at the beginning of August. The French government showed indifference to the fate of Mary, and great efforts were made by that government to secure the interest of the powerful man who had been chosen regent. He decided to communicate with Elizabeth. Alleged proofs of Mary being privy to her husband's murder had been put into his hands; and he was disposed to take part with the confederate lords. He had an interview with the queen of England, who took a high tone, and expressed her determination to restore Mary to her crown. Elizabeth's advisers would have moderated her indignation at Mary's rebellious subjects; but she kept to her resolution to support the cause of a sovereign held captive by an authority that set itself above the throne. When Murray reached Scotland he was irresolute as to the acceptance of the regency. On the one side he was pressed by those who held in their hands letters and papers which they exhibited as proofs of Mary's guilt; on the other, it was represented to him that Mary's abdication was extorted from her. He determined to see her himself. On the 15th of August, in company with Morton, Athol, and Lindsay, he visited her at Lochleven. Mary appealed to him as her brother and her friend. He set before her all that had been alleged

* Raumer, p. 99. † Report of Throckmorton, July 18.
‡ Throckmorton to Cecil.

* Tytler, vol. vii. p. 164.
† The undoubted details of this treachery of Mary's pretended friends are given by Mr. Tytler, vol. vii. pp. 170 to 175, in complete disproof of the statements of "our popular historians."

as the follies and crimes of her life; and a conversation, which lasted till midnight, ended in his exhorting her to seek refuge in the mercy of God. In the morning they had another interview, when Mary exhorted him to save her life, and pressed him to accept the regency. On the 22d of August Murray was proclaimed regent. At a meeting with the English ambassador he declared his intention to make common cause with the lords. Though he had not been a party to their past doings, he commended what they had done; "and seeing the queen my sovereign and they have laid on me the charge of regency, a burden I would gladly have avoided, I am resolved to maintain their action, and will reduce all men to obedience in the king's name, or it shall cost me my life." Throckmorton having asked to see Mary was refused, and he was recalled to England. On the 15th of December the regent summoned a parliament. The queen's resignation of the crown, the king's coronation, and the regency of Murray, were confirmed. The pope's authority was abolished; the Confession of Faith of 1560 was sanctioned; all heretics and hearers of mass were declared liable to various punishments; and the Presbyterian Church was fully established as "the Immaculate Spouse of Christ." An act of parliament was passed to exonerate those who had risen in arms to demand justice on the murderers of Darnley; which act declared that the queen was confined for her demerits, seeing that by her private letters to Bothwell, and by her pretended marriage with him, she was cognizant, art and part, of the murder of the king her husband. These "divers her privy letters written wholly with her own hand," have been the subject of interminable controversy. They were said to have been found in a silver casket, which Mary had given to Bothwell, and which came into the hands of Morton after her surrender at Carberry Hill. Hume holds that "the objections made to their authenticity are, in general, of small force."* These letters afterward formed part of the evidence upon an elaborate inquiry into the guilt or innocence of Mary. After the queen had been six months under restraint, opinions came to be more divided about her conduct and character. The sympathy naturally inspired by the misfortunes of a young and beautiful woman began to operate as a counterpoise to the severe denunciations of the stern reformers. New factions began to be formed, each having its objects of personal ambition. Murray, as was almost inevitable, screened the higher delinquents in Darnley's assassination, and proceeded severely against their tools. The Romanists, now a marked and proscribed minority, were anxious for some revolution which might restore their influence. On the 2d of May, 1568, Scotland was convulsed by the tidings that Mary had escaped from that prison whose walls were girded by the waters of Lochleven, seeming to present an insurmountable barrier to her release. In that isolated castle she had passed nine months of sorrow and anxiety—possibly of penitence—but never without hope of restoration to sovereign authority. Admiration she could command under the greatest reverse of fortune. George Douglas, the younger brother of William Douglas, the owner of Lochleven Castle, was subdued by her charms; and even his proud mother, whose son was the regent Murray, had mitigated her original severity under Mary's fascinating influence. By the aid of George Douglas she had attempted to escape in the disguise of a laundress; but her delicate white hands had betrayed her real condition, and she was brought back to her solitary prison. This attempt was made on the 25th of April, and is described in a letter from Drury to Cecil. Mary had put on the hood of her laundress and had covered her face with a muffler or veil; and so, with a bundle of clothes, she entered a boat that was about to cross the loch. "After some space, one of them that rowed said merrily, 'Let us see what manner of dame this is,' and therewith offered to pull down her muffler, which to defend she put up her hands, which they espied to be very fair and white." Thus discovered, the boatmen heeded not her commands to row her over to the shore, but carried her back again to the castle. George Douglas, John Beaton, a brother of the archbishop of Glasgow, and other friends, were waiting at Kinross. A more successful attempt quickly followed. On the 2d of May she accomplished her purpose by the aid of the same devoted admirer, the younger Douglas, who, dismissed from the castle, was still able to carry on a secret correspondence with the queen, and contrived to organize a formidable confederacy in her favor.

The story of Mary's escape has been worked up into the most picturesque of narratives by the great novelist of Scotland, and with no important deviation from the actual circumstances. These are related with some minuteness in an account transmitted by John Beaton to the king of France, and, upon his authority, repeated in an Italian letter to Cosmo de Medici from his envoy at Paris.* Beaton, nothing discouraged by the failure of the 25th of April, had contrived a new plan for her escape; and on the evening of the 2d of May there are anxious watchers on the neighboring hills and in the village of Kinross. One solitary man is gazing toward the castle from the edge of the lake. The outer gate opens, and a female hastens toward a boat. She leads a girl of ten years old by the hand; and a youth stays behind for a minute to lock the gate through which they have passed. He is a page of the castle, called the little Douglas. He has been won to Mary's succor, and he has rendered the most effectual aid by adroitly removing the massy key as he places a plate before the castellan, who is intent upon his evening meal. "The lad, Willie," as he is called in a letter from Kirkaldy to Douglas, has done his work like a true hero of romance; and he has been immortalized under another name.† The female and her two youthful attendants enter the boat. There is a white veil, with a broad red fringe, waving in the setting sun; and the gazers upon the boat know by this signal that it remains for them to insure success to this perilous enterprise. It was Lord Seaton and his friends who were watching the going in and the return of the boat, from their quiet hidings on the hills. It was George Douglas who was the first to receive Mary on the edge of the lake. The instant she landed the queen was on horseback—she who once regretted "that she was not a man, to lie all night in the fields, or to walk upon the causeway with a jack and a knapscap, a Glasgow buckler and a broadsword." She rode at full speed to Niddrie Castle, where she rested a few hours; wrote a letter to France; commanded a Hepburn to go to Dunbar to claim the castle for her; and then to carry to Bothwell, in Denmark, the news of her deliverance. She then again took horse, and arrived at Hamilton, where she considered herself secure. In a few hours she was surrounded by numerous lords and their followers. The deposed prisoner of a dreary castle on the 2d of May was on the 5th a queen at the head of an army.

But the earls and bishops, the barons and abbots, who, to the number of a hundred and fifty, had assembled at Mary's council at Hamilton, and had declared the proceedings which had ended in Murray's regency as treasonable and of none effect—these, in the want of a commanding leader, and each with his motives of vague ambition—were unequal to cope with the master-mind of the regent, supported as he was by able counsellors who had everything to lose, and by enthusiastic reformers whom no peril could turn away from the great cause for which they were as ready to fight as to preach. Murray was at Glasgow, only eight miles from Mary's camp at Hamilton, with an ordinary train, who attended upon his presidency in a court of justice there. Offers of negotiation were sent to him from the queen's council; but he issued a proclamation in which he avowed his resolve to support the government of the king. Some advised retreat. He decided not to move, but to gather assistance for an instant attack upon the queen's force. In ten days he was at the head of four thousand disciplined men. Mary's soundest advisers first counselled that she should remove to Dunbarton, which castle had been secured for her; and there, without the hazard of a battle, to endeavor to regain that influence in the kingdom which she had lost from the time of her fatal marriage with Bothwell. But the party of the Hamiltons thought themselves strong enough to destroy Murray and secure their own ascendency. The march to Dunbarton on the 13th of May was, however, decided upon; but it was to be made in the face of an enemy who had his choice of attack or delay. Murray's camp was on the moor on the right bank of the Clyde, near Glasgow. The queen's army had its line of advance on the opposite bank. They had to defile through a narrow lane. Grange, who

* "History of England," vol. v. Robertson and Laing agree in this opinion. Hume supports his conviction by an argument for their genuineness under fifteen heads (Notes to vol. v.). Mr. Aytoun boldly says, "The letters are now, I believe, universally admitted to be rank forgeries." Notes to "Bothwell," p. 293.

* Tytler, "Proofs and Illustrations to History of Scotland," vol vii. p. 457. † Roland Græme, the page in "The Abbot."

commanded under Murray, saw his advantage, and fording the Clyde with his horsemen, each having a foot soldier behind him, placed them among cottages and gardens on each side of this lane. The queen's vanguard were driven back by the heavy fire which awaited their progress. Murray and Morton had crossed the river by a bridge, with their border pikemen. Morton led an advance, and the conflict was for some time doubtful. Murray had stood for a short time on the defensive against the charges of cavalry; but by an attack upon the queen's ranks with his main force the battle of three quarters of an hour was decided. The number slain was comparatively small—not more than three hundred on the queen's side, and only two persons on the side of the regent. There is an account in the State Paper Office headed, "Advertisements of the Conflicts in Scotland," dated May 16th, which, in mentioning the flight of the queen's party, says, "At the beginning of which chase the earl of Murray willed and required all his to spare for shedding of more blood." We learn from the narrative that "the queen beheld this conflict within half a mile distant, standing upon a hill." In that civil warfare she would ill distinguish between her friends and her foes; for "there were divers of the queen's part taken and not brought in, for there was the father against the son, and brother against brother, as namely, three of the Melvins of the lords' side, and two of the queen's." When all hope was lost on the dispersion of her army, Mary rode at full speed toward Dumfries, and never halted till she had reached the abbey of Dundrennan, near Kirkcudbright. On the 16th, having determined to take refuge in England, she crossed the Solway in a small boat, and landed at Workington, in Cumberland. On the 17th, while remaining at Workington, she addressed a letter in French to Elizabeth, in which she enumerates the wrongs she had received from her rebellious subjects, describes the battle of Langside, and implores the queen that, having come into her country, she would receive her for safety of her life, and further assist her in her just quarrel. She adds, "I entreat you to send to fetch me as soon as you possibly can, for I am in a pitiable state not only for a queen but for a gentlewoman; for I have nothing in the world but what I had on my person when I made my escape, travelling sixty miles across the country on the first day, and not having since dared to proceed except by night." * When Mary arrived at Workington she was received with kindness by the country gentlemen, and was conducted with respect to Carlisle by Mr. Lowther, the deputy-governor. She was attended by her friends, Lords Herries and Fleming. Herries had taken the precaution to write to Lowther on the 15th, to know if the queen could come safely to Carlisle; but Mary was too impatient to wait for the answer, which was to the effect that, without instructions, he could only undertake to receive her with due honor, and to keep her in safety till the pleasure of the queen of England was known.

The position in which the English government was placed by the sudden events of a single fortnight was one of real embarrassment. We say the English government; for to attribute the policy pursued toward Mary to the personal feelings of Elizabeth, and not to the deliberate advice of her counsellors, is one of those mistakes which, in deference to popular views, historical writers have not been sufficiently careful to avoid. There is a paper extant in Cecil's handwriting which shows his extreme solicitude to arrive at a safe judgment upon the most difficult question that had ever presented itself to the sober regard of a statesman. That the queen of Scots should continue to be deprived of her crown, and that the administration of the country should remain under the regency, he holds to be the best way for England, but not the easiest. The escape from Lochleven, the claim of aid from Elizabeth of succor and protection, complicated that safer position which existed when the matters in dispute were confined to Mary and her own people. The queen of England had been strongly opposed to the deposition of Mary; but to take measures for her restoration, in opposition to an established authority which had been confirmed by the Scottish parliament, was to enter upon a war against those Protestant opinions upon which the rule of Elizabeth herself was founded. To permit Mary to return to Scotland without conditions, or to seek for aid from France, would either be a course of no light danger. To suffer her to remain in perfect freedom in England would have been to endanger Elizabeth's own position, by giving encouragement to that Roman Catholic party that held Mary as the legitimate heir of the English throne. Cecil saw all these difficulties, when he had to consider whether Mary's demand of an interview with Elizabeth could be conceded. Sir James Mackintosh holds that in the arguments which Cecil had set down for the guidance of his sovereign, he "had taken a comprehensive view of all the mixed considerations of policy and justice which arose on that peculiarly debatable ground, on which the safety of a people seems to create a species of moral right, and to justify those acts which are necessary to secure the undisturbed quiet of the state, even when they deviate from rules which are, with reason, deemed inviolable in any but the most extreme and extraordinary cases." * The detention of Mary, the deposed queen of the Scots, and of Napoleon, the abdicated emperor of the French, when each had put themselves in the power of the English government, without conditions, have some parallel in their exception from ordinary rules. Pointing out this general resemblance of the cases, the same wise teacher of political philosophy says, "The imprisonment, though in neither case warranted by the rules of municipal or international law, was in both justified by that necessity from which those rules have sprung, and without which no violence can rightfully be done to a human being." †

The policy of the English government with regard to Mary resolved itself into a determination that there should be a solemn investigation into the truth of the charges against her of being accessory to the murder of her husband. Elizabeth, whatever might have been her notion of the abstract right of sovereigns, was too wise, or had too wise advisers, to listen to the exhortation of Catherine de Medici, "to persevere in the same opinion which you have hitherto maintained, that princes should assist each other to chastise and punish subjects who rise against them, and are rebels to their sovereigns." Sir Francis Knollys, a kinsman of Elizabeth, was sent by her to confer with Mary at Carlisle; and he used an argument toward her, as reported by him to his queen, which opens a large field of exception to the doctrine of the queen-mother of France: "I objected unto her that in some cases princes might be deposed from their government by their subjects lawfully, as if a prince should fall into madness. And, said I, what difference is there between lunacy and cruel murdering; for the one is an evil humor proceeding of melancholy, and the other is an evil humor proceeding of choler: wherefore the question is whether your grace deserved to be put from the government or not." At this argument the tears fell from the eyes of the unhappy Mary. Whether Elizabeth wholly approved of the logic of her representative, or not, the decision of her government was put upon this issue.

The detention of Mary at Carlisle, near the Scottish frontier, being thought dangerous, she was removed in July to Bolton Castle. Her indignation at being considered a prisoner was unabated. The factions in Scotland were at open war. A French army was expected with eagerness by Mary's adherents, though she herself disclaimed any knowledge of their intended landing. An armistice was at length concluded between the opposing parties, and a conference was opened at York on the 4th of October. The queen of England was represented by three commissioners, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Sussex, and Sir Ralph Sadler, who were to hear the allegations of the queen of Scots against her rebellious subjects, and the counter-charges against herself, made by those who had raised war against their sovereign. Mary chose the bishop of Ross and Lord Herries, with others, to be her commissioners. Murray was accompanied by four commissioners, with Lethington and Buchanan as assistants. The representatives of Mary set forth the notorious facts of the revolt against her by the usurpers of her authority, of her imprisonment, her deposition, the coronation of her infant son, the regency of Murray, her enforced flight into England. Murray was placed in a position of extreme difficulty if not of danger. Before he brought forward proofs of the crimes of Mary, which could alone justify the course he and his friends had pursued, he sought to receive some assurance that, if the queen of Scots should be declared guilty, he should be sanctioned by the English government in his proceedings, and supported in his office. The assurance was not given; for the question was to be submitted to Elizabeth's own de-

* Ellis, First Series, vol. ii. p. 236.

* "History of England," vol. iii. p. 115. † Ibid., p. 121, note.

cision. The duke of Norfolk, who afterward paid a terrible penalty for his espousal of the cause of Mary in the desire to become her husband—not without some inclination to favor her claim to the English crown—influenced Murray to withhold his accusations against the queen of Scots. "The English queen, his mistress," he said, "was resolved during her life to evade the question of the succession, careless what blood might be shed, or what confusion might arise upon the point: as to the true title, none doubted that it lay in the queen of Scots and her son; and much he marvelled that the regent, whom he had always reputed a wise and honorable man, should come hither to blacken his mistress, and, as far as he could, destroy the prospect of her and her son's succession." * In consequence of this influence Murray withheld the real defence of himself and his friends, and made no public charge against Mary. But he privately exhibited to Norfolk, Sussex, and Sadler, the written proofs of Mary's guilt, alleged to have been found in the silver casket. The commissioners of Elizabeth transmitted to her an abstract of these papers, with this strong opinion of their authenticity: "The letters discourse of some things which were unknown to any other than herself and Bothwell; and as it is hard to counterfeit so many, so the matter of them, and the manner in which these men came by them, are such that as it seemeth that God, in whose sight murder is abominable, would not permit the same to be hid or concealed." † The commissioners of Mary had now an interview with Elizabeth, when she informed them that the enemies of their queen had entirely failed in their defence; but that another conference should be held in London. Murray, after some further hesitation, made his accusation against the queen in the strongest terms; and Lennox, the father of the murdered Darnley, also accused Mary of conspiring his death. Mary's commissioners now required that she should be heard in person by Elizabeth; which Elizabeth refused, until Murray had brought forward his proofs. The commissioners of Mary then took an extraordinary step. They made a proposal for a compromise, by which Murray and the queen should be reconciled. This proposition was rejected by Elizabeth. The bishop of Ross and his associates now declared that the conferences were at an end, as Elizabeth had determined to receive from Murray proofs of his injurious charges against Mary, before she was herself heard in the presence of her sister-queen. The discussions and recriminations were prolonged for some time. Murray delivered his proofs as regarded the written evidence of Mary's complicity in the guilt of Darnley's assassination; and her commissioners still persisted in their refusal to reopen the conferences. Elizabeth, as Norfolk had intimated, would come to no final decision. Mr. Tytler, after fully narrating these remarkable proceedings, in which he holds that "both Elizabeth and the queen of Scots acted with great art," says, "so far as we judge of these conferences by themselves, they leave the mind under the unsatisfying and painful impression that the conduct of the Scottish queen, throughout the whole investigation, was that of a person neither directly guilty, nor yet wholly innocent." ‡

During the conferences at York and London, Mary Stuart had remained under the care of lord Scrope, at Bolton. By an order of council in January, 1569, she was placed with George, earl of Shrewsbury, and was removed to his castle of Tutbury on the 2d of February. The earl, one of the highest of the peers of England, had the burdensome, dangerous, and not very honorable office imposed upon him of having the custody, for many years, of the deposed queen, who, however strictly watched, was in correspondence, from first to last, with the enemies of Elizabeth and her government; and who was the pivot of most of the domestic and foreign intrigues for the overthrow of English Protestantism. Before the end of 1568 the earl of Shrewsbury had written to his energetic wife, known as "Bess of Hardwick," that the queen had told him she meant to trust him as she would trust few, by which he understood that he was to have the custody of the queen of Scots. It is difficult to understand how any nobleman of great riches and influence, if possessed of a high spirit, could have submitted to the slavery of such an office. Shrewsbury and his wife were to be ever at Mary's side. She wa carried about with them from Tutbury to their various castles an manor-houses—to Sheffield, to Buxton, to Worksworth, to Chats worth, to Winfield. These, indeed, were pleasant places, surrounde by cultivated fields and rich woods—far different from the solitar Lochleven. Tutbury Castle stood upon a high hill, at the foot o which runs the River Dove; with Needwood Forest around it, an the Peak Mountains in the distance. Sheffield Castle was upon a eminence overlooking the little town, where "the whittle" was the forged without the tilt-hammer. In the grand old halls where Joh Talbot had held his state, Mary spent fourteen years of her captivity with a few temporary changes. Tradition says that Hardwick wa among her prison-houses; and in that fine mansion of the Tudo days we are shown her bedroom and her tapestry-work. But tra dition is wrong, according to modern archæology; * although bisho Kennet, a hundred and sixty years ago, said of Mary, "Her chambe and rooms of state, with her arms and other ensigns, are still remain ing at Hardwick; her bed was taken away for plunder in the civ wars." † But wherever Mary was, the anxiety of Elizabeth for he safe detention was unremitting. In August, 1569, Cecil writes to th earl that the queen was troubled to hear that he, Shrewsbury, wa going, or gone, to the baths at Buxton; "and," he says, "if yo were gone, which she said she would hardly believe, then I shoul seek to understand what order your lordship had left for attendanc upon the said queen, and that yourself should not be long absen from thence." Cecil adds, what may be considered as a piece o court duplicity, that "her majesty said she did as much esteem for he own honor to have the queen of Scots to be honorably attended, a for any matter of surety." ‡ Within a fortnight after this lette Shrewsbury is warned not to permit persons coming to himself or hi lady, "to have resort to the queen of Scots' presence." In anothe month the earl of Huntingdon, in consequence of the sickness o Shrewsbury, is commanded to repair to Shrewsbury's house, wit his own trusty servants, "and there to take the charge of the sai queen." In this letter from Elizabeth herself to Huntingdon sh says, "We will have you also, after conference with our said cousi of Shrewsbury, to devise how the number of the queen of Scot train might be diminished, and reduced only to thirty persons of a sorts, as was ordered, but, as we perceive, too much enlarged of lat time. You shall also, jointly with the earl of Shrewsbury, giv order that no such common resort be to the queen as hath been; no that she have such liberty to send posts as she hath done." § A short note from Cecil to Shrewsbury, of the same date, shows a caus for all this jealous vigilance: "The queen's majesty is entered int no small offence with the intention that she thinketh hath been to de vise of a marriage with the Scottish queen." ‖ We have seen how during the conferences at York, the duke of Norfolk prevailed upo the regent Murray to suppress his charges against Mary. Whe Murray was goaded into a public accusation, Norfolk was greatl angered against him; but they became reconciled, and Murray con sented to favor Norfolk's project of a marriage with Mary. In 156 this scheme was promoted by some English nobles, without the priv ity of Elizabeth; and a letter was written by Leicester and thre other lords, to Mary, urging her to consent to such a marriage, t which she returned a favorable answer. A formal contract o marriage was afterward drawn up. In August, 1569, som ladies of Elizabeth's court got to the knowledge of this secre —with the feminine "sagacity in smelling out amatory affairs." ¶ Leicester, who was subsequently accused by Norfolk as the invento of this scheme for his ruin, revealed the transaction to the queen, an was forgiven. Elizabeth then invited the duke to dine with her and, when he rose to leave, significantly told him "to beware o what pillow he laid his head." This is Camden's anecdote, no doub founded upon what was urged against the duke by the queen sergeant, upon his trial in 1572, namely, that the queen having un derstood his intention to marry with Mary, he complained to her o the rumor; "in which complaint," says the sergeant, "as I hav heard her majesty herself declare it, and some here of my lords hav

* "Melvil's Memoirs," quoted by Tytler as unquestionable authority, "as he was not only present at York, but the regent made him privy to this secret interview." See also Jardine's "Criminal Trials," vol. i. † Letter from York, October 11th, 1568.
‡ "History of Scotland," vol. vii. p. 268.

* See a paper by the Rev. J. Hunter, in "Archæologia," vol. xxxi
† Quoted in Mr. Craik's "Romance of the Peerage," vol. iii. p. 17
‡ Lodge's "Illustrations," 4to, vol. ii. p. 18.
§ Ibid., p. 21. ‖ Ibid., p 23. ¶ Camden.

likewise heard it, he said, 'To what end should I seek to marry her, being so wicked a woman, such a notorious adulteress and murderer? I love to sleep upon a safe pillow. I account myself, by your majesty's good favor, as good a prince at home in my bowling-alley at Norwich as she is, though she were in the middle of her kingdom. The revenues of the crown of Scotland are not comparable to mine own, that I enjoy by your goodness, as I have heard of the chief officers of that realm; besides, her kingdom is not in her own hand, but possessed by another. If I should seek to match with her, knowing, as I do know, that she pretendeth a title to your crown, your majesty might justly charge me with seeking to take your own crown from your head.' This the duke spake to the queen's majesty, in his excuse, when the rumor was spread of his proposed marriage with the Scottish queen; and yet, at that time, he had dealt earnestly in it." *

The duke of Norfolk was committed to the Tower on the 9th of October, where he continued a prisoner till the 4th of the following August. Cecil honestly protested against the duke being brought to trial for high treason upon insufficient evidence. But this autumn of 1569 was a period of great anxiety, which sufficiently justified the vigilance and suspicion of Elizabeth's government. Immediately after the arrest of Norfolk an insurrection broke out in the northern counties, headed by the Catholic lords, Percy, earl of Northumberland, and Neville, earl of Westmoreland. They proclaimed their design of restoring the old religion, and it was their intention to release the queen of Scots, and to place her upon the English throne. They also contemplated the release of Norfolk. Mary was hurriedly removed from Tutbury Castle to Coventry. The details of this insurrection will be better understood after a brief view of the progress of the country toward a settled government and established religion, since the accession of Queen Elizabeth.

In the desire not to interrupt the course of our narrative as regards Mary, queen of Scots, we passed over an interesting matter of public and personal history—the touching story of Lady Catherine Grey. This second sister of Lady Jane Grey had been betrothed to Lord Herbert; but upon the fortunes of the house of Suffolk falling before the ascendency of Mary Tudor, the alliance was repudiated, and Herbert was married to a daughter of the earl of Shrewsbury. After the death of the duchess of Suffolk, the niece of Henry VIII., in the first year of Elizabeth's reign, her daughter, Lady Catherine Grey, stood next to Mary Stuart as the heir to the crown after the death of Elizabeth; and, according to the will of Henry VIII., she was considered by some as having the true title to its immediate possession. Lady Catherine had a court-appointment under Elizabeth, and was the intimate friend of Jane Seymour, the daughter of the Protector Somerset, who was also one of the Maids of Honor. Her brother, Edward Seymour, who had been created earl of Hertford, was fascinated by Catherine; and these lovers were privately married, the bride being about twenty-one, and the husband a year older. Hertford went abroad in 1561, and Catherine, having been unable to conceal the consequences of this hasty union, was sent to the Tower. The widow of the protector writes to Cecil denying all knowledge of her son's marriage, and hopes the wilfulness of her unruly child will not diminish the queen's favor.† Harsh as the imprisonment of Catherine Grey may seem, we must bear in mind the extreme jealousy with which alliances of persons of royal blood, made without the consent of the reigning sovereign, have at all times been regarded. But the evidence of this marriage was not forthcoming. The young people had made their way on foot from Whitehall to the earl's house -according to their own statements after Hertford had returned home and had been also imprisoned—and a priest, whose name was unknown, had married them, the sole witness being Jane Seymour, who had soon after died. A commission of inquiry was appointed, consisting of archbishop Parker and certain divines and lawyers; and it was declared that there had been no legal marriage. A second son was born in 1563, Hertford and Catherine being still in confinement. Some additional severity was now thought necessary, and Hertford was fined in three several sums of five thousand pounds, by process in the Star Chamber. ‡ From this period, till her death in 1568, Catherine continued under the queen's displeasure; and there are some touching letters of her uncle, which show how deeply she felt this anger, which kept her in a dishonorable position, and separated her from him who she maintained was her true husband. But the common narratives which state that she wore out her life in strict confinement in the Tower, and there died, are not founded in fact. We can trace the course of her suffering years of marriage distinctly, from authentic documents. She was sent to the Tower in August, 1561. Her rooms were furnished somewhat sumptuously by the queen's command; but, according to the petition of the lieutenant of the Tower, who, in September, 1563, asked to have "the stuff" for his perquisite, it was "most of it so torn and tattered with her monkeys and dogs as will serve to small purpose." Catherine and her husband were removed from the Tower in August, 1563, on account of the plague having broken out in London; the lady being given to the charge of her uncle, Lord John Grey. The displeasure of Elizabeth might probably have passed away, had not John Hales, a partisan of the claims of the house of Suffolk to the crown, published a book in April, 1564, in which he attempted to confute the pretensions of the Scottish queen, and maintained the validity of the marriage of Hertford and Catherine Grey. On May 26th, 1564, we find that the earl of Hertford was committed to the custody of the lieutenant of the Tower; * but the common statement that both he and his wife were recommitted to that prison in 1565 appears to be supported by no very clear evidence. Catherine's uncle died in November, 1564, and she was then given in charge to Mr. Secretary Petre. On the 14th of May, 1566, Sir John Wentworth writes to the council, saying he has received a letter from the queen commanding him to take charge of the Lady Catherine, but he prays to be excused. But no doubt the responsibility was forced upon him, for on the 2d of October, 1567, the queen directs Sir Owen Hopton, in consequence of the demise of Sir John Wentworth, to take into his charge the Lady Catherine Grey, but to keep her from the access of all strangers. On the 11th of January, 1568, Hopton writes to Cecil that she has kept her bed three days. On the 27th of that month she died at his house at Yoxford, in Suffolk. The common assertion that she, who was reserved for a more lingering misery than her sister Jane, died in the Tower, is altogether incorrect. There is a very affecting account of the death-bed of this poor lady, and her last conversation with Sir Owen Hopton; who, perceiving her draw near her end, said to a bystander, "Were it not best to send to the church, that the bell be rung." † Upon this subject we have received the following interesting communication: ‡

"When vicar of Yoxford, in Suffolk, I found the record of her burial there. It was the first entry I noticed in the register. This led me to examine the manuscript in the British Museum, giving an account, as stated, of her death in the Tower. The heading of the manuscript, indeed, is to this effect; but the heading is not in the handwriting of the original scribe, and is of more recent date. The error is obvious, and so is its cause. Sir Owen Hopton, afterward lieutenant of the Tower, § was present, and asked, Should the passing bell be tolled? The writer of the heading was not aware that Sir Owen Hopton was lord of Yoxford, and that Catherine resided under his charge at Cockfield Hall. Here her great chest with the royal arms of England may be still seen. One of the heralds in his Visitations mentions the affecting story of her lap-dog persisting to lie upon her grave there, and expiring in sorrow for her loss."

The Lady Mary Grey, the youngest daughter of Frances Brandon, made also a rash marriage with Elizabeth's sergeant porter. She, the least of the court, married the biggest gentleman—as Cecil described them. They also had to endure the anger of the queen, and were sent to prison. The tiny woman survived her husband, but died many years before Elizabeth.

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* Jardine, p. 162.

† "Calendar of State Papers," August 22d, 1561.

‡ The legitimacy of the children of this marriage was established in 1606, by an action at law, when the priest who married Hertford and Catherine was produced.

* "Calendar of State Papers."

† Harl. MS., Ellis, Second Series, vol. ii. p. 288.

‡ Letter to the author of this history, from the Rev. Joseph d'Arcy Sirr, D.D., Assistant Chaplain to the Forces.

§ The first notice of Sir Owen Hopton being lieutenant of the Tower is found ("Calendar of State Papers") under the date of March, 1571.

CHAPTER LXXI.

General view of the first ten years of Elizabeth—Movement of Rome against Protestantism—The persecutions in the Netherlands and in France—Intrigues against Elizabeth—Insurrection of the north—Pius V. issues a bull of excommunication against Elizabeth—Parliament of 1571—Statutes against papists—Puritanical party in the House of Commons—Motion for reform of abuses in the Church—Trial and execution of the duke of Norfolk—Troubles of Scotland—The Huguenots of France propitiated by the marriage of the prince of Navarre—Coligny shot—The massacre of Saint Bartholomew resolved upon—Its perpetration—Effect of the news upon the court and people of England—New danger of the queen of Scots.

The contemporaries of Elizabeth regarded the first ten years of her reign as "her halcyon days." The transition from the fiery Catholicism of Mary Tudor to the temperate Protestantism of her sister Elizabeth had been accomplished without bloodshed or convulsion. In the parliament of 1559 the nation was quietly led back to its ecclesiastical condition in the time of Edward VI.; and conformity was not rendered difficult or impossible by any needless stringency toward those who adhered to the old religion. In the parliament of 1563 measures of a stronger character were adopted against papists. Symptoms began to manifest themselves of a more active opposition to the civil and religious settlement under Elizabeth, induced by the arguments of Catholic teachers who were spread about the country. Some persons, lay and ecclesiastical, were deterred from conformity, and others left the realm. But still there was no outbreak produced either by supineness or persecution. The parliament of 1566 passed no new law that, in any matter of importance, touched the subject of religion. Differences of opinion as to ceremonial observances had arisen among the English Protestants themselves; and those who were called Puritans were fast becoming an organized power. But at the time when Mary Stuart had crossed the Solway, and the great question of policy had been raised as to her detention, the state of Protestantism in Europe, upon the maintenance of which in England the government of Elizabeth was to stand or fall, was one of great insecurity and alarm. The halcyon days were fast passing away. The people of this country had been prospering in the labors of peace. They had been extending their commerce to distant lands where the benefits of intercommunication had been little appreciated by earlier adventurers. Their sailors had gone forth to make maritime discoveries. Frobisher was seeking a new passage to India; and Hawkins had found a fresh source of wealth in the hateful African slave-trade. Gresham was building an exchange in London, where the merchants of all nations might meet to buy and sell. The great principles of commerce were so far understood that merchandise was allowed to be exported and imported in foreign ships upon the payment of alien imposts; and the English and Flemish merchants united their contributions for marine insurance. The people were lightly taxed, for the government was an economical one. Whatever were the religious differences of the community, its various members united peaceably in the duties of their several callings. They felt that they were under a firm government; and in the security of such a government, despotic enough but not corrupt or lavish, the wealth and intelligence of England were steadily progressing.

In 1568, when Elizabeth and her ministers were displaying toward Mary Stuart a policy which it is easy to call unjust and cruel, treacherous and ungenerous, the heretical queen of England and her Protestant subjects were the objects of the bitterest hatred of those who thought the time was come to extirpate heresy by fire and sword. A Dominican monk of the severest life—a zealot who had distinguished himself as an inquisitor—became pope in 1566, under the title of Pius V. A more furious bigot never sat on the papal throne; and his bigotry was the more terrible from the circumstance that it was conscientious. When he sent a force to the aid of the French Catholics, he told their leader "to take no Huguenot prisoner, but instantly to kill every one that fell into his hands." * When the savage duke of Alva was butchering without remorse in the Netherlands, the holy father sent him a consecrated hat and sword, in admiration of his Christian proceedings. Pius V. avowed his desire to devote the treasures of the Church, even to its chalices and crucifixes, to carry a religious war into England, and to head such an expedition himself. The influence of this frantic persecutor over kings who made their religious intolerance an instrument of their cruel tyranny, such as Philip II., was enormous. This pope of the Inquisition, as he has been called, arose, with his sole idea of extirpating heresy by force, at a time when the two great religious principles were coming into open conflict. The period for accommodation had passed away. In 1568 Alva was appointed by Philip captain-general of the Netherlands. His mission was to destroy the heretics, root and branch; and he accomplished his work with a success that left his master and his master's holy counsellor nothing to desire. While Alva was, in Valenciennes, Ghent, Brussels, Antwerp, hanging, beheading, racking, burning, and confiscating, the secretary of Philip said to the papal nuncio, "Are you now satisfied with the proceedings of the king?" The smiling nuncio answered, "Quite satisfied." The tribunal which condemned the victims whom their officers had ferreted out was called the "Council of Blood." From the great commercial cities of the Netherlands there were hosts of fugitives, although the most terrible penalties were denounced against those who attempted to fly. Many came for refuge to England. The same asylum was sought by Huguenots of France, when the hopes of their party were destroyed on the field of Moncontour. They said:

> "Our hearths we abandon, our lands we resign;
> But, Father, we kneel to no altar but thine." *

Among these refugees were not only a great number who professed Calvinistic opinions, but others who carried their principle of liberty of conscience into the avowal of doctrines which even liberal Protestants considered dangerous. Those who were opposed to infant baptism were held, with great injustice, to belong to the old sect of Anabaptists, whose social opinions were deemed adverse to all regular government. While the general body of exiles, by the recital of their injuries, diffused a popular hatred of papal persecution, some strengthened that dislike to many of the ceremonial observances of the English Church, which gradually established a large class who, in their hatred of popery, would tolerate no forms that appeared derived from the ancient worship. A few became obnoxious to that intolerance which, in the earlier days of the Reformation, hunted out those who, deservedly or not, were suspected of holding to the opinions which John of Leyden rendered infamous. But the Puritan doctrines, or the more heterodox, as yet gave slight trouble to the government of Elizabeth, compared with the civil and religious dangers apprehended in the present crisis of Catholic hostility to every form of Protestantism. The furious pope had his agents in England denouncing the queen as a heretic. Philip was maturing plots by advances of money to his spies in London. Alva was devising plans for an invasion of the island that had cast off the successor of St. Peter. Around Mary Stuart were concentred all the intrigues that sought to place the orthodox and legitimate descendant of Henry VII. upon the throne of the heretical and illegitimate daughter of Anne Boleyn. The insurrection of the north, of 1569, was no immature combination of a few discontented papist nobles, but a result of the general movement against the reformers that was agitating Europe. Those who regard this crisis through the thick veil of their sentimentalities about the unfortunate Scottish queen, with the usual trashy belief in Elizabeth's jealousy of her superior charms, will do well to abstain from the study of what they call history, and surrender themselves with an undivided trust to the professed writers of poetry and romance. History has to deal with serious truths, and not with morbid sympathies and blind nationalities. It was the glory of the first ten years of Elizabeth's reign that "no English blood had been shed on the scaffold or in the field for a public quarrel, whether civil or religious." † If, during the next twenty years, we have, amid a constant advance of national prosperity, to trace the course of conspiracies and insurrections, we must look at England as the arena where the two great principles that were dividing Europe were fought out. The victory remained with the sagacious statesmen who best understood the character of the nation—statesmen led by a ruler unsurpassed in the highest attributes of a

* Ranke, vol. i., p. 282.

* Macaulay, "Essay on the Huguenots."

sovereign; one who in every danger was equal to the emergency; who felt the grandeur of her position as the head of the Reformation; whose force of character made that Protestantism secure which was once more than doubtful; who in the hour of her greatest trial, when the Catholic world gathered together all its strength to crush the heretic islanders, threw herself boldly upon the affections of her people, one and all, and the danger was overpast; the sovereign to whom we chiefly owe that, after the lapse of three hundred years, the faith which she built up is so safe that it allows the widest toleration to take the place of the exclusive conformity of her time. This is the queen that history should paint. The foibles of the woman belong to a lower province of literature.

In the autumn of 1569 there were symptoms of disquiet in the northern counties. Cecil, in a letter of the 13th of October, to the earls of Shrewsbury and Huntingdon, says, in a postscript, "My lords: It may be that you have [heard] or shall hear of a fond rumor stirred up the 6th of this month, in the North Riding and the Bishopric, of a rising should be; but it was a vain smoke, but without any spark of any account." * When the wary minister wrote this he probably knew perfectly well that the smoke was not without fire. The general disaffection of the northern Catholics was well known. Sadler wrote, from the border counties, "There are not in all this country ten gentlemen that do favor and allow of her majesty's proceedings in the cause of religion." † Dr. Norton, who had been a prebendary of York in the time of Queen Mary, had come from Rome with the title of apostolical penitentiary. He had incited the Catholic priests and the northern gentlemen by statements that the pope was about to issue a bull of deposition against Elizabeth. He was a relative of the families of Norton and Markenfeld, whom Mary Stuart numbered among her friends. The earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland were in secret communication with her. The adroitness by which Mary contrived to elude the vigilance of those who had her custody is one of the most remarkable points of her character. She was always borne up by the belief that she had the right to the throne filled by Elizabeth, and that the people of England would support her in that right if she had her liberty. The arrest of Norfolk precipitated the insurrection. The schemes for foreign aid were devised but not perfected. Alva was to have sent an auxiliary force to land at Hartlepool. These schemes and preparations could not be concealed from the vigilance of Elizabeth's ministers. On the 10th of November the earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland were summoned to repair to court. Apprehensive of arrest, Northumberland marched with his vassals to join Westmoreland at the castle of Brancepeth. There was no longer any disguise. A proclamation was issued, addressed to all professing the Catholic faith, to restore the ancient worship; and the earls marched on to Durham with a banner representing the bleeding Saviour—"the banner of the five wounds." It was borne by a brave old man, whose fate, and the fate of his eight sons, have been preserved from the oblivion of dry annals by the legends which a true poet has invested with almost historical reality. ‡ The Nortons of Rylstone may claim our tears; but we have little pity for the weak earls, who, when Sussex appeared against them with a strong force, fled to Scotland, leaving their followers to the terrible vengeance that followed a suppressed revolt. Northumberland, after a confinement of several years at Lochleven, was given up to the English government and executed. Westmoreland died an exile in Flanders. There was a subsequent revolt under Lord Dacres of the North, which was put down after a battle, in which the Catholics fought with desperation. The English Bible and Common Prayer had been burned by the insurgents of 1569, in the cathedral of Durham. Their avowed intention was to march to Tutbury and release Mary. Had they succeeded the nation would have been plunged into a terrible civil war. The Catholics of the thinly-inhabited border counties were numerous as well as desperate; but the Protestants of the more densely peopled parts of England, and especially of the great towns, were far too united to have the old worship forced back upon them, the contest involving a new struggle for the crown. Their horror of the past days of martyrdoms—their dread of a foreign domination with a Council of Blood and an Inquisition—made the ascendant party furious and the government revengeful. The triumph of 1569 was disgraced by fearful executions. It might have been disgraced by a more terrible act of vengeance. There is a letter written by Leicester to Walsingham in 1586, in which he urges the execution of the queen of Scots, and says, "Remember how, upon a less cause, how effectually all the Council of England once dealt with her majesty for justice to be done upon that person; for, being suspected and informed to be consenting with Northumberland and Westmoreland in the rebellion, you know the great seal of England was sent them, and thought just and meet, upon the sudden, for her execution." * Had the powers of the great seal thus been exercised—and the expressions of Leicester do not imply that any trial was contemplated—the reign of Elizabeth would have been stained with a greater crime than the eventual execution of Mary, after seventeen years more of hopeless plots and ever-present suspicions. But, whatever justification there may have been for the intrigues to recover liberty and power made by this victim of an almost insurmountable state necessity, there can be no doubt that her life was a constant source of alarm to the English nation, and that at every hostile movement against Protestantism her death was loudly called for. If the unhappy Mary had warm friends among the Catholic party in both divisions of the island; if there were many who regarded her as innocent of the crimes laid to her charge, and were touched by a real pity for her misfortunes, the great body of the English people, who lived in security under the sagacious government of the queen, and looked with admiration upon her extraordinary abilities and strength of character, would have most gladly heard of the removal, even by some violence, to which long years of despotism had familiarized them, of one whom they justly regarded as a public enemy. The nation was in a more earnest mood than when it had quietly passed from the Protestantism of Edward to the Catholicism of Mary, and back again to the Protestantism of Elizabeth. The number of enthusiasts on either side was rapidly increasing. Puritan and Jesuit were coming into closer warfare. There was a great battle of principle still to be waged by the reformers; for their victory could scarcely be held as thoroughly achieved. Opposed to them were men as zealous and more united. The power of the state was with the Protestant cause; the ancient habit of implicit obedience to the head of the universal church gave a coherence to every movement of the Romanists. When Pius V., on the 25th of February, 1570, signed the threatened bull of excommunication against Elizabeth, which anathematized her and her adherents as heretics, absolved all her subjects from their oath of allegiance, and enjoined them, under pain of excommunication, not to obey her commands, it was not likely that the principles at issue would approach nearer to accommodation. We are told by the Catholic historian, "The time was gone by when the thunders of the Vatican could shake the thrones of princes." † When Alva sent copies of the bull to England, and Felton, an enthusiastic Catholic, fixed it up on the gates of the bishop of London's residence, they could scarcely have meant its publicity as harmless sport. Felton was executed; but he died avowing himself a martyr, and gave the queen the title of "the pretender." There was at this time a conspiracy detected in Norfolk. With a less vigilant government the thunder might not only have alarmed, but the lightning might have struck. The danger was not so much to be apprehended from the Catholics in a united body, as from the Jesuits and refugee priests who were constantly passing from the continent to England to dissuade the wavering from conformity, and to stimulate the hostile to acts of rebellion. An English college for these zealous missionaries had been established at Douay, about a year before the issue of the bull of excommunication. The natural issue of these attempts to shake the government and the established religion was the enactment of more stringent laws against Roman Catholics—laws which, in the happier spirit of our own age, we may justly decry as harsh and unjust, but which we can scarcely venture to consider as simply tyrannical.

The parliament met on the 2d of April, 1571, after a suspension of legislation for more than four years. The speech of the lord-keeper, Sir Nicholas Bacon, sets forth with considerable eloquence the past blessings of the queen's reign—the setting at liberty God's

* Lodge, vol. ii. p. 26. † Quoted in Lingard, vol. viii. p. 54.
‡ Wordsworth, "White Doe of Rylstone."

* "Leycester Correspondence," edited by Mr. Bruce, p. 431.
† Lingard, vol. viii. p. 67.

Word, and deliverance from Roman tyranny; the inestimable benefit of peace, and the clemency and mercy of the government. "I pray you," he says, "hath it been seen or read that any prince of this realm during ten whole years' reign and more hath had his hands so clean from blood?" That this peace had been disturbed and this clemency interrupted, he then imputes to "the raging Romanist rebels." This is the prelude to the first statute of the session which makes it treason to set forth that the queen ought not to possess the crown, but some other persons; or to affirm that she is a heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel, or usurper. The second clause of this statute is evidently directed against Mary Stuart, enacting that all persons of any degree, nation, or estate, who during the queen's life should claim title to the crown should be disabled from inheriting the same; and that any claimant to the right of succession, contrary to any proclamation on the matter that might be issued by the queen, should be declared guilty of high treason. The queen's advisers were desirous to carry the principle of exclusion further, and to make a law that the queen of Scots was unable and unworthy to succeed. A committee of the Commons presented an address to Elizabeth, asking her to proceed criminally against Mary. Divines and statesmen concurred in urging violent measures against the prisoner. With archbishop Parker she was "one desperate person." With Walsingham she was "that dangerous woman." Each called for "justice." It is the fashion to represent Elizabeth as always thirsting for her rival's blood; yet it is perfectly clear that she resisted council and parliament when they called for extreme proceedings against "the pretended Scottish queen." Parker asked for justice upon the desperate person that "the papists' daily expectation" might be "vanquished." The difficulties of the crisis were held to be met by the enactment of strong laws against the papists themselves. The statute of the 5th of Elizabeth against upholding the jurisdiction of the See of Rome had been transgressed by bringing in bulls and instruments of absolution. It was now enacted that the putting in use or publishing any such bull, or giving absolution under the same, or obtaining such an instrument from Rome, shall be adjudged high treason; and that such as brought into the kingdom crosses, pictures, beads, or other "vain and superstitious things," claiming to be hallowed by the bishop of Rome, or under his authority, should incur the penalties of præmunire. This statute was more comprehensive in its severity than at first sight appears; for the outward conformity of Romanists had been tolerated under absolution, without which they were excluded from the communion of their own church. How far it was politic to force the pliant and wavering into the established religion against the rights of conscience, or to render them liable to extreme dangers in asserting these rights, is a question of which we cannot wholly judge. Of the injustice of such a proceeding there can be no doubt. But we cannot quite go along with the belief of one whose opinion is entitled to the utmost respect, that "the nation, as it was clearly ready to profess either religion, would, beyond all doubt, have been ready to tolerate both;" and that "Elizabeth might have united all conflicting sects under the shelter of the same impartial law and the same paternal throne, and thus have placed the nation in the same situation, as far as the rights of conscience are concerned, in which we at last stand."* We can as readily believe that, without the experience of three centuries, Elizabeth might have bestowed upon her people the relief from the system of commercial restriction which we have at length attained. "Confidence," said Chatham, "is a plant of slow growth;" and so is toleration. Lament as we may with the great historian over "the heart-burnings, the persecutions, the conspiracies, the seditions, the revolutions, the judicial murders, the civil wars, of ten generations," we have no assurance that the rights of conscience could have been established without such fearful trials of a nation's courage and endurance. While the storm of papal bigotry was raging in the Netherlands and in France—while Knox was proclaiming in Scotland that one mass was more fearful to him than ten thousand armed men, and carrying the people with him—it is difficult to imagine that England could have been smoothed into a perfect indifferentism, or that England would have been what she is if she had been so "rocked and dandled" into liberality. But there was, moreover, a strong party in England that would not have endured anything approaching to union between Protestant and Roman Catholic. The act of the 5th of Elizabeth, which excluded Roman Catholics from the House of Commons, gave an ascendency in that house to the more earnest reformers—those who had very influential supporters in the queen's own councils, though their hostility to any ceremony or practice of the Church supposed to be an approach to the old worship was very obnoxious to the queen herself. That contest between the establishment and the Puritans which convulsed England for many a year, and of which the traces are by no means extinct, was actively beginning before the "halcyon days" were past. That spirit which would admit of no toleration for papists had, in a few years, to fight its own battle against intolerance. But the "ice-brook temper" of the sword, then in its sheath, which was to be drawn seventy years afterward, was known to some in this parliament. A motion for a further reformation of religion was made in the House of Commons on the 6th of April, by Mr. Strickland, "a grave and ancient man, of great zeal," says the reporter, Sir Simonds d'Ewes. Having set forth various abuses, he moved that a convenient number of the house might have conference with the lords spiritual. During the Easter recess Mr. Strickland was called before the Privy Council, and commanded not to resume his seat in the house. Then rose in his place Mr. Carleton, and moved that Mr. Strickland should be sent for to the bar of the house, "forasmuch as he was not now a private man, but specially chosen to supply the room of a multitude;" and Mr. Yelverton "showed it was fit for princes to have their prerogatives, but yet the same to be straitened within reasonable limits." The ministers of Elizabeth understood the force of such words, and they whispered with the speaker. The debate was suspended; and the next day Mr. Strickland took his seat, amid cheers whose echoes reverberated in that chapel of St. Stephen when kings, long afterward, had forgotten their import.

The duke of Norfolk had been released from his imprisonment in the Tower on the 4th of August, 1570. On the 7th of September, 1571, he was again arrested. During the thirteen months of his comparative freedom he was in a sort of honorable custody, and was not called to council or to parliament. Before his release from the Tower he had sent a declaration to the queen, in which he had solemnly engaged "never to deal in that cause of marriage of the queen of Scots, nor in any other cause belonging to her, but as your majesty shall command me." In April, 1571, a correspondence was detected, which showed that some treasonable project was in course of formation. Further correspondence was intercepted in August, and various persons were arrested. Among these was the bishop of Ross, who, after pleading in vain that his privilege as an ambassador from the queen of Scots ought to shield him from answering questions, made a full declaration, which was corroborated by the confessions of the other prisoners. The duke was tried on a charge of high treason by his peers, on the 16th of January, 1572. All the previous transactions connected with the plan of marriage with the queen of Scots were entered into; and it was urged that his continued desire for that alliance had a view to Mary's claim to the present possession of the crown of England. This was very slight matter upon which to found the accusation of an overt act of treason. The more serious charge was, that through the agency of Rudolphi, an Italian, who had been sent by Mary to the pope, the king of Spain, and the duke of Alva, he had received assurances of the support of these personages to a plan for uniting Mary with the duke, for seizing the person of Elizabeth, and for landing a foreign army in England. Mr. Jardine, in his excellent report of this great trial, expresses his opinion, from a critical examination of the voluminous documents connected with the Rudolphi conspiracy, that, "though the duke was probably a tool in the hands of persons more artful than himself, he probably participated in the scheme." The trial itself was conducted with such fairness as is compatible with evidence mainly resting upon the confessions of absent persons, some of which were extorted by the rack or by its terror. Norfolk was unanimously condemned; but his execution was deferred till the 2d of June. Again and again Elizabeth revoked the warrant which consigned him to the block. The duke was the chief of the English nobles. He was of royal lineage. He was the son of the illustrious Surrey who had perished under the jealousy of her father. There were many causes for Elizabeth hesitating when, for the first time, she was called to shed the blood of an English peer, besides the dissimulation which some are ready to impute

* Macaulay, "Essays—Burleigh and his Times."

to her. There is a real struggle of mind to be traced in her letter to Burleigh, received by him at two o'clock of the morning of the 11th of April, when, in her obscure style, she writes, "My lord, methinks that I am more beholding to the hinder part of my head than well dare trust the forward side of the same, and therefore sent to the lieutenant and the S. [sheriff ?], as you know best, the order to defer the execution till they hear further . . . The causes that move me to this are not now to be expressed, lest an irrevocable deed be in mean while committed." *

The spectacle of a great nobleman perishing upon the scaffold was not among the experiences of the rising generation of England. The catastrophe of Norfolk made a popular impression in proportion to the rarity of such an exhibition. The very aspect of the place of punishment was suggestive of political remembrances. "Upon Tower Hill," says Holinshed, "a scaffold had been builded many years ago, serving for execution; which being old was both rotten and ruinous. For Queen Elizabeth having with mercy governed her commonwealth, there was no punishment there inflicted upon any for the space of fourteen years; wherefore a new scaffold must needs be made." The penalty which the duke had incurred by meddling with the affair of the queen of Scots could not deter others from the same dangerous course. Two Derbyshire gentlemen were tried and executed in May, upon a charge of having corresponded with Mary for the purpose of delivering her from the custody of the earl of Shrewsbury. The affairs of Scotland had become more and more distracted since the period of the detention of the queen. The regent Murray had been assassinated, from motives of private revenge, at Linlithgow, in January, 1570. Lennox, the father of Darnley, had succeeded him. He, also, was assassinated in September, 1571. The country was enduring some of the worst miseries of a civil war between the two factions of Catholic and Presbyterian, contending, one in the name of Mary, and the other in the name of her son. On the 30th of July, 1572, there was a truce between these fierce opponents; and it is possible that some negotiations might have successfully proceeded between those who made the restoration of Mary a condition of pacification, and the reformers, who might have thought it possible to secure their ascendency, even under "the wicked woman" whom Knox continued to denounce, had not an event occurred which produced a rage against the Romanists, both in England and Scotland, compared with which all previous indignation was moderate.

The Huguenots of France were a body isolated from their countrymen, who viewed them with dislike — sometimes conciliated and sometimes persecuted by the court, as their support was sought or rejected by the mere ambitious factions that alternately prevailed. In 1570 a treaty was concluded between them and the young king, Charles IX., who professed great anxiety for reconciliation with this portion of his subjects. The great Huguenot leader, Coligny, admiral of France, was earnestly pressed to repair to the king's court; to which, after some manifestations of distrust, he went in the autumn of 1571. The sister of Charles was pressed in marriage upon the prince of Navarre, afterward Henry IV.; and that marriage was celebrated with great magnificence on the 18th of August, 1572. England had made a treaty with France, which had for one of its objects to wrest the Netherlands from Spain; and the advisers of Elizabeth had recommended a marriage with the duke of Alençon, the younger son of Catherine de Medici, who had given intimation of his disposition to favor the Protestants. Like many other recommendations of her council and her parliament, the queen of England treated this proposal with civility, but with a secret determination, from whatever cause it proceeded, not to marry at all. Under these circumstances the apprehension that there was a deep confederacy for the annihilation of Protestantism began to be lessened. The Huguenots were drawn in large numbers to Paris by the festivities of the marriage of the French princess with Henry of Navarre, their acknowledged head. On the 22d of August Coligny was shot from the window of a house occupied by a dependant of the duke of Guise. His wounds were not dangerous. The king, with his mother, Catherine, visited the wounded man. The queen-mother could ill disguise her alarm when the admiral began to speak earnestly with the king, while the house was filled with Coligny's armed retainers. She had concerted the assassination with the duke of Anjou and the duchess of Nemours, whose first husband had been slain by a Huguenot. A cautious historian says, speaking of Catherine de Medici, "The Huguenots won over the king, and appeared to supplant her influence over him. This personal danger put an end to all delay. With that resistless and magical power which she possessed over her children, she reawakened all the slumbering fanaticism of her son. It cost her but one word to rouse the populace to arms, and that word she spoke. Every individual Huguenot of note was delivered over to the vengeance of his personal enemy." * This is, perhaps, a better solution of a disputed question than the theory that Charles IX., a very young man, weak and impulsive, vacillating and ferocious, was such a master of dissimulation that for several years he could have deceived the English ambassador, Walsingham, into a belief that he was favorable to the Protestants while meditating their destruction. On the other hand, the jealousy of Catherine is a more rational explanation of her conduct than the belief that the Massacre of St. Bartholomew had been part of a plan for the extirpation of Protestantism, settled between that fearful woman and the duke of Alva, in their conferences at Bayonne, in 1564. These questions have formed the subject of much historical controversy. The terrible events that followed the attempt to assassinate Coligny admit of no dispute. On the 23d of August, according to the account given by Charles himself to his sister Margaret, after the noontide dinner of the court, he was told of a treasonable conspiracy of the Huguenots against himself and his family. It would be necessary, his relations said, to anticipate the designs of the conspirators by their previous destruction. He gave his consent, and expressed his hope that not a single Huguenot would be left alive to reproach him with the deed. Night had descended upon Paris. There was no alarm, as bands of assassins silently congregated in the streets. A signal was to be given when the work of slaughter was to commence. The king, his mother, and Anjou sate amid darkness and stillness in a balcony of the Louvre. The noise of a pistol is heard, and Charles trembles in the agony of guilty expectation. At length the clocks of Paris strike two. Then the bell of St. Germain l'Auxerrois tolled forth the signal. The duke of Guise bursts into the defenceless courts where Coligny slept, and three hundred men slaughter him and his followers. His body is cast out of the window, and the cry of "Death to the Huguenots," amid the sound of the tocsin, wakes up the fanatical citizens, and one universal butchery of the Protestants is being accomplished. For three days the slaughter goes on; and the fury extends to Orleans, Lyons, Troyes, Rouen, Toulouse, Bordeaux, and other towns. We may choose what estimate we please of the number of victims, from the highest estimate of a hundred thousand to the extenuating calculation of Dr. Lingard that there might be about sixteen hundred. Whatever was the number, the massacre was considered as a glorious triumph for the Catholics. The pope, now Gregory XIII., celebrated the event by a solemn procession; and the pious Venetians expressed their satisfaction at this mark of God's favor. Charles, in his dispatches to foreign courts, bewailed the massacre, and imputed it to the populace of Paris. To his parliament he avowed himself the author, and claimed the glory of having given peace to his kingdom. He sent an ambassador to England to explain away the causes of this termination of his proposed tender mercies to the Protestants. The queen was at Woodstock; and when the envoy was admitted to a public audience he had to pass between two lines of lords and ladies in deep mourning. Not a word was uttered as he advanced toward the queen, who also wore the deepest black. It was the chamber of death which he seemed to have entered. Motionless and silent was every courtier as he made his salutations. Elizabeth heard with perfect calmness the lying excuses which he was intrusted to utter. Charles wrote letters to her, which she first refused to answer; but afterward replied to with courteous words. But her measured civility produced an impression in France that Elizabeth was about to arm. There was a general terror in England that the example of St. Bartholomew's Day would spread. The bishop of London writes to Lord Burleigh, on the 5th of September, "These evil times trouble all good men's heads, and make their hearts ache, fearing that this barbarous treachery will not cease in France, but will reach over unto us. . . . Hasten her majesty homeward; her safe return to London will comfort many

* Ellis, First Series, vol. ii. p. 263.

* Ranke, "History of the Popes," vol. ii. p. 69.

hearts oppressed with fear." The bishop, Edwin Sandys, then advises, among other precautions, "Forthwith to cut off the Scottish queen's head." Walsingham writes from France that "certain unsound members must be cut off," for "violent diseases will have violent remedies." Elizabeth would not comply with these suggestions, pressed on her, as they were, by the terrors of her subjects and the counsels of her ministers. But there appears little doubt that she was cognizant of a plot between some of these ministers and the earl of Mar, the regent of Scotland, to deliver Mary up, that she might be put to death by her own people. It is not so clear, as Mr. Tytler believes, that she was to be secretly made away with. The death of Mar put an end to these dark intrigues; and Burleigh was left to make his moan that "if her majesty will continue her delays for providing for her own surety by just means given to her by God, she and we shall vainly call upon God when the calamity shall fall upon us." Those means "for her own surety" were not employed by the queen for fourteen years; and, however indefensible they may have been when called into exercise, it is an abuse of historical evidence to represent that her perpetual anxiety was to get rid of her hated rival. There might be deep policy in Elizabeth's delays; but her jealousies and fears must have been under some subjection to a higher feeling, when she was hounded on by those in whom she had the surest trust—by the petitions of the Commons and the clamor of the populace—to do a deed for which all the bells of London would have rung, but which she shrunk from, to remain in perpetual apprehension of losing crown and life. Unless we can believe, against all proof, that such danger was imaginary, we must be content to think that each of these queens was the victim of a sad necessity; and that some of the wretchedness which Mary had to endure in her lonely prisons was not unfelt by Elizabeth in her gorgeous court. But it awakens, indeed, a painful contrast to imagine the one queen wearing out her life in some inaccessible castle: working tapestry with her maidens in gloomy rooms, walking in the narrow garden or gazing from the guarded turret, waiting eagerly for news which never comes, sending secret letters which are intercepted, watched by a stately earl and his haughty countess, and then to read of the other making joyful progresses, and smiling upon loving subjects, borne on the willing shoulders of handsome courtiers, amid "throngs of knights" and "store of ladies," feasting at Kenilworth with Leicester, or opening the Royal Exchange with Gresham, speaking Greek with the Greek professor at Oxford, or correcting the exercises of the scholars at Eton. It is indeed a sad contrast. But in our pity for the one queen we must not forego our respect for the other—for the queen who, despotic as she was, always relied upon the people—who, as Mr. Macaulay has most justly said, "did not treat the nation as an adverse party;" the queen under whose auspices Drake circumnavigated the world, and Raleigh founded Virginia; the queen whose name will be ever associated with the splendid literature of her age, for that sprang out of the emancipation of the national mind which she was the great instrument of accomplishing.

CHAPTER LXXII.

Jesuits in England—Campion—Increased severities against Papists—Expedition to the Netherlands—Leicester in the Netherlands—Death of Sir Philip Sidney—Naval successes under Drake—Babington's conspiracy—Trial of the conspirators—Alleged complicity of Mary in the plot—Mary's papers seized—She is removed to Fotheringay Castle.

From the terrible day of Saint Bartholomew in 1572 to the detection of the conspiracy against the life of Elizabeth in 1586, the struggles between the two great principles of Romansim and Protestantism was incessant in England. The government was earnestly supported in this contest by what was now a large majority of its subjects; for although the opinions of the Puritans had become a serious source of alarm to the Established Church, this party never swerved from a general loyalty to the queen, even under persecution. We shall defer, till another chapter, a general notice of this Protestant schism, and here confine ourselves to a rapid view of the events in which the hostility between the old and the new religions was the principal element.

In 1580 the pope, Gregory XIII., at the suggestion of William Allen, dispatched a body of Jesuits to England. The mission of these religious enthusiasts was to attempt the reconversion of the heretic islanders. They were led and organized by Robert Parsons and Edmond Campion, who had formerly belonged to colleges in Oxford, and had been avowed Protestants before their conversion to Romanism. Out of the college of Douay, in which Campion was professor of divinity, came many of those ardent spirits who professed to interpret the bull of Pius V. against Elizabeth in a purely religious sense, but who, nevertheless, were not regarded by the English government as other than secret and most dangerous traitors. The parliament of 1581 met this inroad of able Englishmen, trained in the school of Loyola to extraordinary subtlety and invincible determination, by the most stringent enactments. The first Act of the session of the 23d of Elizabeth recites that the statute against bringing in bulls and writings from Rome has been evaded; and that "divers evil-affected persons have practised contrary to the meaning of the said statute, by other means than by bulls written and printed, to withdraw the queen's majesty's subjects from their natural obedience to her majesty," etc. This is distinctly levelled against those who interpreted the decrees of the see of Rome through their oral communications; who, invested with especial authority, moved quietly about from town to town, and from village to village; who were cherished and concealed in mansions where they were cautiously introduced to persons of wavering opinions. The statute makes it a treasonable offence to pretend to any power of absolving subjects from their obedience, or practising to withdraw them to the Romish religion; and all subjects thus willingly absolved or withdrawn from their obedience were also to be deemed traitors. Those who said mass or attended mass, and those who did not attend church, were subject to heavy penalties. The proceedings against Campion and others are such as strikingly exhibit the unfairness and cruelty of trials for treason, as then conducted. Campion was arrested in Berkshire, in July, 1581, and was lodged in the Tower with two other priests. He was tortured, and revealed the names of those who had sheltered him. He was questioned, again and again, upon the power of the pope to depose sovereigns, and, his answers being evasive, he was racked with increased severity. Finally he was tried for high treason, not under the statute of 1581, but under that of Edward III., for compassing and imagining the queen's death. Others were tried and convicted with him; but three were spared, who renounced the pope's deposing power. It was a principle of the Jesuits that the pope had an undoubted right to deprive kings of their crowns. The Romanist exiles had proclaimed throughout Europe that the heretic Elizabeth was an usurper. The English government rested its defence of the severities which it had practised upon the ground that the persecutions were not directed against religious tenets; that Catholics, whether of the laity or the priesthood, lived unmolested on the score of their faith, when they paid due temporal allegiance to their sovereign; and that none were indicted for treason but such as obstinately maintained the pope's bull depriving the queen of the crown. Gregory XIII. had opened the door to evasion of this charge, by granting to Romanists a permission to dissemble, under the color of an explanation, "that the bull should be considered as always in force against Elizabeth and the heretics, but should only be binding on Catholics when due execution of it could be had:" *—that is, that they should obey till they were strong enough to throw off their allegiance. The queen's High Court of Commission would not accept this interpretation: "The prisoners were called upon to say, if the pope were to absolve them from their oath of allegiance, and to attack England, what they should do, and which side they should support. The miserable frightened men knew not how to extricate themselves from this dilemma. They answered that they would render unto God what was God's, and unto Cæsar what was Cæsar's; but this evasion was itself interpreted into a confession by their judges. Thus the prisons were filled; execution followed upon execution; and Catholicism, in its turn, had its martyrs." † The severities of the laws against papists went on increasing. In 1584 all Jesuits, seminary priests, and other priests, were commanded by act of parliament to depart from the kingdom within forty days, on pain of being adjudged traitors; and penalties were to be inflicted upon those who, knowing any priest to be within

* Hallam, "Constitutional History." † Ranke, vol. ii. p. 162.

the realm, should not denounce him to a magistrate. These intolerant enactments produced the very opposite consequences that were contemplated by the legislature. It was probably difficult to restrain the zealotry of some of the more fiery Protestants. In a memorial to the queen in 1583, Burleigh thus sensibly speaks of the results of enforcing penal laws against such as refused the oath of supremacy: "I account that putting to death does no ways lessen them; since we find by experience that it worketh no such effect, but, like hydra's heads, upon cutting off one, seven grow up; persecution being accounted as the badge of the church: and, therefore, they should never have the honor to take any pretence of martyrdom in England, where the fulness of blood and greatness of heart is such that they will even for shameful things go bravely to death, much more when they think themselves to climb to heaven; and this vice of obstinacy seems to the common people a divine constancy; so that for my part, I wish no lessening of their number, but by preaching and by education of the younger under schoolmasters." *

The reign of Elizabeth was, happily for the progress of the country, singularly exempt from foreign wars. Her policy was of the most cautious nature, involving upon the face of it some insincerity. In her relations to France and to Spain, when the governments were oppressing their Protestant subjects, she abstained, except in 1562, from sending troops to the assistance of those with whom she was identified in principle. But indirect aid she on many occasions afforded. Thus, in 1577, she had assisted the revolted provinces of the Netherlands, whose commissioners had, in 1575, offered her the sovereignty, which she declined to accept. But ten years later it had become of essential importance to England to weaken the power of Philip of Spain, by keeping alive the cause of independence and religious freedom in the Low Countries. The assassination of the prince of Orange in 1584, by a religious fanatic, excited by the reward which Philip II. had set upon his head, had produced a fierce indignation in England against the bigoted king of Spain. The schemes of Philip and Pope Sixtus V. for the invasion of the contumacious island were no longer concealed. The Jesuits and seminary priests had been steadily endeavoring to weaken whatever spirit of patriotism remained among the English Catholics. It was a wise resolve, therefore, of Elizabeth's government to break through that superstitious love of peace which influenced the queen, and boldly encounter Philip on his own ground. Elizabeth was very slow to consent to engage in a war in the Netherlands. To support subjects against their sovereign appeared to her as treason against the rights of monarchs. The democratic government of the United Provinces was to her an anomaly which she held in scorn. Above all, she dreaded, and wisely, expenses which would fall heavily upon her people. But her old sagacious counsellor, Burleigh, the acute Walsingham, and the favorite Leicester, prevailed over her scruples, and an expedition was determined upon at the end of 1585. Burleigh, writing to Leicester, who was appointed to its command, says, "For the avancement of the action, if I should not with all the powers of my heart continually both wish and work avancement thereto, I were to be an accursed person in the sight of God; considering the ends of this action tend to the glory of God, to the safety of the queen's person, to the preservation of this realm in a perpetual quietness." † Elizabeth had again declined the sovereignty which had been again offered her by the commissioners of the States; and she now instructed Leicester also to refuse their offer to put themselves under the absolute control of the lieutenant she should send with her army, but to exhort them to listen to his advice. The extreme eagerness of the ambitious earl to undertake this command, offering even to pawn his estates to the crown to cover some of the expenses of the undertaking, seems to indicate that he had personal designs upon that sovereignty which his queen had rejected. On the 10th of December the English fleet was near Flushing. Leicester was received with pageantries which appear to have thrown him off that balance which it was somewhat hazardous for one of Elizabeth's ministers to lose. On New Year's Day, 1586, the States-General, by a solemn deputation, offered the queen of England's lieutenant the absolute government of the United Provinces. He first hesitated, then yielded to further supplications, and on the 25th of January accepted the dangerous honor. On that day a letter was written to him expressive of the queen's dislike of his proceedings. He had sent his secretary with explanations, but his arrival was unaccountably delayed. Then the queen herself wrote a letter to the earl, which is one of the most remarkable examples of that force of character which she frequently displayed in the nervous words of her correspondence. There was no chance of mistaking the meaning of such sentences as these: "We could never have imagined, had we not seen it fall out in experience, that a man raised up by ourself, and extraordinarily favored by us above any other subject of this land, would have in so contemptible a sort broken our commandment in a cause that so greatly toucheth us in honor. . . . Our express pleasure and commandment is, that all delays and excuses laid apart, you do presently, upon the duty of your allegiance, obey and fulfil whatsoever the bearer hereof shall direct you to do in our name: whereof fail you not, as you will answer the contrary at your uttermost peril." * One who could thus write might not be an amiable mistress to serve; but she was a queen fit to be at the head of a great nation. She had sent an army to assist the people of the Low Countries to maintain their civil privileges and their religious faith against Philip and against Rome; and was she to contradict her own published declarations? was her servant to disobey her positive instructions? It was very long before the anger of the queen could be softened. She withdrew from her first intention to compel Leicester publicly to lay down his authority, but she restricted its exercise in many ways which were irksome to so proud a man. The war was altogether mismanaged. The prince of Parma, who commanded the troops of Spain, was an experienced general. Leicester was always hesitating; sometimes successful through the bravery of his captains, but gradually losing fortress after fortress, and obtaining petty advantages with no permanent results. There was one in his army who, in this disastrous campaign, closed a short career of military experience, but who has left a name which Englishmen still cherish among their most eminent examples of real greatness. Few were the heroic deeds of Philip Sidney, but his heart was the seat of true heroism. The rare scholar, the accomplished writer, the perfect gentleman, might have been forgotten as a soldier, if his night-march upon Axel, and its daring capture, had been his chief title to distinction. But his demeanor when he was carried wounded from the walls of Zutphen will never be forgotten. His friend, Lord Brooke, has told the story, which, known as it is to every school-boy, must be repeated in every history of England if that history is to show of what material our heroes have been made. "Passing along by the rear of the army where his uncle [Leicester] the general was, and being thirsty with excess of bleeding, he called for some drink, which was presently brought him. But as he was putting the bottle to his mouth he saw a poor soldier carried along, who had eaten his last at the same feast, ghastly casting up his eyes at the bottle; which Sir Philip perceiving took it from his head before he drank, and delivered it to the poor man with these words, 'Thy necessity is yet greater than mine.'" Being repulsed at Zutphen, Leicester shortly went into winter quarters. The expedition came to an end without calling forth any higher qualities in the general than might naturally be expected from an intriguing courtier; showing, indeed, that the raw levies of England might be led to fight valiantly; but also showing that, without the habitual discipline of a regular army, they could not stand up against starvation and other consequences of mismanagement. There had been a long peace; and even in the warlike times of the Plantagenets armies were often lost from the natural difficulties of obtaining supplies. But in those times the feudal relations of lord and vassal kept men together under the direst pressure of want. Leicester's army was without food or clothes, and they deserted by hundreds. The old organization was broken up; the organization of modern times was not established.

The partial failure of the expedition to the Low Countries was in some measure compensated by the naval successes against Spain. Philip had laid an embargo upon English vessels and property, through the extent of his wide dominions. Elizabeth did not fit out royal fleets; but she gave her subjects permission to seize Spanish ships or merchandise wherever they were to be found. This war of privateering was perfectly suited to the Anglo-Saxon character. The

* Quoted in Hallam, chap. iii.

† "Leycester Correspondence," p. 21.

* "To my Lord of Leycester from the queen by Sir Thomas Heneage," "Leycester Correspondence," p. 110.

spirit of the old Norsemen was revived; and the hope of gain sent hardy adventurers into distant seas, and eager colonists to search for new lands to subdue. The daring spirits of Elizabeth's reign have a strong similitude to the pirates and buccaneers that became odious when they were no longer wanted, and to the filibusters that are still offensive to European civilization. But they led the way to England's maritime and colonial glories; and if they plundered somewhat too freely, and destroyed too mercilessly, they had large national objects in view as well as private lucre. Drake, in his expedition to the West Indies in 1585, with twenty-five ships, of which only two belonged to the crown, destroyed several Spanish settlements, took Carthagena and San Domingo, and brought home a considerable amount of treasure and two hundred and forty pieces of ordnance.

While the battle between the two great principles that were dividing Europe was being fairly fought out by England and Spain, horse to horse and ship to ship, there was a more deadly strife about to be waged, with all the inveteracy of war without its honors. In a letter from Walsingham in London to Leicester in the Low Countries, dated the 9th of July, 1586, we hear the first mutterings of the coming storm. The secretary alludes to "the discovery of some matter of importance, in the highest degree, through my travail and cost;" a secret about which he cannot write, but which the gentleman who bears the letter is to communicate to the earl. He then adds, "My only fear is that her majesty will not use the matter with that secrecy which appertaineth; . . . and surely, if the matter be well handled, it will break the neck of all dangerous practices during her majesty's reign."* The handling of such a matter by Francis Walsingham could not be other than successful—if success it could be called to "break the neck of all dangerous practices" by a deed which the historian of the Reformation mildly deems "the greatest blemish of this reign;" which others describe as an act of unparalleled wickedness; but which was then held as a political necessity, of which we, who live in happier times, and are trained to very different feelings, are no competent judges. Walsingham saw that the conspiracy of a missionary priest with some enthusiastic young men for the deliverance of Mary might involve her in their plot for the assassination of Elizabeth. The secretary, though a statesman of rare disinterestedness and general integrity, was so vigilant in the detection of plots against his mistress that his spies and secret agents were in every court abroad, and in every suspected house at home. In what is meant for panegyric it is said of him, "He outdid the Jesuits in their own bow, and overreached them in their own equivocation and mental reservation. . . . He would cherish a plot some years together, admitting the conspirators to his own and the queen's presence familiarly. His spies waited on some men every hour for three years."† This was the man, with his maxims that "knowledge is never too dear," and that "secrecy is policy and virtue," whom a dozen rash young Catholics, incited by a fanatical priest, thought to circumvent.

In February, 1585, Dr. William Parry was convicted of high treason, and he was executed on the 2d of March. His career was a very extraordinary one. He was, after 1580, employed as "a collector of secret intelligence in foreign countries." He had a pension given him in 1584. He is tried as a public enemy six months afterward. On his trial he made a confession which implicated one Morgan, an agent of Mary at Paris for the receipt and administration of her dower as queen of France. His statement was to this effect: "In October [1582] I came to Paris, where (upon better opinion conceived of me among my Catholic countrymen) I found my credit well settled, and such as mistrusted me before ready to trust and embrace me. And being one day at the chamber of Thomas Morgan, a Catholic gentleman (greatly beloved and trusted on that side), among other gentlemen, talking of England, I was desired by Morgan to go up with him to another chamber, where he told me that it was hoped and looked for that I should do some service for God and his church. I answered him, I would do it, if it were to kill the greatest subject in England, whom I named, and in truth then hated. 'No, no,' said he, 'let him live to his greater fall and ruin of his house. It is the queen I mean.' I told him 'it were soon done if it might be lawfully done, and warranted in the opinion of some learned divines.' And so the doubt once resolved (though, as you have heard, I was before reasonably well satisfied), I vowed to undertake the enterprise for the restitution of England to the ancient obedience of the see apostolic."

Elizabeth was greatly enraged against Morgan, and called upon the king of France to deliver him up. This was refused; but Morgan was sent to the Bastile. Full of plans of revenge, he procured means of correspondence with Mary, and had various agents in England, some of whom were unable to elude the vigilance of Walsingham, and yielded up their secrets to the wary minister, or became his own dark sentinels.* In the summer and autumn of 1585 a Catholic priest came to England, who was dressed as an officer, and moved about under the name of Fortescue. His real name was John Ballard. One of Walsingham's intelligencers obtained his confidence; and after visiting various parts of this island they proceeded to Paris. Here Ballard saw Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, and proposed to him that during the absence of English forces in the Netherlands an army should be landed whose presence would be the signal for a general rising in favor of the queen of Scots. The ambassador gave little encouragement to this scheme, and Ballard turned to other devices. There was an English officer of the name of Savage who had undertaken to assassinate Elizabeth; and Ballard came back to England to tempt violent partisans into listening to this proposal. He addressed himself to Anthony Babington, a gentleman of Dethick, in Derbyshire. He had always professed a chivalrous devotion to the cause of Mary, and had been the medium of transmitting letters to her when she was at Sheffield castle. He adopted the proposal that Savage should kill the queen; but he held that it was a plan of too much importance to be left to one man's resolution; and that six should engage in that service, while others should liberate the queen of Scots. There can be no doubt that here was a real plot. Young men, the friends of Babington, were induced to enter into the scheme, to their eventual destruction. One of the most interesting of these was Chidick Titchbourne, of Porchester, in Hampshire; and in the address which he delivered at his execution we may see how such rash and criminal projects found acceptance with ardent and generous minds: "I had a friend, and a dear friend, of whom I made no small account, whose friendship hath brought me to this; he told me the whole matter, I cannot deny, as they had laid it down to be done; but I always thought it impious, and denied to be a dealer in it; but the regard of my friend caused me to be a man in whom the old proverb was verified; I was silent, and so consented. Before this thing chanced, we lived together in most flourishing estate. Of whom went report in the Strand, Fleet Street, and elsewhere about London, but of Babington and Titchbourne? No threshold was of force to brave our entry. Thus we lived, and wanted nothing we could wish for; and God knows what less in my head than matters of state. Now give me leave to declare the miseries I sustained after I was acquainted with the action, wherein I may justly compare my estate to that of Adam's, who could not abstain one thing forbidden, to enjoy all other things the world could afford; the terror of conscience awaited me. After I considered the dangers whereinto I was fallen, I went to Sir John Peters, in Essex, and appointed my horses should meet me at London, intending to go down into the country. I came to London, and then heard that all was bewrayed; whereupon, like Adam, we fled into the woods to hide ourselves."

The employment of spies by a government necessarily leads to the belief that the spy incites the enterprise which he is commissioned to discover. Walsingham was acquainted with this conspiracy through a seminary priest of the name of Gifford; and, says Dr. Lingard, "that artful minister, while he smiled at the infatuation of the youths who had thus entangled themselves in the toils, was busily employed in weaving a new intrigue, and planning the ruin of a more illustrious victim." What that artful minister did is clear enough. He removed the difficulties which prevented Babington's correspondence with Mary, and he possessed himself of copies of that correspondence. The ruin of the more illustrious victim was accomplished by her own readiness to enter into a plan for her deliverance, founded upon invasion and insurrection, and the assassination of

* "Leycester Correspondence," p. 341.
† Lloyd, "State Worthies," pp. 514–516.

* Lloyd's happy definition of a spy was "a dark sentinel."

Elizabeth. This was the charge justly sustained against her, if the documents produced upon her trial were not forgeries.

On the 13th, 14th, and 15th of September, fourteen persons accused as treasonable conspirators were brought to trial. Babington, Ballard, and Savage, with four others, pleaded guilty. The remainder were also convicted. The executions of seven, on the 20th of September, were attended with the horrible barbarities of the full penalty of treason. In the case of the others these cruelties were dispensed with. Babington is held "to have behaved ungenerously. He it was who sought to inveigle the others into the conspiracy; and yet his confession was the chief proof against them." * In that confession, as given upon the trial of Mary, was also found what was alleged as a corroborative proof of her complicity with this attempt: "He set down at large what conferences passed between B. [Ballard] and him, and the whole plot of conspiracy for the murder of Elizabeth and deliverance of Mary. He declared further, that he did write a letter to the queen of Scotland touching every particular of this plot, and sent it by the same unknown boy [through whom he had corresponded previously]. She answered twenty or thirty days [after] in the same cipher by which he wrote unto her, but by another messenger. The tenor of both which letters he carried so well in memory, that he reported and set down all the principal points of the same, as upon conference of the said declaration with the copies of the said letters it appeared. Babington in all particular points prayed her direction; for instance, that six noble gentlemen would undertake that tragical execution." †

The queen of Scots had two secretaries, De Naou a Frenchman, and Curle, a Scot. It appears from a letter of Elizabeth to Shrewsbury that de Naou was recommended by the French king, and that she consented to his appointment, he having "promised that he shall carry himself in that even manner that becometh an honest minister." ‡ When the knowledge of the conspiracy was sufficiently mature, these secretaries were arrested, and the papers of Mary were seized and transmitted to the council. The queen of Scots was at Chartley, § in the county of Stafford. She had been removed from Tutbury in the beginning of 1586, which place she appears to have greatly disliked, saying, in one of her letters, "I suffered here so much rigor, insult, and indignity, that I have ever since looked on it as wretched and unfortunate." Mary was residing at Chartley when the discovery of the suspicions against her was abruptly communicated. She was riding to the chase, with Sir Amyas Paulet, her two secretaries, and her usual attendants. On the way Sir Thomas Gorges told her that he had received orders from the queen to take her to Tixhall, a country seat at a short distance, and that de Naou and Curle were to be arrested. She was very angry, and even called upon her people to protect her. But Gorges went one way with the secretaries, and Paulet another with the queen. Meanwhile a messenger from the council had taken possession of Mary's papers. ‖ Some days after, Mary was conducted back to Chartley, and found that her private cabinets had been opened, and her papers removed. On the 27th of August Paulet thus reports of her demeanor as she left Tixhall, a seat of the Astons: "As Mary was coming out of Sir Walter Aston's gate, she said with a loud voice, weeping, to some poor folks which were there assembled, 'I have nothing for you, I am a beggar as well as you; all is taken from me.' And when she came to the gentleman, she said, weeping, 'Good God; I am not witting or privy to anything intended against the queen.' . . . On her coming hither Mr. Darell delivered the keys as well of her chamber as of her coffers to Bastian, which he refused by direction of his mistress, who required Mr. Darell to open her chamber-door, which he did, and then this lady, finding that the papers were taken away, said in great choler, that two things could not be taken away from her—her English blood and her Catholic religion, which both she would keep unto her death, adding further these words, 'Some of you will be sorry for it,' meaning the taking away of her papers. I was not present when these words were spoken, but no doubt they reached unto me, in what sense she only knoweth. I may be sorry for others, but I know there is nothing in her papers that can give me cause to be sorry for myself."

The sensation produced upon the citizens of London, when the news of the Babington conspiracy first opened upon them, and the determination in the mind of Elizabeth to regard Mary as a principal in the design, are described in a letter of Chateauneuf, the French ambassador, to his king, Henry III.: "I have not been able to send your majesty any information for the last fortnight, all the roads to France being closed on account of a conspiracy which was directed against the queen and the state. She told me herself that she has had from twenty-five to thirty persons, all Catholics, arrested on account of it, and this continues daily. A great sensation was caused by it in this town, where the people are much incensed against the Catholics; nay, for eight or ten days there was reason to apprehend that acts of violence would be committed upon all who were considered to be Catholics. Bonfires were lighted in every street, and the bells rung for twenty-four hours together, because the queen had escaped from so great a danger. It was determined, it is said, to shoot the queen on the 15th of August, and, according to the plan agreed upon, every Catholic in the kingdom was to take up arms, and place Queen Mary on the throne. Elizabeth, at least, ascribes the whole undertaking to her, for which reason M. d'Esneval and I repaired to Windsor last Sunday, when she said to me, 'I know that the queen of Scotland contrived this. This, in truth, is repaying evil for good, and the more so as I have several times saved her life. The king of France will have news in a few days that will little please him.' . . . For the understanding of this, I must inform your majesty, that during the ten or twelve days that the investigations were carried on with the greatest ardor, there was a report in the city that this conspiracy had its origin in France, and that even your majesty and the king of Spain took part in it; that your fleet was in readiness to aid it, and that those leaders of the plot who had not yet been discovered were concealed in my house, and that it ought be forcibly searched. . . . I have accordingly complained of this report, and also of a thousand scandalous and insulting words which my people are exposed to in the streets; and that I was as if besieged, and in danger of being plundered. The only answer I received was, 'The people are greatly excited, and cannot be restrained.'" *

From Chartley the queen of Scots was transferred to Fotheringay Castle. This feudal pile, of which scarce a trace remains, was demolished by order of James VI., when he came to the English throne. Here Richard III. was born, and here Mary Stuart closed her life. Its associations were necessarily painful to James; and they probably offered some reproach to his conscience. As we proceed to the close of the tragical history of his mother, we shall find sufficient evidence of the weakness and selfishness of this king. His endeavors to procure a mitigation of the fate of Mary, and his final resentment, were never very strenuous. He was always thinking of the splendid lot that was before him as successor to both thrones. It may be very reasonably conjectured, from the whole tenor of Elizabeth's conduct, that she designed James to succeed her; that she was perfectly aware of the inestimable benefits that would result to both countries from their union under one sovereign. Her solicitude was far greater for the good government of Scotland than was to be ascribed to her desire for a peaceful and Protestant neighbor. She took James under her tutelage, and read him many a sage and many a stern admonition. There is a remarkable letter from Elizabeth to James VI., dated the 4th of October, 1586, which is a reply to a letter of James in which he congratulates the queen upon her escape from the conspiracy directed against her life. This characteristic letter of Elizabeth gives a dark hint of her belief that the mother of the king of Scotland was accessary to this design. He would, indeed, shortly "hear all;" for at this very date it had been determined to put Mary upon her trial. A league between England and Scotland had been concluded a short time before this eventful season. "And for that the curse of that design rose up from the wicked suggestion of the Jesuits, which make it an acceptable sacrifice to God, and meritorious to themselves, that a king not of their profession should be murdered, therefore I could keep my pen no longer from discharging my care of your person, that you suffer not such vipers to in-

* Lingard, vol. viii., note at p. 261. † Raumer, p. 344.
‡ Ellis, First Series, vol. ii. p. 278.
§ Lingard, perhaps by a typographical error, speaks of Mary's residence at Chertsey.
‖ Letter from M. d'Esneval. Raumer, p. 315.

* Raumer, p. 317.

habit your land. They say you gave leave under your hand that they might safely come and go. For God's love regard your surety above all persuasions, and account him no subject that entertains them. Make not edicts for scorn, but to be observed. Let them be rebels, and so pronounced, that preserve them. For my part, I am sorrier that they cast away so many goodly gentlemen than that they sought my ruin. I thank God I have taken more dolor for some that are guilty of this murder than bear them malice that they sought my death. I protest it before God. But such iniquity will not be hid, be it never so craftily handled; and yet, when you shall hear all, you will wonder that one accounted wise will use such matter so fondly." * There can be not doubt to whom the singular expression "one accounted wise" refers.

CHAPTER LXXIII.

The Association—Statute for the surety of the queen's person—Commission for trial of Mary—Proceedings on the trial—Judgment against Mary—Conflicting opinions on this judgment—The parliament urge the execution of the sentence—The judgment proclaimed—Conduct of Elizabeth—Interview with Davison—Warrant of execution—Mary beheaded at Fotheringay—Elizabeth disavows her responsibility in this proceeding—The disavowal a self-deception—Note on the statements that Elizabeth desired that the queen of Scots might be privately assassinated.

To judge correctly of the course of proceedings against the queen of Scots, we must go back to the session of parliament of 1584-5, when the nation was alarmed by well-founded apprehensions of a Spanish invasion, and by decisive indications of plots for the deposition of Elizabeth and the recognition of Mary's claim to the English crown. In that session a law was passed, entitled, "An act for provision to be made for the surety of the queen's majesty's most royal person, and the continuance of the realm in peace." † Before the passing of this act, a most extraordinary combination had been entered into, which is thus recognized in the fourth clause of the statute for the surety of the queen's person: "And whereas of late many of her majesty's good and faithful subjects have, in the name of God, and with the testimony of good consciences, by one uniform manner of writing under their hands and seals, and by their several oaths voluntarily taken, joined themselves together in one bond and association, to withstand and revenge to the uttermost all such malicious actions and attempts against her majesty's most royal person." The specific object of the association was much more explicitly defined in the instrument to which the good and faithful subjects had set their hands and seals. It was to the effect that if any attempt against the queen's person "shall be taken in hand or procured," whereby any should pretend title to come to the crown by the untimely death of the queen so procured, the associators not only bind themselves never to allow of any such pretended successor, by whom or *for whom* any such act shall be attempted, but engage to prosecute such person or persons to death. It is not correct to state that in the statute for the surety of the queen's person, "the terms of this association were solemnly approved by parliament." ‡ It provided that the articles of the association "shall and ought to be in all things expounded and adjudged according to the true intent and meaning of this act;" and the act expressly limited its meaning by the condition "that if any invasion or rebellion should be made by or for any person pretending title to the crown after her majesty's decease, or if anything be confessed or imagined tending to the hurt of her person," it should be "*with the privity of any such person.*" In that case it was provided that a commission, composed of peers, privy councillors, and judges, should examine and give judgment on such offences; and that, after a proclamation of such judgment under the great seal, all persons against whom such sentence shall be given and proclaimed should be disabled forever to have any claim to the crown; and all her majesty's subjects, by virtue of this statute, and by the queen's direction, might pursue the said persons to death. In case of the violent death of the queen, the privy council, with others, might proclaim the guilty parties, and use force in pursuing them to death. Mr. Hallam has pointed out that "this statute differs from the associators' engagement, in omitting the outrageous threat of pursuing to death any person, whether privy or not to the design, on whose behalf an attempt against the queen's life should be made." * Such was the law when the Babington conspiracy was discovered; and Mary was put upon her trial under this law, and not under the old Statute of Treasons, to determine whether that conspiracy against the life of Elizabeth was "with the privity of any person that shall or may pretend title to the crown of this realm." †

On the 5th of October, 1586, a commission was issued to a large number of the most eminent persons of the kingdom, including twenty-nine peers, nine privy councillors, the chancellor, and five judges. In this commission it was recited, that since the first day of June, in the 27th year of the queen, "divers matters have been compassed and imagined tending to the hurt of our royal person, as well by Mary, daughter and heir of James the Fifth, king of Scots, and commonly called queen of Scots and dowager of France, pretending title to this realm of England; as by divers other persons, *cum scientia*, in English with the privity of the same Mary, as we are given to understand." To the commissioners was assigned full power to examine all such matters, and to give sentence and judgment, under the act for the surety of the royal person. Thirty-six commissioners repaired to the castle of Fotheringay; and letters from Elizabeth were delivered to Mary, apprising her of the proceedings that were to be taken against her. At some preliminary interviews with a deputation from the commissioners, Mary maintained that she was an absolute queen; that she was no subject; and rather would die a thousand deaths than acknowledge herself a subject. She especially objected to the recent law—upon which the authority of the commissioners wholly depended—as unjust, as devised of purpose against her. But Hatton, the vice-chamberlain of Elizabeth, urged her to lay aside the bootless privilege of regal dignity, and by appearing before the commissioners have the means of showing her innocence. She ultimately yielded. The court was opened on Friday, the 14th of October, in the great hall at Fotheringay Castle. Among the Cottonian mss. there is a rough plan, in the handwriting of Lord Burleigh, for the arrangement of the hall. The "Great Chamber" was to be divided by "a rail as is in the Parliament Chamber." Within the bar was to be a cloth of state, with a chair for the queen of England; and opposite, nearer the rail, a chair for the queen of Scots. On the right of the queen of England's chair, a from for four justices, and a form for fourteen earls. On the left a form for the queen's counsel, a form for seven counsellors, and a from for thirteen barons. The space below the bar was "for all persons not being in commission, nor of the queen's learned counsel." ‡

It is scarcely possible, within reasonable limits, to furnish an adequate relation of this so-called trial. Like all other trials for high treason at that period, the witnesses were not examined in open court; the accused was not allowed counsel. There sat facing the empty chair of royal state this acute and courageous woman, with those before her whom she regarded as her enemies, ready to overwhelm her by their accusations or their arguments. She repeated her declaration that whatever answers she gave were made under protest against the authority of the commission to try a princess who was no subject of the queen of England. Gawdy, the queen's sergeant, went through the history of the Babington conspiracy, and brought forward arguments that she knew of it, approved it, and showed the means of its execution. She maintained that she knew not Babington; had never received any letters from him, nor written any to him; that she never plotted the destruction of the queen; and that to prove the same her subscription under her own hand ought to be produced. Copies of Babington's letters to her were read. "Let it be proved," she answered, "that I received them." The confessions of Babington and others were then recited, to prove that she had written letters which showed knowledge of the conspiracy. She said this was second-hand evidence. A copy of a letter was read, as of one written by her to Babington. She demanded that the original, said to be in cipher, should be produced. She hinted that Walsingham, who had placed spies

* "Letters of Elizabeth and James VI.," p. 38. † 27 Eliz., c. 1.
‡ Tytler, vol. viii.

* "Constitutional History." † 27 Eliz, c. 1, clause 1.
‡ See plan in Ellis, First Series, vol. ii.

about her, might have caused her cipher to be counterfeited. Walsingham protested that as a private person he had done nothing unbeseeming an honest man, nor as he bore the place of a public person had he done anything unworthy his place. Burleigh took part in the charges against the undaunted queen, who thus fought a battle single-handed against the most adroit statesmen of that age. It was not a trial, but a most unequal debate; and it is painful to see how Burleigh, in many points so worthy of respect, could describe the keen encounter between himself and an inexperienced woman. "This queen of the castle was content to appear before us again in public, to be heard, but, in truth, not to be heard for her defence, for she could say nothing but negatively, that the points of the letters that concerned the practice against the queen-majesty's person were never by her written, nor of her knowledge. The rest, for invasion, for escaping by force, she said, she would neither deny nor affirm. But her intention was, by long artificial speeches, to move pity, to lay all blame upon the queen's majesty, or rather upon the council, that all the troubles past did ensue, avowing her reasonable offers and our refusals; and in this her speeches I did so encounter her with reasons out of my knowledge and experience, as she had not that advantage she looked for; as I am assured the auditory did find her case not pitiable, her allegations untrue; by which means great debate fell yesternight very long, and this day renewed with great stomaching." *

This letter of Burleigh refers to the proceedings of the second day. Mary then acknowledged that notes had been written to Babington by her secretaries, but said that they wholly referred to plans for her escape. She did not deny that she sought this deliverance, even through an invasion of the realm. Letters were produced, of which the genuineness is now scarcely disputed,† in which she minutely expounded plans for the king of Spain "to set on the queen of England;" which invasion she would aid by inducing the Catholic lords of Scotland to join the enterprise; and, seizing the young king James, deliver him into the hands of the king of Spain, or of the pope, to make him to be instructed and reduced to the Catholic religion. Another letter was read, in which Mary expressed her intention of bequeathing to the Spanish king her right of succession to the English throne. The plots for invasion and the overthrow of Elizabeth's government were almost necessarily connected with the assassination of the queen. Whether Mary was cognizant of one part of these plots, and wholly ignorant of the other, may be reasonably questioned.

At the close of the proceedings at Fotheringay, on the second day, the court was adjourned to the 25th, at Westminster. Naou and Curle, Mary's two secretaries, were then examined, in the absence of their mistress. Camden says that they voluntarily confirmed all and every the letters and copies of letters, before produced, to be most true. But this historian adds, "I have seen Naou's apology to King James, written in the year 1605, wherein, laboriously protesting, he excuseth himself, that he was neither author, nor persuader, nor the first revealer of the plot that was undertaken, nor failed of his duty through negligence or want of foresight; yea, that this day [the 25th of October] he stoutly impugned the chief points of accusation against his lady and mistress; which, notwithstanding, appeareth not by records." The commission unanimously delivered as their sentence "that the Babington conspiracy was with the privity of Mary, pretending title to the crown of England; and that she hath compassed and imagined within this realm divers matters tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of our sovereign lady the queen." The commissioners added that this sentence did not derogate from James, king of Scots, in title or honor, but that he was in the same place, degree, and right, as if the sentence had never been pronounced.

Between the trial of Mary and the execution of the sentence there was an interval of four months. They were four months of intense anxiety, not only to the unhappy queen of Scots, but to Elizabeth, to her ministers, to the parliament, to the people. There are many doubtful points in the recorded transactions of this period, and historians have too often cut the knot instead of attempting to unloose it. Starting upon the hypothesis that if Mary were not wholly innocent the judgment against her was illegal, she is usually represented as the victim of remorseless statesmen, of a fanatical parliament, of a ferocious people, and of a cruel and dissembling rival queen. In the natural sympathy of mankind for a woman who had so long been acquainted with misery, the fact seems to have been overlooked that she was thrust from her legitimate throne by her own subjects, under charges of the most atrocious nature, and with the conviction that she would never cease to plot with foreign powers for the overthrow of the reformed religion. It is equally clear that her detention in this country was upon the ground that she was a public enemy; that she had never given up her claim to the actual possession of the crown; that her efforts to induce the Catholic powers to support her claims were unceasing; and that for years she was the centre around which all the intrigues for destroying the heretical governments of England and Scotland revolved. During her life, however strictly Mary was watched, the government of the Protestant Elizabeth was in perpetual danger. It was no popular delusion which ascribed to the bigoted popes who held the queen of England accursed, the doctrine that

> "blessed shall he be that doth revolt
> From his allegiance to a heretic;"

that the hand which took away Elizabeth's "hateful life" should be deemed "meritorious." When Mary was pronounced guilty of privity to the Babington conspiracy, the most extensive preparations for the overthrow of Elizabeth were rapidly maturing. Invasion from without, treason from within, were to work together to place upon the throne one who would call in foreign aid to destroy the religion which had been generally adopted by a whole generation of English, and which no differences of opinion were otherwise likely essentially to disturb. Assuming Mary to have been privy to the various plots that had ripened during the last two years of her detention—and one of the soberest of historians says, "in Murden's 'State Papers' we have abundant evidence of Mary's acquaintance with the plots going forward in 1585 and 1586 against Elizabeth's government, if not with those for her assassination" *—the question arises whether the deposed queen of Scots was amenable to any English tribunal? Camden says that among contemporaries "divers speeches were raised about the matter according to the divers dispositions of men." Some held that "she was a free and absolute princess, under the superior command of God alone—that she could not commit treason because she was no subject." Others maintained that she was "only a titular queen, because she had resigned her kingdom, and when she first came into England had subjected herself under the protection of the queen of England." These abstract differences were no doubt settled, for the most part, by the doctrine with which Camden concludes his statement of the opinions of those who defended the sentence against Mary—"that the safety of the people is the highest law." Whatever violent historical partisans may maintain, we concur in the opinion of Mr. Hallam, that those who held Mary to be only a titular queen were in the right. "Though we must admit that Mary's resignation of her crown was compulsory, and retracted on the first occasion, yet, after a twenty years' loss of possession, when not one of her former subjects avowed allegiance to her, when the king of Scotland had been so long acknowledged by England, and by all Europe, is it possible to consider her as more than a titular queen, divested of every substantial right to which a sovereign tribunal could have regard?" † If we accept of the doctrine that "the safety of the people is the highest law," we must further agree that the sentence against Mary, "if not capable of complete vindication, has at least encountered a disproportioned censure." ‡ But there must be censure, more or less. The contending feelings excited by the fate of Mary have been as correctly analyzed by the great contemporary poet as by any historian. There can be no doubt that Spenser's "False Duessa" was the type of Mary, the "untitled queen." Following out the poet's brief enumeration of the crimes of Duessa, Authority opposed her; the Law of Nations rose against her; Religion imputed God's behest to condemn her; the people's cry and Commons' suit impor-

* Letter to Davison, October 15th, Ellis, First Series, vol. iii. p. 12.
† "These, if they were genuine, and of that there can be little doubt, showed that she had not only approved of the invasion devised at Paris, but had offered to aid its execution."—Lingard.

* Hallam, note to chap. iii.
† "Constitutional History," chap. iii. ‡ Ibid.

tuned for care of the public cause: Justice charged her with breach of law:

> "But then, for her, on the contrary part,
> Rose many advocates for her to plead;
> First there came Pity with full tender heart,
> And with her joined Regard of Womanhead;
> And then came Danger, threatening hidden dread
> And high alliance unto foreign power;
> Then came Nobility of Birth, that bred
> Great ruth through her misfortune's tragic stour,
> And lastly Grief did plead, and many tears forth pour." *

The pity, the regard of womanhood, the ruth for fallen nobility of birth, the grief that speaks in tears, will always prevail over political considerations when we peruse the sad story of Mary Stuart. But it is not to read the past aright if we wholly shut our eyes to justice and the public cause. It would be worse than mere tenderness to impute to Elizabeth and her advisers, to the parliament and to the people, a blind hostility to a suffering and harmless captive. Mary was for years the terror of England. Her destruction was "the Great Cause" to which the highest and the humblest in the land looked as a relief. If her death were a crime it was a national crime. To regard it at the present day as an outrage upon Scotland, and to talk of it, as some do, in this spirit, appears to us one of those hallucinations of a distempered patriotism, with which men vainly endeavor to call up the shadows of long-buried rivalries and forgotten discontents.

The parliament was opened by commission, an unusual course, on the 29th of October. The chief business was to bring before the houses the proceedings against the queen of Scots; and the principal discussions were upon what was commonly termed "the Great Cause." The members of the council appear to have been firmly persuaded of the duty of urging Elizabeth to the most extreme course. Davison, one of her secretaries, writes to Leicester on the 4th of November, "Your lordship's presence here were more than needful for the great cause now in hand, which is feared will receive a colder proceeding than may stand with the surety of her majesty, and necessity of our shaken estates." † On the 10th of November a committee of both houses declared the sentence against Mary to be just; and the houses agreed in a petition to Elizabeth, that proclamation of the judgment might be made, and that further proceedings might be taken against the Scottish queen; "because, upon advised and great consultation, we cannot find that there is any possible means to provide for your majesty's safety, but by the just and speedy execution of the said queen." ‡ The answer of Elizabeth is generally considered hypocritical: "If my life alone depended hereupon, and not the safety and welfare of all my people, I would, I protest unfeignedly, willingly and readily pardon her. Nay, if England might by my death obtain a more flourishing condition and a better prince, I would most gladly lay down my life. For, for your sakes it is, and for my people's, that I desire to live." This is egotism; but egotism which has not only the "princely dignity," but the "motherly tenderness," with which Elizabeth always spoke of her people. On this occasion she requested time to consider. The houses again resolved that no safety can in any wise be had as long as the queen of Scots doth live. Again Elizabeth hesitated: "If I should say unto you," she replied, "that I mean not to grant your petition, by my faith I should say unto you more than perhaps I mean. And if I should say unto you I mean to grant your petition, I should then tell you more than is fit for you to know. And thus I must deliver you an answer answerless." But the government acceded to one part of the petition of parliament to the queen. At the beginning of December the judgment of the commissioners against Mary was solemnly proclaimed in London and other places. Our historians record the joy of the citizens of the capital; the ringing of bells and the bonfires. They pass over the statutory effect of this proclamation: "After such sentence or judgment given, and declaration thereof made and published, by her majesty's proclamation, under the great seal of England, all persons against whom such sentence or judgment shall be so given and published, shall be excluded and disabled forever to have or claim, or to pretend to have or claim, the crown of this realm." * The dread of the great body of Protestants had been that, in the event of Elizabeth's death, a Romanist successor would come, in the person of Mary, the next heir. The proclamation under the statute put an end to that chance; and hence the joy. For two months a more fatal termination of the "Great Cause" had been suspended. When Elizabeth was threatened by the French ambassador, she wrote a letter of defiance to his master, Henry III. When James sent commissioners to England upon a mission of intercession, she delayed and protested her desire to save Mary, although in a letter to James she called her "the serpent that poisons me." As these efforts became more strenuous Elizabeth became more determined; and wrote to James, "though like a most natural good son you charged them [the ambassadors] to seek all means they could devise with wit or judgment to save her life, yet I cannot, nor do not, allege any fault to you of their persuasions; for I take it that you will remember that advice or desires ought ever agree with the surety of the party sent to and honor of the sender." † Camden has described the state of Elizabeth's mind at this period. "She gave herself over to solitariness, sat many times melancholy and mute; and often sighing, muttered to herself, *aut fer, aut feri*—that is, either bear strokes or strike; and, out of I know not what emblem, *ne feriare feri*—that is, strike, lest thou be stricken." At last the struggle, or the simulated struggle, seemed over. On the 1st of February the queen sent for Davison, one of the secretaries, at ten in the morning. After various talk she asked if he had brought the warrant for the execution of the Scottish queen. He had been desired by the lord admiral Howard to bring it, and he delivered it to Elizabeth. That warrant had been in his hands five or six weeks; but now, as he was told, the queen had resolved to sign it, in consequence of rumors of invasions and rebellions spread abroad. The queen signed the warrant, and ordered Davison to carry it to the great seal, and then dispatch it with all expedition. She told him to show the warrant to Mr. Secretary Walsingham, who was sick; saying, merrily, that she thought the sight thereof would kill him outright. This might be cruel indifference, or forced levity to hide a conflict within. He showed the warrant to Burleigh and Leicester, and then went to the chancellor, and afterward to Walsingham. The next morning the queen sent him a message, that if he had not been already to the chancellor he should forbear till he knew her further pleasure. He went therefore to the queen, and told her that the warrant was sealed; and she said, "What needeth that haste?" She objected that this course threw the whole burden upon herself. Davison, fearing to take the responsibility of dispatching the warrant, went to Burleigh, who assembled a council, and gave his advice that they should join in sending the warrant to the commissioners "without troubling her majesty any further in that behalf, she having done all that in law or reason could be required of her." Burleigh undertook to prepare letters to accompany the warrant; and the next day, the 3d, the warrant and dispatches were delivered by Burleigh to Mr. Beale, who was thought the fittest messenger. Two or three days after the queen spoke to Davison about another course "that had been propounded to her underhand by one of great place," against which Davison gave reasons, "wherewith she seemed to rest satisfied without any show of following the new course, or altering her former resolution in any point." At this interview Elizabeth complained that the warrant was not already executed. Such is the straightforward account contained in a manuscript which is among the papers in the Harleian Collection. This is, in substance, the same account as that given by Camden. But there are other statements by this unfortunate secretary, who was prosecuted in the Star Chamber for not obeying Elizabeth's commands in the matter of the warrant, which are familiar to the most cursory reader of history, and which are usually accepted as evidence of a desire of the queen that Mary should be privately murdered. Camden refers to these statements of how Davison "excused himself in private," which he gives "compendiously," with this addition to what we have related as found in the other narrative: "Moreover she blamed Paulet and Drury that they had not eased her of this care, and wished that Walsingham would feel their minds in this matter." On a subsequent day "she asked me whether I had received any answer from Paulet, whose letter, when I had showed her, wherein he flatly refused to undertake that which stood

* "Faery Queen," book v. canto ix.
† "Leycester Correspondence," p. 453.
‡ "Parliamentary History."

* 27 Eliz. † "Letters of Elizabeth and James VI.," p. 441.

not with honor and justice, she, waxing angry, accused him and others which had bound themselves by the association of perjury and breach of their vow." We forbear to enter here upon this remarkable story, of which, holding the evidence to be very doubtful as regards assassination, we have thrown the minuter details into the form of a note, so as not to interrupt the main narrative.*

The last hours of Mary Stuart have been described with an exactness which is far more interesting than the highest efforts of imaginative art. Indeed, the art of Schiller has borrowed its most effective touches from an official narrative whose authenticity is established by an indorsement in Lord Burleigh's hand.† The scenes immediately preceding the fatal morning of the 8th of February have been derived from various sources, and some of the incidents are conflicting. The relations, however, agree in the most essential particulars. The earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, to whom the lords of the council had specially sent Mr. Beale, arrived at Fotheringay on the 7th of February, after dinner. They communicated to Mary the purpose for which they had arrived; and Beale read the queen's commission for her execution. She bowed her head, made the sign of the cross, and thanked her God that the summons so long expected had come at last. She asked at what time she should die, and was informed at eight the following morning. Having desired the presence of her priest and almoner, she was refused, and was told that in the place of her confessor she might have the spiritual assistance of the dean of Peterborough. She necessarily declined this. This ferocious bigotry would be incomprehensible, if we did not bear in mind that the severe Protestant and the rigid Catholic were equally convinced that it was their duty to urge their own doctrines, even while the axe or the fagot were ready for those who were about to perish for their opinions. The "bachelor of divinity, named Elye, of Brazennose College," who pressed Cranmer to recant when he was chained to the stake, and the earl of Kent, who attempted to convert Mary on the evening before her death, were misjudging zealots, but they meant not cruelty. Camden has it that the earl of Kent said to Mary, "Your life will be the death of our religion, as, contrariwise, your death will be the life thereof." The doomed one saw her advantage in this speech, and afterward said to her physician, "They say that I must die because I have plotted against the queen's life; yet the earl of Kent signifieth unto me that there is no other cause of my death but that they doubt their religion because of me." Mary then looked over her will, distributed money to her attendants, wrote letters, prayed long and fervently, and went quietly to sleep.

At the upper end of the great hall of Fotheringay had been erected a scaffold, two feet in height and twelve feet in breadth, railed round, and covered with black cloth. On that scaffold were a low stool, a long cushion, and a block; all covered also with black. There were many persons assembled in that hall. The queen had dressed herself "gorgeously and curiously," says Camden, "as she was wont to do on festival days." She came forth from her chamber, at the bidding of Thomas Andrews, sheriff of Northamptonshire, and was met in the entry next the hall by Shrewsbury and Kent, "with divers knights and gentlemen." Melvin, one of her old servants, fell on his knees before her, and said that it would be the most sorrowful message he ever carried when he should report in Scotland that his queen and mistress was dead. The official narrative thus continues: "Then the queen of Scots, shedding tears, answered him, 'You ought to rejoice rather than weep for that the end of Mary Stuart's troubles is now come. Thou knowest, Melvin, that all this world is but vanity, and full of troubles and sorrows; carry this message from me, and tell my friends that I die a true woman to my religion, and like a true Scottish woman and a true French woman. But God forgive them that have long desired my end; and he that is the true Judge of all secret thoughts knoweth my mind, how that ever it hath been my desire to have Scotland and England united together. Commend me to my son, and tell him that I have not done anything that may prejudice his kingdom of Scotland; and so, good Melvin, farewell;' and kissing him, she bade him pray for her."

We have again a scene characteristic of an age in which to be tender was too often accounted to be weak, and to be tolerant was held to be impious. Mary requested that her servants might be present at her death. The earl of Kent refused, lest they should trouble her grace, and disquiet the company by their speeches. She replied that she would give her word that they should do nothing of the kind. After some consultation two of her female servants and Melvin, with two medical attendants and an old man, were allowed to enter the hall. Melvin carrying her train, she stepped up the scaffold with a cheerful countenance, and sat down on the stool; and there stood by her side the two earls, and the sheriff, and two executioners. The commission was read, Mary "listening unto it with as small regard as if it had not concerned her at all." The dean of Peterborough, Dr. Fletcher, standing outside the rail, directly before her, began an exhortation; but she stopped him, saying, "Mr. Dean, I am settled in the ancient Catholic Roman religion, and mind to spend my blood in defence of it." The pertinacious dignitary replied, with more zeal than charity, "Madam, change your opinion, and repent of your former wickedness, and settle your faith only in Jesus Christ, by him to be saved." Mary told him to trouble himself no further; and Shrewsbury and Kent said they would pray for her. She thanked them, "but to join with you in prayer I will not, for that you and I are not of one religion." The dean then prayed aloud from the English liturgy; and Mary with steadfast voice, having in her hand a crucifix, began to pray in Latin; and she finally prayed in English for Christ's afflicted church, for her son, and for the queen of England. The callous earl of Kent was not moved even by this solemn earnestness, but told her to "leave those trumperies." Such is fanaticism, from whatever perverted view of the religion of love it may spring.

The last dread trial was sustained with equal fortitude and steadfastness by Mary, in whom, whatever were her faults, were many of the elements of true heroism. As her two women wept, she besought them to be calm: "I have promised for you." A Corpus Christi cloth being pinned over her face, she knelt down upon the cushion "most resolutely," reciting aloud the Latin psalm, *In te confido*, "In thee, O Lord, do I trust." Groping for the block, she laid down her head, and cried, *In manus tuas, Domine*, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit." Her head was severed in two strokes. One poor servant there was who went upon that scaffold without permission. Her little dog was taken from beneath her robes, and "afterward would not depart from the dead corpse."

Fifteen months after this tragedy Elizabeth wrote to James, "God, the searcher of all hearts, ever so have misericorde of my soul as my innocency in that matter deserveth, and no otherwise; which invocation were too dangerous for a guilty conscience." Opposed as the narratives of Davison are to each other in many essential particulars, we cannot wholly reject them. We must believe, with one of these, that Elizabeth only desired the non-performance of the warrant for execution, that her prompting of some form that would shift the burden from herself might be adopted—for which purpose she caused letters to be written to Paulet and Drury; or, with the other, that she was always resolved upon the execution; and accept the statement of both "apologies" of Davison, that the very day before that of the Scottish queen's death "she fell of herself into some earnest expostulation with me about the execution of her said warrant, complaining greatly of myself and the rest of her council, as men careless of her safety and our own duties, commanding me to write a sharp letter to Sir Amias Paulet to that effect." And yet the council, when the news of the execution arrived, says Davison, "did not think fit to break suddenly to her majesty, who nevertheless, by other means, understood thereof that night." The next morning he met the other members of the council, who told him that "her majesty seemed greatly offended against them all about this action, disavowing that she had either commanded or intended any such proceeding therein." Davison was sent to the Tower, and tried in the Star Chamber. Burleigh was forbidden to appear in court. The assertions of Elizabeth have been attributed to "the earnestness of a dreadful self-deception."* Her conduct during the four months from the trial to the last act of this terrible drama has been designated as "hollow affectation." But nevertheless we believe that she was not of those whose "feet are swift to

* See page 366.

† "8 Feb. 1586. The manner of the Q. of Scott's death at Fodrynghay, wr. by R. Wy." This is among the Lansdowne MS. Ellis, Second Series, vol. iii. p. 102.

* Bruce, in Introduction to "Letters of Elizabeth," etc.

shed blood :" that there was a real contest in her mind between her private and her public feelings ; and that in her violent declarations of innocency she deceived herself into throwing the whole blame upon parliament and her ministers. Six days after the execution she wrote to James to express "the extreme dolor that overwhelms my mind, for that miserable accident which, far contrary to my meaning, hath befallen." She further says, "As I know this was deserved, yet if I had meant it I would never lay it on other shoulders." She persisted in this assertion, without any variation. There can be little doubt that she shielded herself by some technical objection to the mode in which her council had proceeded, upon the representations of Davison. At Davison's trial in the Star Chamber, on the 28th of March, Sir Roger Manwood, lord chief baron, said, "This thing, then, being so high a point of justice, was not in any respect to be done otherwise than her majesty's express commandment would bear. . . . The instrument was not so peremptory and irrevocable as he [Davison] took it ; nor a sufficient warrant for any kind of proceeding against the Scottish queen, neither for his associates, nor for any other : for the last statute, besides the condition and proclamation, doth require the queen's direction ; and that must be either general, that all men may do it, which is not here granted, or particular, who or by what means ; neither is there here any such, especially her majesty having no knowledge of the thing done." * The statute of the 27th Elizabeth certainly says that after sentence and judgment, and proclamation of the same, "all her highness's subjects shall and may lawfully, by virtue of this act, and *her majesty's direction in that behalf*, by all forcible and possible means pursue to death every such wicked person." Elizabeth had signed a general instrument of this nature, which the chief baron says was "not a sufficient warrant for any kind of proceeding against the Scottish queen." The council, upon the representations of Davison, chose, honestly interpreting the queen's wishes, to supply what was deficient in that instrument. Burleigh told the council, having read the instrument to them, that they were met to advise of "such means as might be most honorable and expedient for the dispatch thereof ; seeing her majesty had for her part performed as much as in any honor, law, or reason, was to be required at her hands." They took upon themselves the responsibility, fully understanding "her doubted inclination to drive this burthen, if it might be, from herself ;" and they determined to apply no more to the queen, lest she, "upon such a needless motion, should have fallen into any new conceit of interrupting and staying the course of justice." † There was some slight foundation for a "dreadful self-deception."

NOTE ON THE STATEMENTS THAT ELIZABETH DESIRED THAT THE QUEEN OF SCOTS MIGHT BE PRIVATELY ASSASSINATED.

The popular impression of the guilt of Elizabeth with regard to the death of Mary Stuart has been considerably aggravated in modern times. The worst belief formerly was, that the queen of England was most anxious for the execution of the queen of Scots, but long dissembled ; was exhorted by her council and by parliament to issue the fatal warrant ; resisted only that she might cast the odium of the act upon others ; and meanly persecuted Davison the secretary for really obeying her commands. Hume and Robertson briefly notice a far more odious charge against Elizabeth. Robertson says, "She often hinted to Paulet and Drury, as well as to some other courtiers, that now was the time to discover the sincerity of their concern for her safety, and that she expected their zeal would extricate her out of her present perplexity. But they were wise enough to seem not to understand her meaning." It is now the almost uniform practice of historical writers perfectly to understand that the meaning was private assassination. This accusation against Elizabeth is now generally related in the most circumstantial manner, and as generally accepted as resting upon unquestionable testimony. It appears to us, at the risk of being tedious, a duty to examine the evidence upon which this accusation is founded.

There are four narratives, or "apologies," attributed to Davison. The one with which the general reader is best acquainted is given in Robertson's "History of Scotland," Appendix xix. vol. ii. It contains no word respecting any suggestion for the removal of Mary, except by public execution. The original is among the Cottonian MSS.‡ The second "apology," with which Hume, Robertson, and other historians of the last century were acquainted, is printed in Kippis' "Biographia Britannica," Art. "Davyson," as "transcribed by Mr. John Urry, of Christchurch, from the papers of Sir Amias Paulet."* But it was first printed in the third volume of Dr. George Mackenzie's "Lives and Characters of Scottish Worthies," in 1722 ; and he derived his knowledge of it from Mr. John Urry. In this "apology," the command of Elizabeth to Davison, that he and Walsingham should write to Paulet and Drury "to sound their dispositions, aiming still at this, that it might be so done as the blame might be removed from herself," is detailed at some length. These are the materials which, with two letters which we shall have especially to notice, were known before the close of the last century. These letters, according to the ordinary belief, have converted the doubtful into the positive. Robertson says, "Even after the warrant was signed she commanded a letter to be written to Paulet, *in less ambiguous terms*, complaining of his remissness in sparing so long the life of her capital enemy, and begging him to remember at last what was incumbent on him as an affectionate subject, and to deliver his sovereign from continual fear and danger, *by shortening the days of his prisoner*." Paulet, adds this historian, "rejected the proposal with disdain." Conversations might have been misunderstood ; rash expressions exaggerated. But letters of this import could not be capable of any other interpretation *than that Elizabeth desired Mary to be removed by secret murder*.

In 1823 Sir N. H. Nicolas published his "Life of William Davison," in which he gave two other apologies, which he describes as "the fullest and most satisfactory" of these papers, and which he believes have "never before been cited or published." The first of these is taken from the Cottonian MS., Titus, C. vii. f. 48, and the Cottonian MS. Caligula, C. ix. f. 149, and these "appear to be in Davison's hand." † The second is the Harleian MS., 290, f. 213, and, says Nicolas, "the manuscript is very similar to Davison's." ‡ The one from the Harleian MS. is headed "A true relation of what passed between her majesty and me," etc. The other from the Cottonian MS. is headed "A Discourse sent by and from Mr. Secretary Davison, being then prisoner in the Tower of London, unto Secretary Walsingham," etc. There is another copy of the "Discourse" in the Harleian Collection, of which the catalogue says, "written by the hand of Mr. Rafe Starkey." Nicolas points out that it varies very slightly from that in the Cottonian Collection. Three examinations of Davison, while he was a prisoner in the Tower, and reports of his trial in the Star Chamber, are the principal documents which further bear on the question.

The offence for which Davison was prosecuted in the Star Chamber was, as related in a letter written about three months after Mary's death, "for not proceeding with the queen of Scots according to his mistress's commandment at the delivery of the warrant, which was, not to put it in execution before the realm shall be actually invaded by some foreign power." § The examinations of Davison in the Star Chamber are recorded in several papers, in which there are allusions to some other mode of proceeding than that contemplated in the warrant. Thus, among questions put to Davison on the 12th of March, he is asked, "whether six or seven days after it [the warrant] was passed the great seal, and in your custody, her majesty told you not in the gallery that she had a better way to proceed therein than that which was before advised ?" Would the courtly examiners have ventured to ask such a question if they had expected that Davison would have blurted out that the other way was assassination ? The answer of Davison was this : "He remembereth that upon some letters received from Mr. Paulet, her majesty falling into some complaint of him upon such cause as she best knoweth, she uttered such a speech *that she would have matters otherwise done.*" ‖ Did this speech, that she would have matters otherwise done, contemplate assassination ?

The two reports purporting to be from Davison, which are preserved in the Harleian and Cottonian MSS., and have been reprinted by Sir N. H. Nicolas, have most important variations. The narrative of Sir N. H. Nicolas is mainly founded upon the Cottonian MS., which varies very slightly from that first published by Mackenzie. The Harleian Catalogue says of the two narratives, though they "differ in many circumstances, each containing several which the other wants, they are not repugnant one to the other, and therefore both may be true." They are so repugnant, however, that the most material averment of the "discourse" is not found in the "relation." The "discourse" purports to be sent by Davison to Walsingham when he was "a prisoner in the Tower," and bears the date as having been so sent, February 20th, 1586 [1587]. It is an extraordinary circumstance that of this confidential communication there should be many copies ; for it contains allegations against the queen which the writer, "a prisoner in the Tower," would scarcely intrust to any person but his co-secretary, Walsingham, who, according to this statement, was art and part with him in an unscrupulous act. Of the "relation" only one copy is known. This fact is certainly insufficient to impugn the authenticity of the paper bearing the date of February 20th. But as there were evident pains taken to publish it by a multiplication of copies, it is not impossible that it might be so circulated after the death of Elizabeth, when any insinuations against the great queen would not have been displeasing to her successor.

We proceed to point out the chief discrepancies between the two papers ; and we give, in the first place, an example of one material

* Report of the Trial, by an eye-witness. Nicolas, p. 343.
† Davison's "Discourse." Nicolas, p. 241.
‡ Printed by Nicolas, "Life of Davison," Appendix D.

* Printed by Nicolas, Appendix C. † Ibid., Appendix A.
‡ Ibid., Appendix B. § Ellis, Second Series, vol. iii. p. 126.
‖ Sir N. H. Nicolas, "Life of Davison," p. 95.

deviation, placing the passages in parallel columns; each describing what took place immediately after the warrant had been signed on the 1st of February:

From the Cotton MS.

"And thereupon (after some intermingled speech to and fro), told me she would have it done as secretly as might be, appointing the hall where she was for the place of execution; and misliking the court, or green of the castle for divers respects she alleged, with other speech to like effect. Howbeit, as I was ready to depart, she fell into some complaint of Sir Amias Paulet and others, that might have eased her of this burthen, wishing that Mr. Secretary [Walsingham] and I would yet write unto both him and Sir Drue Drury, to sound their disposition in that behalf. . . . . The same afternoon I waited on my lord chancellor for the sealing of the said warrant. . . . I returned back unto Mr. Secretary Walsingham, whom I had visited by the way, and acquainted him with her pleasure touching letters that were to be written to the said Sir Amias Paulet and Sir Drue Drury, which at my return I found ready to be sent away."

From the Harleian MS.

"She finally willed me to take up the said warrant, and to carry it immediately to the great seal, commanding me expressly to dispatch and send it down unto the commissioners with all the expedition I might, appointing the hall of Fotheringay for the place of execution, misliking the court-yard for divers respects she alleged; and, in conclusion, absolutely forbade me to trouble her any further, or let her hear any more thereof till it was done, seeing that for her part she had now performed all that either in law or reason could be required of her; and so, calling for the rest of the things I had to be signed, dispatched them all. This done, she entered into some speech with me of Mr. Secretary Walsingham, delivering me a message to be imparted unto him, and willing me withal to shew him her warrant in my way to the seal (he being then sick at his house in London), yielding merrily this reason that she thought the sight thereof would kill him outright. . . . After dinner I repaired to the lord chancellor, according to my directions, having first visited Mr. Secretary Walsingham on my way, and acquainted him with those things her majesty had given me in charge."

In the above "relation" from the Harleian MS. there is not a word about the joint letter that was to be written, as the "discourse" states, to sound the disposition of Paulet and Drury. The warrant was to be dispatched and sent down to the commissioners with all expedition; the queen commanded that she should hear no more about it till it was done. The "discourse" has a very different story. Paulet and Drury were to be written to with reference to some irregular proceeding, for taking the life of Mary without the necessary forms: "Albeit I had before excused myself from meddling therein, upon sundry her majesty's former motions, as a matter I utterly prejudged, assuring her that it should be so much labor lost, knowing the wisdom and integrity of the gentlemen, whom I thought would not do such an unlawful act for any respect in the world; yet finding her desirous to have the matter attempted, I promised for her satisfaction to signify this her pleasure to Mr. Secretary." Thus becoming an accessory to "an unlawful act," he goes to Walsingham, "he being then sick at his house in London;" and the most wary man in the world instantly adopts some illegal suggestion, full of peril and difficulty, at the very moment when the great object of himself and the other members of the council was accomplished, and Elizabeth's warrant for Mary's execution was signed at last. The letter was such a matter of course that the sick man sets about its instant preparation; and when Davison returns in an hour or so he finds it "ready to be sent away." In the "true relation" of Davison there is not one word to indicate that any such letter was written, or ordered to be written. This relation, throughout, aims only at showing that the queen held firmly to her original command that the warrant should be quickly executed; "albeit she thought it might have been better handled, because this course threw the whole burthen upon herself." This was said on the 2d of February; and Davison replies to the queen that he "saw not who else could bear it, seeing her laws made it murder in any man to take the life of the meanest subject in her kingdom but by her warrant." This is corroborated by the "discourse." She thought "that it might have been otherwise handled *for the form*, naming unto me some that were of that opinion, whose judgments she commended." Her ministers complained of Elizabeth that she hesitated to give that authority to the council that would have been their warrant to issue a writ for the execution of the queen of Scots. Davison distinctly separates the warrant which the queen signed from the writ of execution which was issued by the council. It is clear that the queen had a vague desire that the warrant should come from her council, as the writ of execution did come—a weak and crafty desire, but not a longing for assassination. Some such longing had indeed, according to the "true relation," been put into her head by one of her most dangerous advisers, some days after the sick Walsingham and the conscientious Davison had, according to the ordinary interpretation, proposed to Paulet and Drury that they should murder their prisoner. Thus Davison relates a subsequent interview with the queen: "Some two or three days after having special occasion to attend her majesty and finding her in her gallery at Greenwich all alone she entered into some speech with me of a course that had been propounded unto her underhand by one of great place concerning that queen; asked me what I thought thereof; which being in truth very unsuitable to the rest of her public proceedings, I utterly misliked, delivering my reasons, wherewith she seemed to rest satisfied, without any show of following this new course, or altering her former resolution in any point." This, it seems, was "a new course"—a course "very unsuitable to the rest of her public proceedings," which Elizabeth told Davison "had been propounded to her underhand by one of great place," but "without any show of altering her former resolution in any point"—the resolution that the warrant should take effect. And yet this "new course," according to the ordinary belief, was the "underhand" one which Walsingham and Davison had proposed to Paulet and Drury some days before, at the express desire of the queen herself.

The manifest discrepancies between the two papers attributed to Davison might perhaps have suggested some such doubts as we have stated, if not of their genuineness, at least of their real meaning, if there had not appeared other papers which profess to be the identical correspondence of Walsingham and Davison with Paulet and Drury. We give the letter of Elizabeth's secretaries as it was first discovered and presented to the world about a hundred and forty years after it professed to have been written. If this letter had never appeared, we might have most reasonably doubted whether the strongest statements of Davison had any reference to secret assassination.

"To Sir Amias Paulet.

"After our hearty commendations, we find by speech lately uttered by her majesty, that she doth note in you both a lack of that care and zeal for her service that she looketh for at your hands, in that you have not in all this time of yourselves, without other provocation, found out some way to shorten the life of that queen, considering the great peril she is hourly subject to so long as the said queen shall live. Wherein, besides a kind of lack of love toward her, she noteth greatly that you have not that care of your own particular safeties, or rather of the preservation of religion, and the public good and prosperity of your country, that reason and policy commandeth; especially having so good a warrant and ground for the satisfaction of your conscience toward God, and the discharge of your credit and reputation toward the world, as the oath of Association, which you both have so solemnly taken and vowed, and especially the matter wherewith she standeth charged being so clearly and manifestly proved against her. And therefore she taketh it most unkindly toward her that men professing that love toward her that you do, should in any kind of sort, for lack of the discharge of your duties, cast the burthen upon her, knowing as you do her indisposition to shed blood, especially of one of that sex and quality, and so near to her in blood as the said queen is. These respects, we find, do greatly trouble her majesty, who we assure you hath sundry times protested, that if the regard of this danger of her good subjects and faithful servants did not more move her than her own peril, she would never be drawn to assent to the shedding of her blood. We thought it very meet to acquaint you with these speeches lately passed from her majesty, referring the same to your good judgments. And so we commit you to the protection of the Almighty.

"Your most assured friends,

"Francis Walsingham.

"William Davison."

At London, Feb. 1, 1586 [1587].

Mr. Hallam has referred to doubts of the genuineness of this letter which were expressed in the original edition of the "Biographia Britannica," Note to Art. "Walsingham." Others, less candid, have avoided hinting that such a doubt had ever been expressed. The point is all-important. If this letter is a genuine one, there is an end of all doubt—Elizabeth desired that Mary should be secretly murdered. If it be a forgery, the charge falls to the ground; for there is nothing in the apologies of Davison that gives this meaning absolutely—nothing that is incapable of another interpretation. The writer of the note in the "Biographia Britannica" rests his scepticism upon his confident belief that Walsingham, the most wary of politicians, who, according to Camden, had resisted every suggestion for dealing with Mary except by open trial, would never have committed himself to an expression of the queen's regret that Paulet and Drury had not taken means to shorten her life. But there is another suspicious point of internal evidence, which that writer has not noticed. Davison signs a letter, in which he says that the oath of the Association (which was an engagement to pursue to death any person plotting against the life of Queen Elizabeth) would be a ground for the satisfaction of their conscience in proceeding of themselves to the execution of that oath. The man who signs this exhortation had refused himself to join the Association, and sets forth, at a later period, that such refusal had been injurious to him. Is it possible that any conscientious man—as Davison is held to have been—would plead the obligation to shed blood imposed by an oath upon others, which oath he had refused to take, as being against his own conscience?

The answer of Paulet and Drury to the infamous proposal of Walsingham and Davison is as follows:

"To Sir Francis Walsingham, Knt.

"Sir: Your letters of yesterday coming to my hands this present day at five in the afternoon, I would not fail, according to your directions, to return my answer with all possible speed, which shall deliver unto you great grief and bitterness of mind, in that I am so unhappy to have liven to see this unhappy day, in the which I am required, by direction from my most gracious sovereign, to do an act which God and the law forbiddeth. My good livings and life are at her majesty's disposition, and am ready to lose them this next morrow

if it shall so please her, acknowledging that I hold them as of her mere and most gracious favor. I do not desire them, to enjoy them, but with her highness's good liking; but God forbid that I should make so foul a shipwrack of my conscience, or leave so great a blot to my posterity, or shed blood without law and warrant: trusting that her majesty, of her accustomed clemency, will take this my dutiful answer in good part (and the rather, by your good mediation), as proceeding from one who will never be inferior to any Christian subject living in duty, honor, love, and obedience toward his sovereign. And thus I commit you to the mercy of the Almighty. From Fotheringay, the 2d of February, 1586 [1587].

"Your most assured poor friends,

"A. Paulet.

"D. Drury."

The following is a postscript:

"Your letter coming in the plural number, seems to be meant as to Sir Drue Drury as to myself: and yet because he is not named in them, neither the letter directed unto him, he forbeareth to make any answer, but subscribeth in heart to my opinion." (And yet he does answer, and appends his signature.)

If any one can readily believe that this is the boastful style in which two of Elizabeth's servants, the breath of whose nostrils was court favor, would answer a half-command of the queen herself, transmitted by her two secretaries of state, we can only say that they have more confidence than ourselves, not only in the public virtue of such men, but in their unexampled boldness in hurling foul scorn at their mistress and her ministers. We have seen how suspicious are all the circumstances connected with the dispatch of the letter held to contain a plain command of the queen "to shorten the life" of the unhappy prisoner of Paulet and Drury. According to Davison's "discourse," as explained by the letter itself, Elizabeth gives her order without any hesitation. She does not dally, as John dallied with Hubert:

"I had a thing to say—But let it go."

Let us see how she receives the refusal of Paulet to execute this supposed unholy command. Does her conscience sting her when she reads what Paulet replies—"God forbid that I should make so foul a shipwrack of *my* conscience, or leave so great a blot to my posterity, or shed blood without law or warrant"—"to do an act which God and the law forbiddeth"—to be an assassin? Does she use any solemn oath to purge herself from a suspicion that her meaning was murder? With the same matchless impudence that prompted her command, she reads the refusal to obey it. "She rose up, and after a turn or two went into the gallery, whither I followed her; and there renewing her former speech, blaming *the niceness of those precise fellows*, as she termed them, who in words would do great things for her surety, but in deed performed nothing, concluded that she would well enough have done without them. And here, entering into particularities, named unto me, as I remember, one Wingfield, who, she assured me, would, with some others, undertake it." ("Discourse.") If to "undertake it" meant to poison, or to stab, no murderess that ever lived was so brazen-faced in her "particularities" as this Elizabeth. Mr. Tytler paraphrases this passage, and says, "Who this new assassin was to whom the queen alluded does not appear." Let us try to make the matter clearer. The earl of Shrewsbury had a castle called Wingfield, or Winfield. There Mary was, in 1584, under the charge of Sir Ralph Sadler. Insert two letters in the Davison MS., and we read, "One [*at*] Wingfield." The one who would "undertake it" would not necessarily be an assassin; and from the answer of Davison to this allusion of the queen, it is quite clear that he did not view the refusal of Paulet and Drury to "undertake it" as a refusal to perpetrate a *secret* murder. He "discoursed unto her the great extremity she would have exposed those poor gentlemen to; for if, in a tender care of her surety, they should have done that she desired, she must either allow their act, or disallow it." Whatever it was to be, it was to be an *open* act. Elizabeth, if we altogether reject the two suspicious letters from the evidence, desired an informal public execution, but not a mysterious removal of the condemned prisoner. The trial of Mary took place while Leicester was in the Netherlands. On the 25th of October he wrote from Utrecht a letter to Walsingham, in which he says, "My heart cannot rest for fear, since I heard that your matters are deferred. . . . I do fear, if I had been there with you, I should rather have put myself into her majesty's place, than suffered this dreadful mischief to be prolonged, for her destruction."* Elizabeth wished some one to take upon himself the responsibility of "her majesty's place"—a wretched device, but not a scheme of assassination.

But any objections that might be raised to the internal evidence of the authenticity of these letters would be overthrown if the originals were preserved and the signatures could be compared with the well-known autographs of Walsingham and Davison. They are professedly copies; and yet Mr. Tytler calls them "original letters;" and another historian speaks of them as "unquestionable documents." In quoting them, or commenting upon them, we are sometimes referred to the Harleian MS. There, indeed, may we find copies of the two letters, which copies are thus described in the Catalogue of the MSS. in the British Museum: "One is dated the 1st, the other the 6th of February, 1586. Both copies partly in Lord Oxford's own hand, and inclosed in a letter from the duke of Chandos to his lordship, who had lent them to him, expressing his return of them and opinion that they are a very valuable curiosity, and deserve well to be preserved. Dated Cannons, August 23d, 1725." The famous Robert Harley died in May, 1724, and was succeeded by his son Edward, to whom the duke of Chandos must have returned the "very valuable curiosity." At that time, however, they had been published by Dr. Mackenzie, as illustrative of Davison's apology, in his "Worthies," 1722; and by Thomas Hearne, in his edition of Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, which bears the date of 1724. Hearne says they were *copied by a friend of his*, in September, 1717, from a manuscript folio book, containing letters to and from Sir Amias Paulet, when the queen of Scots' governor at Fotheringay. Where is that "manuscript folio book," so curious on many other accounts? Hearne gives us, after the letter of Walsingham and Davison, the following as entries in what Dr. Lingard calls "the letter-book" of Paulet:

"This letter was received at Fotheringay the 2d of February, at five in the afternoon." Immediately after, we have "An abstract of a letter from Mr. Secretary Davison, of the said 1st of February, 1586, as followeth: 'I pray you let this and the inclosed be committed to the fire, which measure shall be likewise met to your answer, after it hath been communicated to her majesty for her satisfaction.'" But Davison is still anxious; and we have next, "A postscript in a letter from Mr. Secretary Davison, of the 3d of February, 1586: 'I entreated you in my last letters to burn both the letters sent unto you for the argument's sake; which, by your answer to the secretary (which I have seen) appeareth not to be done. I pray you let me intreat you to make heretics both of th' one and th' other, as I mean to use yours after her majesty hath seen it.'" Davison is further so uneasy about the murderous letter that he adds a postscript to the postscript: "I pray you let me know what you have done with my letters, because they are not fit to be kept."

The letters, it is said, were not burned. Chalmers gives an extract of a letter from Paulet, in which he says, "If I should say I burnt the papers you wot of, I cannot tell if anybody would believe me; and therefore I reserve them to be delivered into your own hands at my coming to London." Dr. Lingard, who quotes this, says, "He might do so: but the letter and answer had previously been entered into his letter-book. Had this not happened, the fact would never have come to light." How does Dr. Lingard know that "the papers you wot of" refers to the letter of the 1st of February? If the letter-book itself were come to light we should be better satisfied as to "the fact." As it is, these laborious postscripts, so carefully preserved, appear very much like the performance of some fabricator overdoing his work. There is one expression which to us is very suspicious: "I pray you let me intreat you to make heretics both of th' one and th' other." Was this a common joke of the "Home Office" of 1587? Walsingham, in a letter to Leicester about the Babington Conspiracy (Cottonian MS.), says, "I pray your lordship make this letter an heretic after you have read the same."* Or was this remarkable expression worked into Secretary Davison's postscript by one who had been struck by it in the Cotton MS.?—the friend of Hearne, who found these choice bits, and no other, in the "Manuscript folio book." If these letters and postscripts were forgeries, they were founded upon the "discourse" of Davison, as "transcribed by Mr. John Urry, of Christchurch." They fit tolerably well; but there is one slip. The haste with which the letters were exchanged, at a distance of eighty miles, is very remarkable. The answer to the secretary's letter of the 1st of February is in London on the 3d, according to Davison's postscript, in which he says that he has seen it. But in Davison's "discourse" we find that the queen asks him on the 4th if he had heard from Paulet, and he tells her "no." That same afternoon he says, "I met with letters from him, in answer to those that were written *some few days before*." In Davison's story, after the date of the 1st of February, we have to fix the other dates by following the narrative day by day. It was easy to mistake the exact date, in the manufacture of a letter to suit the narrative, and give it a darker hue.

We might leave this mysterious question at this point had we not a few words to add about the period at which the correspondence so calculated to damage the memory of the Protestant Queen Elizabeth was first given to the world. It was in the hottest period of Jacobite plots for the bringing in of the Pretender. Harley, who makes copies of these letters, was implicated in these intrigues. They are first published by Dr. Mackenzie, in 1722; and being republished in 1725, in a "Life of Mary, Queen of Scots," by Freebairne, he says, with a curious sort of candor, speaking of the odious charge about assassination, "This affair, which leaves so foul a stain upon Queen Elizabeth's reputation, I dare not assert to be fact," and he adds that, therefore, he shall only transcribe these letters; "a copy of which, transcribed from the originals, was sent to the Doctor by our learned countryman, Mr. John Hurry, of Christ's Church College, Oxon." Mr. John Urry, the incompetent editor of Chaucer, was known to Harley and Atterbury; and he might have received the letters from some zealous friend of the Stuarts. Hearne, who publishes them in 1724, was a non-juror; and his anxiety to give them to the world was shown by his thrusting them into the middle of a glossary of an

* "Leycester Correspondence," p. 447.

* "Leycester Correspondence," p. 342.

ancient chronicle which he published. Lastly, Dr. Jebb prints the two letters in the Appendix to his History of Mary, queen of Scots, published in London, also in 1725. From that time the odious charge against Elizabeth has mainly rested upon these letters, as those who printed them clearly saw.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

Funeral of Sir Philip Sidney—Preparations for the invasion of England by Spain—Drake's expedition to Cadiz—Suspected policy of James VI.—The armada announced—The spirit of the country—Camp at Tilbury—The mariners of England—Defences of the coast—The demeanor of the queen—Her oration at Tilbury—Loyalty of the Catholics.

London has had its rejoicings that the great blow has been struck which is to deliver England from the dread of a papist successor to Elizabeth. The bells of the city's hundred steeples have proclaimed the stern exultation of the citizens that the voice of the parliament had at last been listened to. There is secret anger among a few, and generous pity in many a woman's heart. But the common sentiment is that the danger of domestic treason has been removed, and that the other danger of foreign invasion is less to be dreaded. In another week the patriotic feelings of the people are wisely stirred in their utmost depths. The queen has undertaken the charge of a costly public funeral of Sir Philip Sidney. He who under the walls of Zutphen had perished untimely—who was no more to show his knightly bearing in the Tilt-yard, or to wander amid the flower-enamelled meadows of his own Penshurst—is lying insensible to earthly hopes or fears at the house of the Minorites, without Aldgate. On the 16th of February there is a magnificent pageant in honor of the self-denying hero. From the Minories to St. Paul's there is a long procession of the rulers of the city, clad in solemn purple. Young men selected from the train-bands march "three and three, in black cassokins, with their short pikes, halberds, and ensign trailing on the ground." * Brave comrades of Sidney in his battle-fields are there; and there is the ambitious Leicester, who has not yet resigned his scheme of being sovereign of the Netherlands. The people gaze upon Drake, the great mariner who has circumnavigated the world, and has carried terror of the English flag through all the Spanish settlements. In the pomp of that funeral of Sidney there is something more than empty pageantry. A long course of prosperous industry might be supposed to have unfitted those who had been winning the spoils of peace for the defence of their country at a time of great national danger. The memory of that brave knight, who had fallen in the war of principle in the Low Countries, would present an example worthy of all imitation to high and humble. But the ancient spirit was not dead. In the midst of many differences of opinion among Protestants connected with the discipline of the Church, and with Romanists living under severe laws, there was to be, in another year, such an outburst of patriotism as would manifest that the love of country was above all divisions of creed. That glorious manifestation of national spirit in 1588 was also to show that a people does not necessarily become weakened in character by a long course of prosperity, but that the accumulations of peace are the real resources of war. It is not the diffusion of comforts and luxuries that renders a nation unwarlike and apathetic. It is the treading out of true nationality by lawless rulers—the shutting-up of all the fountains of independent thought by slavish superstition—that destroy the patriotism of a people, and make them incapable of defending their homes. There were many things in the political condition of the English under Elizabeth that are opposed to our notions of freedom—that were essentially characteristic of an arbitrary government. But the people were thriving; they were living under an equal administration of justice; and they were trusted. They had arms in their hands, and they were taught how to use them. There was no standing army, but every man of full age was a soldier. The feudal military organization was gone. There was an organization of the people among themselves equally effective, and far more inspiriting.

In the spring of 1587 it was certain that Spain was making great preparations for the invasion of England. This design was the result of no sudden resolve. Elizabeth was not to be hurled from the throne of the heretic island because Philip was provoked out of his forbearance by "an insult to the majesty of sovereigns, which, as the most powerful of Christian monarchs, he deemed it his duty to revenge." * The people of England by their parliament, Elizabeth by her ministers, "had taken, on a scaffold, the life of the queen of Scots;" but the projected invasion had been stimulated by that queen as the great scheme for bringing back England and Scotland to the faith for which Philip and his adherents were calling into terrible vindictiveness all the horrors of the Inquisition and all the subtlety of the Jesuits. The day that was to decide for us which should prevail of the two principles that divided the Christian world was fast approaching. There was no hesitation here. Elizabeth provided Drake with four royal ships, and twenty-four other vessels were placed under his command by the citizens of London. On the 2d of April this squadron was ready to sail out of Plymouth Sound. Drake wrote on that morning to Walsingham: "This last night past came unto us the Royal Merchant, with four of the rest of the London fleet; the wind would permit them no sooner. . . . The wind commands me away. Our ship is under sail. God grant we may so live in his fear, as the enemy may have cause to say that God doth fight for her majesty as well abroad as at home." In this solemn confidence in the divine protection went out these heroic men of an heroic age, "to stand," as Drake said, "for our gracious queen and country against Antichrist and his members;" and doubting not to give a good account of their enemies, "for they are the sons of men." † On the 19th of April he entered the harbor of Cadiz, which was filled with many Spanish ships, embarking provisions and warlike stores, and destined to proceed to join the great armament at Lisbon. Defying the guns of the fortress, and the huge Spanish galleys, with the dash of the true English seaman, Drake made himself master of the roadstead; and in the course of two nights and one day had sunk, burned or captured shipping of ten thousand tons lading. To use his own expressive phrase, he had "singed the Spanish king's beard." He had tried the comparatively small English vessels against the mighty galleys. They ran under the protection of the fort, after two had been sunk. He had found that daring and activity were of more importance in a sea-fight than unwieldy strength; and the lesson was not forgotten when the day of the greater battle had come. Till another year the mighty attempt upon England was delayed by the skill and courage of the Devonshire captain. Setting sail for the Azores, Drake fell in with a most valuable Portuguese carrack, returning from the East Indies; and he took this ship with a lading which made the San Philipe the greatest prize that had ever rewarded the energy of English mariners. This triumph at Cadiz, and this capture of the rich merchant-ship, were of permanent importance. "The English, ever after that time, more cheerfully set upon those huge castle-like ships, which before they were afraid of; and also they so fully understood, by the merchants' books, the wealth of the Indian merchandises and the manner of trading in the eastern world that they afterward set up a gainful voyage and traffic thither, ordaining a company of East Indian merchants." ‡ Drake came back to Plymouth; and during a year of warlike inaction, with that practical energy which is one of the characteristics of greatness, he conferred a lasting benefit upon that town. The populous place had no adequate supply of fresh water. At Dartmoor he found a leat, or spring, that he saw was capable of being conducted from the high ground to a reservoir at the northern suburb of Plymouth. He mounted his horse, says the local tradition, and riding to the distant hills, found the desired supply; and having pronounced some magical words, rode back, and the stream followed him all the way to the town. The Plymouth Leat still bestows its blessings upon a large population. Science since that time has uttered many words that appear still more magical; but the scientific instinct of this rough sailor was following the track by which philosophy has achieved its most enduring glories, in becoming the great minister to all those conveniences of life whose blessings are of universal diffusion.

After Drake's return there were many months of suspense. The people of England knew that the great attempt of the Spaniard was only deferred. The colonial enterprises in which Raleigh and other

* Stow's "Annals."

* Lingard, vol. viii.
† Letter in State Paper Office, given in Barrow's "Life of Drake."
‡ Camden.

bold spirits desired to persevere, in spite of loss and disappointment, were suspended. Never were the prudence and vigilance of Elizabeth's statesmen more required. The position of Scotland was a very doubtful one. James had become of full age, and he was urged on many sides to revenge the death of his mother by joining in the projects of Spain. It is difficult to understand what were his real inclinations. Henry Cary, Lord Hunsdon, was sent as an ambassador to James; and Elizabeth professed great confidence in his friendship. James admitted that he had received tempting offers from Spain, but declared that he detested, as much as herself, the plots of the papists. Hunsdon had no faith in him, and wrote to Elizabeth, "If there were any good inclination in him toward your highness, which I neither find nor believe to be, yet he hath such bad company about him, and so maliciously bent against your highness, they will not suffer him to remain in it two days together." The "bad company" of which Hunsdon speaks consisted of Huntley, and other Catholic lords, who were preparing to collect forces to revolutionize Scotland, and aid, by a diversion, the great attempt upon England. Some of the band were intriguing in foreign courts, and communicating with Spain and Rome. But Elizabeth and her agents eventually prevented James from being led away by his "bad company." She wrote to him in her bold characteristic style, "Right well am I persuaded that your greatest danger should chance you by crossing your strait paths; for he that hath two strings to his bow may shoot stronger, but never strait; and he that hath no sure foundation cannot but ruin." * But James was more effectually made to walk strait by present payments and large promises than by pithy lectures. The schemes of the Spanish faction were penetrated by the acuteness of Walsingham and his agents; and England was free to concentrate her energies upon the defence of her southern and western coasts, without troubling herself about an enemy on her northern borders.

The notion of a maritime invasion of England was, to the majority of the people, a dim tradition of centuries long past. There were a few towers on the coast, more calculated to resist a handful of sea-robbers than a large invading army. In the interior of the country most of the old feudal castles had gradually given place to baronial mansions; and those that remained were little suited for defence against artillery. Raleigh, the most sagacious in counsel or action, held that an invader could only be prevented landing by the resistance of a fleet; and he maintained that in a country where there were no fortified places, and the ramparts were only the bodies of men, it was most dangerous not to offer that resistance by a navy of competent strength. The government of Elizabeth knew the weakness of the country; but they also knew its power. They knew the mettle of its mariners, and they had no fear of the loyalty of the people. The mask of negotiation, by which Philip and the prince of Parma thought to divert attention from their real proceedings, had been thrown off. It was now thought the true policy to proclaim their vast preparations and the objects of that mighty arming, so as to terrify rather than delude. Pope Sixtus V. made a solemn treaty with Philip, and promised him an enormous subsidy, to be paid when he had taken absolute possession of any English port. The warlike pontiff was equally ready with his spiritual weapons He published a new bull of excommunication against Elizabeth, and called all Catholics to a crusade against England, as for a holy war against the Infidel. They came from all lands where the doctrines of the Reformation had never taken root, or had been extirpated—they came, needy adventurers with high-sounding names, ready to fight for the true faith, and to have each a dainty plot of the English garden. They thought less of the plenary indulgences promised for their voluntary service than of the stores of wealth that would reward their valor, when the Jezebel, the accursed queen, should be hurled from her throne, and the pope should have bestowed the crown upon Philip or his nominee. Such were the bands that flocked to the standard of the duke of Parma in the Netherlands. But in Spain, and in Spain's newly acquired dominion of Portugal, all the proud chivalry that had won the golden lands of Mexico and Peru were to go forth to an easier conquest of the worse than heathen, who obstructed the universal acceptance of the Catholic faith in the old world, and had dared to dispute the power of Spain to have an absolute monopoly of the soil and the commerce of the new world. In the pride of their invincibility they now threw away all caution and concealment. They were "men grown fierce in the confidence of their own strength; and they held it sufficient to commend the cause, armada, and army to the bishop of Rome, and the prayers of the Catholics to God and the saints; and to set forth a book in print, with maps, for a terror, wherein the whole preparation was particularly set down." *

The unequalled magnitude of this armament wrought no terror in England. The minds of men might be impressed with a solemn foreboding of a great battle to be fought which would determine the whole future destinies of this island; but there was no faint-heartedness. "Many ancient and strange prophecies in divers languages, and many excellent astronomers of sundry nations, had in very plain terms foretold that the year 1588 should be most fatal and ominous unto all estates, concluding in these words: 'And if in that year the world do not perish and utterly decay, yet empires all, and kingdoms after, shall; and no man to raise himself shall know no way, and that forever after it shall be called the year of wonder.'" † Englishmen heard the prophecy; but there was no faint-heartedness. They interpreted it, after their own resolute fashion, that the year 1588 should be a fatal and ominous year to their enemies; the God of the Bible, which Englishmen had learned to read and study, being with the defenders of the land that had cast off the usurped power and the superstitions of Rome. "The whole commonalty of England became of one heart and mind. . . . The English nation were so combined in heart, that I here confess I want art lively to express the sympathy of love between the subjects and the sovereign." ‡ The queen called upon her lieutenants of counties to set before the gentlemen under their lieutenantcy, "the instant extraordinary occasion" for a larger proportion of horsemen and footmen than had been certified; "considering these great preparations and arrogant threatenings now burst out in action upon the seas, tending to a conquest wherein every man's particular state is in the highest degree to be touched, in respect of country, liberty, wife, children, lands, life, and that which specially is to be regarded, for the possession of the true and sincere religion of Christ." § She had, before this, through her council, asked the authorities of London what the city would do; and the lord mayor and aldermen had besought that the council would name what they thought was requisite. "The lords," says Stow, "demanded five thousand men and fifteen ships. The city craved two days' respite for an answer, which was granted; and then entreated their lordships, in sign of their perfect love and loyalty to their prince and country, kindly to accept ten thousand men and thirty ships, amply furnished." In such a spirit as this there was something more invincible than all the armadas in the world. At the great camp at Tilbury was collected an army of train bands from the adjacent counties. Another army was in the interior for the defence of the queen's person, and to be used as a disposable force. "It was a pleasant sight to behold the soldiers as they marched toward Tilbury, their cheerful countenances, courageous words and gestures, dancing and leaping wheresoever they came." Well does the old historian paint the national spirit, most cheerful under the pressure of danger—the spirit of a really free population, ready to fight "as if lusty giants to run a race," and not the less prepared to fight because they had little experience of real warfare. They had country, liberty, wife, children, lands, life, religion, to defend, as their queen had told them. There was inequality of rank among them, but there was equality of duties and interests. The ploughman who followed his master's landlord to the field, the apprentice who was led by the alderman of his ward, had not been chilled into indifference by the insolence of birth, for the true gentleman was never insolent; nor by the pride of wealth, for the wealthy then respected those who were the instruments of their money-making. It was free England, socially free, which in 1588 was called to fight against the hated Spaniards, whose great galleys were rowed along by slaves, and whose best mariners were regarded only as the drudges of the proud warriors who crowded the decks of the sailing ships. And thus, when an agent of the English council wrote home that the Spanish navy lay under the castle of Belem, expecting wind to set sail, and

* "Letters of Elizabeth and James VI.," p. 51.

* Camden. Lord Burleigh's copy of the book "set forth in print" (Lisbon, 1588) is in the King's Library in the British Museum.

† Stow. ‡ Ibid.

§ Letter of the queen, dated 18th of June. Ellis, Second Series, vol. iii. p. 187.

that he judged they would soon be in the English quarters—"so that the lightning and the thunder-clap will be both in a moment" *—at the same time every port, from the Lizard to the North Foreland, from the Naze to the Tyne, looked to its own little craft, and asked, in no niggard spirit, if it had a ship that could be fitted out at the common expense, to make one in that great sea-fight that was near at hand. There was not a port where mariners were not trained to hardy and dangerous adventure. They had gone forth, once from Deptford and twice from Harwich, with Frobisher, to search for the north-west passage. Three times had the polar seas been penetrated by this intrepid navigator, who left his name in those regions to which so many other noble sailors have given a nomenclature. Davis followed Frobisher in the same enterprise. Our mariners had circumnavigated the world with Drake, and had carried the terror of the English flag, floating from the Pelican of Plymouth, into what was called the Indian Sea, in despite of the Spaniard, who held that the bishop of Rome had bestowed that vast ocean upon him alone. When Elizabeth told the Spaniard that her ships should sail, and her people should found colonies in places not already settled, in the Atlantic and the Pacific, without any regard to such imaginary right, there was many a gentleman of ancient family, and many a merchant prince of self-created fortune, ready to embark his property in this opening for colonial enterprise. In the year of the armada Cavendish was circumnavigating the world, and was warring against Spain, after the example of Drake, upon the coasts of Chili and Peru and New Spain; and he had taken a great galleon on the coast of California. But "the intrepid corsairs, who had rendered every sea insecure, now clustered round the coasts of their native island." † There were with them at this time an enterprising band who were preparing to send out a new colony to Virginia. The first noble projects of Sir Humphrey Gilbert and his half-brother, Raleigh, had failed. Sir Richard Grenville had effected a settlement on the island of Roanoake; yet the hostilities of the natives and the disputes of the colonists had prevented any effectual establishment of the English in North America at that period. The governor had returned home, despairing of success. A few years were to pass over before the Anglo-Saxon race was "to make new nations," amid dense forests and boundless prairies. England, at the time of the governor of Virginia's return, had something nearer home to think of than the colonization of North America. But she had tasted tobacco, and she hoped to find gold. The time for that great work of "plantation" was not far distant.

Among the curious relics of this most interesting period of our history, one of the most curious is "A Plott of all the coast of Cornwall and Devonshire as they were to be fortified in 1588 against the landing of any enemy." ‡ In this "Plott" is most distinctly laid down every accessible point from the Land's End to Exmouth: and, less carefully marked for defence, on the north also. There appears to have been one invariable mode of defence upon the exposed coast, that of breastworks or redoubts, behind whose angles, more or less in number, appear soldiers, bearing pikes. At the havens, such as St. Michael's Mount, Plymouth, and Dartmouth, pieces of ordnance are placed. By this plan we are enabled to see what were the defences of Plymouth. In the centre of the Sound is a little fort with cannon; and on each side of the passage to the inner harbor are also cannon. The town is indicated by a church and some houses with gabled roofs; and before the town cannon are planted. Taken altogether, the number of stations for artillery is very inconsiderable. On this south-western coast, which was so exposed to the first attack of the invaders, the lines of intrenchment were evidently intended to be of no ordinary extent. But we may readily imagine that Raleigh's counsel to meet the enemy boldly at sea was considered far more practicable than the construction of land defences of such magnitude. Their purposed formation does not appear to have been intrusted to any famous military engineers, if we may judge from a notice of magistrates, in 1587, § that they intended to proceed along the coast, to view the dangerous places for the landing of an enemy, calling upon the mayors of the towns to attend with all that are skilled in fortifications. The temporary beacons that were built on every hill and high cliff of that coast, and which were to blaze out when the great hostile fleet first appeared in the Channel, were among the best means of defence. "The warning radiance" was to call every merchant ship that was waiting for the signal, to give its sails to the wind, and go forth to fight. It was to be repeated in the remotest counties, where well-disciplined men with bow and arquebuss, with pike and bill, were mustered day by day under their natural leaders. "There was through England, no quarter, east, west, north, or south, but all concurred in one mind, to be in readiness to serve for the realm. . . . As the leaders and officers of the particular bands were men of experience in the wars, so, to make the bands strong and constant, choice was made of the principal knights of all counties to bring their tenants to the field, being men of strength, and landed, and of wealth; whereby all the forces, so compounded, were of a resolute disposition to stick to their lords and chieftains, and the chieftains to trust to their own tenants." * From Cornwall to Kent, and eastward to Lincolnshire, the same writer, who describes himself as an eye-witness, says that the maritime counties were so furnished with soldiers that twenty thousand fighting men, with victual and ammunition, could have been collected in forty-eight hours at any point where an enemy landed.

Of all the defences of the realm at this crisis there were none which gave the people a greater confidence than the demeanor of the queen. At the camp at Tilbury she was, day by day, in the midst of her soldiers; going among the levies in their particular stations; reviewing them when they were trained in battalions; saluted, wherever she moved, "with cries, with shouts, with all tokens of love, of obedience, of readiness and willingness to fight for her." From that army, adds the eye-witness, went forth at certain times a solemn voice to Heaven of "divers psalms, put into form of prayers, in praise of Almighty God, no ways to be misliked, which she greatly commended, and with very earnest speech thanked God with them." To that camp of Tilbury, and to the towns near London, came bands of men from distant places, "whom she remanded to their countries, because their harvest was at hand; and many of them would not be countermanded, but still approached onward, on their own charges, as they said, to see her person, and to fight with them that boasted to conquer the realm." The soldiers gazed upon their sovereign riding amid the camp, bearing a marshal's truncheon; and knights and gentlemen pressed round her tent, where she sat surrounded by her great nobles, and, having proffered their services and received her winning acceptance, led their bands home to spread the fame of the great queen, who was resolved, as she said, "to lay down for my God, and for my kingdom, and for my people, my honor and my blood, even in the dust." Thus she said, in the famous oration which has been handed down to us—"words that burn"—words which England has never forgotten in any hour of similar peril:

"My loving people, we have been persuaded by some that are careful of our safety, to take heed how we commit ourselves to armed multitudes, for fear of treachery: but I assure you, I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people. Let tyrants fear! I have always so behaved myself that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and good will of my subjects; and therefore I am come amongst you, as you see, at this time, not for my recreation and disport, but being resolved, in the midst and heat of the battle, to live or die amongst you all; to lay down for my God, and for my kingdom, and for my people, my honor and my blood, even in the dust. I know I have the body but of a weak and feeble woman; but I have the heart and stomach of a king, and of a king of England too, and think foul scorn that Parma or Spain, or any prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realm! To which, rather than any dishonor shall grow by me, I myself will take up arms—I myself will be your general, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field. I know already, for your forwardness, you have deserved rewards and crowns; and we do assure you, on the word of a prince, they shall be duly paid you. In the mean time my lieutenant-general shall be

* Ellis, Second Series, vol. iii. p. 134.
† Ranke, "History of the Popes," vol. ii. p. 173.
‡ Cotton Collection, in the British Museum, Aug. I., vol. i. 6.
§ Quoted from "Sherren Papers," in Roberts's "Southern Counties," p. 426.

* "Copy of a Letter sent to Mendoza." London, 1588. This curious tract, reprinted in the Harleian Miscellany, purports to be by a Seminary Priest, but is evidently written by a well-informed Englishman in that character.

in my stead, than whom never prince commanded a more noble or worthy subject; not doubting but, by your obedience to my general, by your concord in the camp, and your valor in the field, we shall shortly have a famous victory over those enemies of my God, of my kingdoms, and of my people."

But of all the defences of the country at this perilous crisis the loyalty of the great body of the Catholics was among the most important. The laws against popish recusants were severe, but they were greatly mitigated in their execution; and it may reasonably be doubted whether the fines imposed upon them were inflicted, except in extreme cases. On the approach of the armada some of the recusants were thrown into prison; but they were released upon subscribing a declaration that the queen was their lawful sovereign, notwithstanding any excommunication; and that they would defend her with life and goods against prince, pope, or potentate.* It was proposed by some to disarm them, but this absurd scheme was rejected; and the confidence of the government in the patriotism of the great body who adhered to the ancient church was strikingly exhibited by the appointment of Howard, a Catholic, to the command of the fleet. In truth the Jesuits and Seminary Priests had executed their mission in a way to disgust those who had sense to know that the Romanists constituted a minority of the country; and that, although their faith was not in the ascendant, they would not be persecuted for their opinions unless they were hounded on into conspiracy. The Catholic landed proprietors were Englishmen; they were gentlemen; their welfare was bound up with the prosperity of their country, and that was prosperous beyond all example. The miserable libels against the queen provoked their disgust, instead of exciting them to rebellion. The invading ships of Spain were laden with printed books, whose title was an "Admonition to the Nobility and People of England and Ireland, concerning the present Wars made for the execution of his holiness' sentence by the high and mighty king catholic of Spain; by the cardinal of England." This brutal production, to which cardinal Allen had the baseness to put his name, contained the same filthy libels against Elizabeth as those which had been whispered through the land by the missionaries of Rome. The honest Catholics despised these gross calumnies and incentives to murder. When the trial came they were found in the train-bands of that queen who, they were told, "deserveth not only deposition, but all vengeance both of God and man." They were found nobly fighting in her ships. The time might come when such loyalty might be rewarded by equal civil rights, though not with ecclesiastical preponderance. There was a struggle of two hundred and fifty years before this great principle was fully recognized; but the noble example of the Catholics of 1588 has always endured, as one of the best arguments for a final and complete justice to their descendants.

CHAPTER LXXV.

Sailing of the armada—The English fleet—The armada off Plymouth—The fight up Channel—The run to Calais—The fire ships at Calais—The fight off Gravelines—The flight to the North—The deliverance—The thanksgiving—Spain makes new preparations—Expeditions against Spain—The heroic time.

On the 28th of May, 1588, from his galleon, San Marten, lying in the Tagus off Belem, the duke of Medina Sidonia, "captain-general of the ocean sea, of the coast of Andalusia, and of this army of his majesty," issued his orders to be observed in the voyage toward England. This was an army, be it remarked, and the command of it was given to a general. The fighting men who went on board that fleet, and the mariners who worked the ships, were a distinct race: and there were especial regulations for holding them together in a very doubtful amity. On the 29th of May the captain-general being under the towers of Belem, led the way down the Tagus; and amid the sounding of trumpets from every vessel, the mighty armada followed him, when he had fired his gun as the signal. Being specially warned in these orders to beware of sands and "cachops,"† they sweep majestically down the broad river, and having passed the Bar are in the vast Atlantic. Never did such a sight present itself to the gazers on the hills as when the ten squadrons of this fleet dropped down the Tagus, issuing, in a succession that appeared endless, out of the great bay. The captain-general commanded twelve Portuguese galleons, the largest sailing-vessels. There were the fleets of Biscay, of Castile, of Andalusia, of Guypuscoa; the Eastern fleet; the fleet called Urcas or Hulks, and a squadron of smaller vessels. Lastly were four galeasses of Naples and four galleys of Portugal, these eight enormous vessels being rowed by two thousand and eighty-eight slaves. The whole number of ships was one hundred and thirty-six; having a burden of 59,120 tons; mounted with 3165 pieces of cannon; worked by 8746 mariners, besides the slaves; and carrying 21,639 soldiers. This fleet was accompanied by a large number of trading-vessels ready to supply its wants. Every ship was provided with two boat-loads of stones, "to throw in the time of fight;" and with wild-fire, to be given out to the most expert. All the vessels were to sail as close as possible. Their course was for Cape Finisterre, where they were to rendezvous in case of separation; or to make for Corunna, then known as The Groyne. Departing thence, "they shall set their course for Scilly." If any ship were to lose the fleet, the crew were not to return to Spain, under penalty of death, but to seek the navy "in Mount's Bay, which is between the Land's End and the Lizard." And so they sailed along in great pomp and security, hoping to be on the south-western coast of England at the time when another fleet, equipped in the Netherlands, should be ready to sail under the command of the prince of Parma. But when the Spanish fleet had nearly reached Cape Finisterre, a storm arose, which scattered the ships and compelled the great body of the armament to go into Corunna to refit. The news reached England that the mighty fleet had been nearly destroyed; and the lord high admiral, Howard of Effingham, sailed from England to complete the destruction. But he found that the storm had been less fatal than believed, and that the expectation that no invasion would be attempted that summer was a mistake. He wisely returned, to wait for the enemy in the Channel. For a month did the great fleet lie in Corunna harbor. The prince of Parma's flat-bottomed vessels, for the conveyance of thirty-five thousand men, were lying at Bruges; and the ports of Nieuport and Dunkirk, from which they could have put to sea, were blockaded by a combined English and Dutch fleet. The instructions for the invasion were rigidly laid down at the court of Madrid. The Spanish fleet was to steer for Flanders; and under its protection the duke of Parma was to disembark his army in Kent or Essex and march to London. The plan was known; and hence the camp at Tilbury, with a bridge of boats to Gravesend, for connecting the Essex and Kentish shores. The Flemish army having landed, the troops of the armada were to be carried to the coast of Yorkshire. There was an arrangement also, that when the Spanish armament came into the Channel it should have the co-operation of the duke of Guise, who was to land in the west, to effect a diversion, while the real attacks upon the capital and in the north were going forward. The delay at Corunna disconcerted these arrangements. But while the triple danger appeared imminent, the English courage never quailed. Guise withdrew his troops to the interior. Parma made no strenuous efforts to take his share in the great enterprise. The storm that drove Medina and his galleons and galeasses into Corunna might have disturbed these plans; but the English and Dutch preparations were not likely to make Guise and Parma confident of their easy execution.

The queen's ships at Plymouth, under the lord high admiral, were thirty-four in number. Their aggregate burden was 11,820 tons; they mounted 837 guns, and they mustered 6279 seamen. Howard was in the Ark-Royal, of 800 tons; Drake, the vice-admiral, was in the Revenge, 500 tons; Hawkins, the rear-admiral, was in the Victory, 800 tons; Frobisher was in the Triumph, 1100 tons. This was the largest ship of the fleet, of which one third of the number was below 100 tons. But there were forty-two vessels serving by tonnage, merchant-ships, which had 2587 mariners; and there were thirty-eight vessels, carrying 2710 mariners, fitted out by the city of London. With coasters and volunteers, the whole number of ships, large and small, was one hundred and ninety-seven, having one half only of the tonnage of the Spanish fleet. The greater part was in Plymouth and Dartmouth; but a squadron under Lord Seymour was

* See note in Lingard, vol. viii.

† Cachops are great banks at the mouth of the Tagus.

taking part in the blockade of the Flemish coast. The whole number of sailors in the fleet was 15,785. The mariners were the only fighting men of the ships. The differences of construction and of equipment in the English and the Spanish navies were most remarkable; but they were not so remarkable as the difference of the men on board of them. The Portuguese galleys, each with three hundred rowers, could move against the wind as if by steam. But the poor slaves were perfectly exposed to the shot of large and small arms; and the movements of the enormous vessels were thus liable to serious interruption. The galleons were unwieldy floating towers, with many decks, where the soldiers and gunners were stowed amid comforts unknown to the mariners. In the orders for sailing of the duke of Medina we find, "for that the mariners must resort unto their work, tackle, and navigation, it is convenient that their lodging be in the upper works of the poop and forecastle, otherwise the soldiers will trouble them in the voyage." But this was the invariable practice in the Spanish navy. "The mariners are but as slaves to the rest, to moil and to toil day and night; and these [the mariners] but few and bad, and not suffered to sleep or harbor under the decks. For, in fair or foul weather, in storms, sun, or rain, they must pass void of covert or succor."* The English ships were short in the build, and were rigged so as readily to tack. Every man on board was as willing to assist in working his vessel as to fight. Drake, in his voyage round the world, exclaimed, "I must have the gentlemen to hale and draw with the mariners." Officers and men stood by each other in a brotherhood made closer by a common danger and a mutual dependence. Thus, when the two fleets came together in action, "the English ships, being far the lesser, charged the enemy with marvellous agility; and having discharged their broadsides flew forth furiously into the deep, and levelled their shot directly, without missing, at these great ships of the Spaniards."† When Valdez, the commander of the Andalusian squadron, lost his foremast, "he lay," says Stow, "like a stiff elephant in the open field, beset with eager hounds." Wotton has compared the movements of the English ships to "a morice-dance upon the waters."

On the 12th of July the Spanish fleet stood out to sea from Corunna. The armada kept its course through the Bay of Biscay, with a favorable wind, until the 16th, when there was a great calm and a thick fog till noon. The wind shifting from north-east to west, and then to east-south-east, dispersed the ships; and they were scarcely gathered together when the English coast was in sight. On the 19th they were seen entering the Channel by Fleming, a captain of a pinnace, according to Camden; but by other accounts a Scottish pirate. This captain, whether honest trader or rover, made all sail for Plymouth, to communicate his momentous news. There was a gallant fleet in the harbor, and there were commanders on shore, of the same material as that out of which the Blakes and Nelsons were formed. About the port was a great land force under the orders of Raleigh, who would rather have been at sea. The Howards were there, Lord Charles and Lord Thomas, with Lord Sheffield, the nephew of the lord high admiral, and Sir Robert Southwell, his son-in-law. But birth then gave no exclusive title to command. The rough-handed Hawkins, and Drake, and Frobisher, and Fenner, and many another captain who had steered and fought his way upward from the forecastle, were there; and they went to their work with that hearty will which is best inspired by a free service. And so, on the night of the 19th—after Drake had finished his game at bowls, in which tradition we have a lively faith—the fleet was warped out of the harbor. Howard told, in a letter of the 21st, addressed to Walsingham, the story of his first operations, using the brief style best suited for a man of action: "I will not trouble you with any long letter; we are at this present otherwise occupied than with writing. Upon Friday, at Plymouth, I received intelligence that there were a great number of ships descried off the Lizard; whereupon, although the wind was very scant, we first warped out of harbor that night; and upon Saturday it turned out rain, hard by, the wind being at south-west; and about three of the clock in the afternoon descried the Spanish fleet, and we did what we could to work for the wind, which by this morning we had recovered, descrying their fleet to consist of a hundred and sixty sail."*

"At Plymouth speedily, took they ship valiantly;
Braver ships never were seen under sail,
With their fair colors spread, and streamers on their head—
Now bragging Spaniards, take care of your tail."†

Up the Channel sail the galleons and the galeasses, the carracks and argosies, before that south-west breeze. England is on the look-out from every hill and every beach from the Lizard to the Start. Little pinnaces go boldly forth from Marazion, and Falmouth, and Fowey, as Howard and his fleet pass the Eddystone, then a bare rock with no warning light. Is the great armada about to attack Plymouth? The day will show. It sweeps on "in front like a half-moon, the horns stretching forth about the breadth of seven miles, sailing as it were with labor of the winds, and groaning of the ocean, slowly, though with full sails." Will Howard not give fight? Will the daring captains who have borne the English flag from the north pole to the tropics, and some of whom have put a girdle round the earth, will they let the armada pass unscathed? They know their business. "Willingly they suffer it to pass by, that they might chase them in the rear with a foreright wind." On the 21st, "about nine of the clock, before noon, the lord admiral commanded his pinnace, called the Disdain, to give the defiance unto the duke of Medina." It was the old feudal challenge; but there was no pause for the answer. The pinnace fired a shot at the first ship it met, and Howard, like a gallant leader as he was, began the fight: "With much thundering out of his own ship, called the Ark-Royal, he first set upon the admiral, as he thought, of the Spaniards; but it was Alphonso de Lena's ship. Soon after, Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher played with their ordnance upon the hindmost squadron, which was commanded by Recalde, who labored all he could to stay his men that fled to the fleet, till his own ship, being much battered with shot, and now grown unserviceable, hardly withdrew itself to the main fleet. At which time the duke of Medina gathered together his fleet scattered here and there, and hoisting more sail held on his intended course. Neither could he do any other, seeing both the wind favored the English, and their ships would turn about with incredible celerity which way soever they would to charge, wind, and tack about again. And now had they maintained a hot fight the space of two hours, when the lord admiral thought not good to continue the fight any longer, for that forty of his ships were not yet come in, being scarce yet gotten out of the haven."‡

The night that followed was one of strange tumult in those waters, which a foreign ship had not traversed in man's remembrance without vailing to the English flag. The sea was troubled; the sky was dark; a huge Biscayan vessel took fire; and in the confusion the galleon of Don Pedro de Valdez got foul of another ship, and was left behind. Drake had gone after five vessels that proved to be merchantmen of Germany; and this had deranged the movements of the squadron that was to have followed his lantern. Howard, with two ships, had held on through the night after the Spaniards. Drake coming back from his bootless chase fell in with the great galleon abandoned by her companions, and Valdez became his prisoner, with a booty of 55,000 ducats, which were distributed among the crews. At nightfall of that second day the active vice-admiral was again with his commander. The next morning Howard was better prepared for a general engagement. His men were in great heart, for the invincible armada was found to be vulnerable. The remainder of the fleet has come out of Plymouth, and Raleigh has come with them, to take his share in that sea-fight rather than remain with his inactive army on land. The armada on this morning of the 23d of July is off Portland. And now, says Stow, "the English navy, being well increased, gave charge and chase upon the enemy, squadron after squadron seconding each other like swift horsemen that could nimbly come and go, and fetch the wind with most advantage. . . . The English chieftains ever sought to single out the great commanders of the Spanish host, whose lofty castles held great scorn of their encounter." But the English chieftains knew better

* Quoted in "Westward Ho," by the Rev. Charles Kingsley; a romance imbued with the truest spirit of history, and displaying a far higher, because more intelligent, patriotism than most of our modern histories of this period of heroic struggle.

† Camden, ed. 1630.

* Letter in the State Paper Office.

† Ballad, "The Winning of Cales," Percy, vol. ii.

‡ This passage is from Camden. We shall use his words occasionally, and those of Stow and other old writers, without always indicating the authority from which we quote.

tactics than to attempt to grapple with these castles, and to board them. They knew that if their daring sailors could climb to their highest decks they would there find great companies of soldiers in armor, provided with every instrument of destruction. Raleigh had told them, as he said afterward in his "History of the World," that "to clap ships together without consideration belongs rather to a madman than a man of war;" that "the guns of a slow ship pierce as well, and make as great holes, as those in a swift." And so the English, having been well taught "the difference between fighting loose or at large, and grappling," ran in under the great galleons, and having delivered their broadsides, sheered out of the range of the Spanish guns, which were high above the water-line. "Never was heard greater thundering of ordnance on both sides, which notwithstanding from the Spaniards flew for the most part over the English without harm." In this furious skirmish there was alternate success. The ships of London, hemmed in by the Spaniards, were rescued by the queen's ships; and the fleet of Biscay, under Recalde, being surrounded by the English wasps, was delivered from danger by the galeasses, who, "as sergeants of the band, would issue forth to succor their distressed friends." One English commander only fell—"Cock, an Englishman, who died with honor in the midst of the enemies in a small ship of his." From morning till night this fight continued, the Spaniards sometimes bearing down upon their pursuers, and then going before the west wind toward St. Alban's Head.

The 24th is a day of rest. The fleets are becalmed, with the Needles in distant view. Howard has sent some small craft to Portsmouth for supplies of ammunition. From every port of Dorsetshire and Hampshire fresh ships have come forth, hired and armed by the gentlemen of England to aid in this great defence. The harvest-time is at hand; but let the rye and the barley, the wheat and the oats, be gathered in by the women and the children and the old men; for the able-bodied must fight, or no harvest will in future be worth the gathering for the Anglo-Saxon race. For four days the fishermen of the long line of shore have been hovering about the fleets instead of casting their nets. The sea-weed burners on the shelves of the coast have let out their fires, and have climbed to the cliffs to gaze upon the flashing smoke far out at sea. Now the great towers lie idly about Purbeck, and the men of Poole and Christchurch wonder if they are going up the Solent. For four nights the beacon-fires have been lighted. For four nights they have proclaimed to the people throughout the land that they must watch and pray. On this fifth night of danger they again send out their tongues of flame from every cliff and every hill:

"For swift to east and swift to west the warning radiance spread—
High on St. Michael's Mount it shone—it shone on Beachy Head.
Far o'er the deep the Spaniard saw, along each southern shire,
Cape beyond cape, in endless range, those twinkling points of fire."*

The armada lies becalmed, on the 25th of July, below the chalk cliffs of Freshwater. It is the day of St. James the Great, the patron saint of Spain; but it is not a day in which the saint will inspire the Spaniard with the determination to fight against the heretic, as he inspired him to fight against the Moslem. A great galleon, disabled in the fight of the 23d, has dropped astern; and Hawkins, in the Victory, has been towed to take possession of her. There is no resistance from the galleon. But a thousand oars are now lashing the quiet waves, and three of the great galeasses come to rescue her and to punish her daring captor. But the Lion and the Bear, the Triumph and the Elizabeth Jonas, are quickly about them, with their sixty-pounders, and their thirty-three-pounders, known as cannon and demi-cannon, "sending their dole until the Spaniards' blood ran out at scupper-hole." The battle, for a breeze had sprung up, again becomes general. Medina's ship, the San Martin, has her mainmast shot away, and is about to strike to Frobisher. Medina is saved by his generals, Mexia and Recalde. Howard joins in the struggle. The issue is long and doubtful. But the English powder is exhausted, and there is no more fighting on that summer afternoon. The next day the lord high admiral is bestowing the greatest honor that the worthies of England then aspired to receive. Lords might be born, but knights must be made. For their services in these six days of incessant work, Lord Sheffield and Lord Thomas Howard, Frobisher, Townsend, and Hawkins were knighted "for their valor." It was resolved to defer any further attack till the Spaniard was in the narrow sea. "So with a fair Etesian gale, which in our sky bloweth for the most part from the south-west and by south, clear and fair, the Spanish fleet sailed forward, the English fleet following close at the heels." On the 26th and 27th the vast navies are seen as they coast along, from Selsea Bill, and from the Downs of Brighton, from Hastings, and from Dungeness. For seven days has the Spaniard been fighting his way through the Channel, and at length he is at anchor before Calais on the Saturday night of that week of memorable conflict. But when the morning of Sunday dawns, and the French and Walloons go out in their boats with fresh provisions for those whose ships are laden with gold, and who readily give sixpence for a fresh egg, the English fleet of a hundred and forty sail is riding in Calais Roads within cannon-shot of the exceeding great ships, whose greatest still keep the outer line against their enemy. England, then, is not yet beaten, as the rumor has gone forth; for "in Paris, Don Bernadino de Mendoza, ambassador from Spain, entered into the Church of Notre Dame, advancing his rapier in his right hand, and with a loud voice, cried, Victoria, Victoria; and it was forthwith bruited that England was vanquished." On that Sunday the heart of England sends up to heaven the simple but solemn prayer, "Save and deliver us, we humbly beseech thee, from the hands of our enemies." In this time of need the queen had herself composed a prayer, which had been sent to "the general of her highness' army at Plymouth," as her majesty's private meditation: "Most Omnipotent, and Guider of all our world's mass, that only searchest and fathomest the bottom of all hearts' conceits, and in them seest the true original of all actions intended, how no malice of revenge, nor quittance of injury, nor desire of bloodshed, nor greediness of lucre, hath bred the resolution of our now set out army; but a heedful care, and wary watch, that no neglect of foes, nor over surety of harm, might breed either danger to us, or glory to them; these being grounds, thou that didst inspire the mind, we humbly beseech, with bended knees, prosper the work, and with the best forewinds guide the journey, speed the victory, and make the return the advancement of thy glory, the triumph of thy fame, and surety to the realm, with the least loss of English blood. To these devout petitions, Lord, give thou thy blessed grant. Amen."* The prayer was mercifully heard to its fullest extent.

On that Sunday in Calais Roads there is work being done by Drake and his men—a work of necessity which will brook no delay. For the duke of Medina has dispatched messenger after messenger to the duke of Parma, to bid him send "light vessels," without which the Spaniard could not well fight with the English; and to urge him to put to sea with his army, which the Spanish fleet would protect till the landing upon the hated shore was accomplished. Parma's boats were leaky; his provisions were exhausted; his sailors had deserted; he was kept in port by the vigilant Dutch. But nevertheless a junction might have been fatal, and the Spaniard must be crippled before he again weighs anchor. It is two o'clock of the Monday morning. The stillness is scarcely broken by a slight movement upon the sea. There are eight small vessels being towed from the main body of the English fleet, and they are bearing with the wind upon the Spanish anchorage. Are they deserters; or are they rushing upon certain destruction? Suddenly a strong light bursts out from each vessel. The tow-boats leave them, and they drift with the breeze right into the centre of the armada. Then vast volumes of flame and smoke roll out from the burning hulks, with fearful explosions and sulphury stenches; and the sea defences of Calais, and the church towers which overlook them gleam with more than noonday brightness; and the red glare is seen across the sea from Dover heights and along the shore from Gravelines to Boulogne. Young and Prowse, who led these fire-ships into the heart of the enemy's fleet, have done their duty well. The bold stroke, devised by Elizabeth herself, as contemporaries say, has been successful beyond hope. The Spaniards had seen the effects of "sundry works of wild-fire lately made to break the bridge at Antwerp—it was in the siege of 1585—and now, "all amazed, with shrieks and loud outcries, to the great astonishment of the near inhabitants, crying, 'The fire of Ant-

* Macaulay

* MS. in British Museum, indorsed as being sent by Sir Robert Cecil to the generals.

werp! the fire of Antwerp!' some cut cables, others let the hawsers slip, and happiest they who could first be gone, though few could tell what course to take."* One of the largest of the galeasses was stranded near the town of Calais, and was taken, after a fierce engagement, in which many English were slain and the Spaniards lost four hundred men. Medina conducted himself with courage and coolness, and his ship, with a few others, resumed their stations. But the bulk of the fleet was running up Channel in wild confusion. Some went ashore on the Flemish coast; others stood out to sea; many got together as well as they could near Gravelines. But Drake and Fenner were fighting them from the first peep of the dawning; and now come up Hawkins and Fenton, Seymour and Cumberland, Southwell and Frobisher, and there is again a general battle under the castle of Gravelines; for Howard himself is up at his post. He has written somewhat despairingly to Walsingham of the want of ammunition, saying, with the true modesty of the brave, "Their force is wonderful great and strong, and yet we pluck their feathers by little and little." In that fleet the "mighty ships and of great strength," were as four to one compared with the larger ships of the English. The Spanish castles have fearful difficulty in avoiding the shallows. They are hemmed in with danger. They must keep together, or be made prize if they run out to sea. A galleon of Biscay, the San Matthew, has surrendered; another great ship is stranded; the San Philipe is drifting disabled upon the Flemish shore, and will be boarded by the sailors of Flushing. No help will come from the duke of Parma. There is no chance of the union of the two armies. "The English forces," says Stow, "being now wholly united, prevented their enemies conjoining together, and followed their fortunes to the uttermost, continuing four days' fight in more deadly manner than at any time before, and having incessant cause of fresh encouragement, chased the Spaniards from place to place, until they had driven them into a desperate estate; so as of necessity, as well for that the wind was westerly, as that their enemies increased, and their own provision of sails, anchors, and cables greatly wasted, resolved to shape their course by the Orcades and the north of Ireland."

The last great fight was on the 29th of July. The scattered remnant of the armada holds on its perilous course, past Dunkirk, past the mouth of the Scheldt, full into the North Sea. No more will the beacon-fires be lighted on the southern coast of England. The eastern has nothing to fear from these enemies. Drake is in the wake of the flying squadrons. What a model dispatch does this true English sailor write to Walsingham, on this last of July, 1588: "We have the army of Spain before us, and mind, with the grace of God, to wrestle a fall with them. There was never anything pleased me better than the seeing the enemy flying with a south wind to the northward. God grant they have a good eye to the duke of Parma; for with the grace of God, if we live, I doubt it not but ere it be long so to handle the matter with the duke of Sidonia as he shall wish himself at St. Marie among his orange-trees. God give us grace to depend upon him, so shall we not doubt victory, for our cause is good."

The prince of Parma had failed the Spaniards. They had received a message from him, as they lay before Calais on that Sunday, the 28th, that he could not be ready for them till the Friday following. On that Friday they were far away to the north, the English pursuing. Howard writes, on the 7th of August, to Walsingham, "Notwithstanding that our powder and shot was well near all spent, we set on a brag countenance and gave them chase, as though we had wanted nothing, until he had cleared our own coast and some part of Scotland." Seymour had returned with his squadron, after he had passed the Brill, to look after the duke of Parma. On the 2d of August, says a Spanish narrative, "the enemy's fleet still followed the armada in the morning, but they turned toward the coast of England, and we lost sight of them." Sir William Monson, a contemporary writer, says, "The opportunity was lost, not through the negligence or backwardness of the lord admiral, but merely through the want of providence in those that had the charge of furnishing and providing for the fleet; for, at that time of so great advantage, when they came to examine their provisions, they found a general scarcity of powder and shot, for want of which they were forced to return home." The arsenals of England in those days were scantily supplied; and we may well believe that there was no expectation that the dreaded conflict would have ended at sea. The daring and the endurance of her sailors could not have been wholly trusted to, when the enemy to be resisted was of such gigantic force. The men on shore would have fought to the death; and there was not a town that would not have sent out its train-bands in harness, with arquebuss, and pike, and the old mighty long-bow. Raleigh held that without an adequate fleet no force could debar an enemy from landing; but the fleet which drove Medina to the Orkneys, and left Parma's gunboats in the canal of Bruges, could scarcely have been counted upon to do the work of defence single-handed. It did its work nobly. It saved England in those twelve days of desperate fight and stormy chase. The breath of Heaven did what Howard and Drake left undone. "*Flavit Jehovah et dissipati sunt*"—Jehovah blew and they were scattered—is the legend of one of the medals that recorded this marvellous success.

There are minute and apparently trustworthy accounts of the wretched fortune of the armada, after it had passed the coast of Scotland, which are derived from the examinations of Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian sailors who were wrecked in September on the western coasts of Ireland.* Putting this evidence together, we find it stated that after the fight off Gravelines there were a hundred and ten (some state a hundred and twenty) sail left of the whole Spanish navy. After the English fleet left them the Spaniards cast all the horses and mules into the sea, to save their water. Coming to an island at the north of Scotland, the general gave orders that they should make the best of their way to any part of the Portuguese or Spanish coast. Ships, having lost their anchors, their masts shot through, their hulls riddled with shot-holes, had sunk on the coast of Scotland, and in the open North Sea, or were cast on the shores of the Western Isles. About the 20th of August there came on a great storm which divided the fleet; and, ten days after, another storm scattered them around the shores of Connaught and Kerry. The testimony of a Genoese pilot of the ship called Our Lady of the Rosary, in which was the prince of Ascule, a natural son of the king of Spain, is thus recorded: "He saith this ship was shot through four times, and one of the shot was between the wind and the water, whereof they thought she would have sunk, and most of her tackle was spoiled with shot. This ship struck against the rocks in the Sound of the Bleskies, a league and a half from the land, upon Tuesday last at noon, and all in the ship perished, saving this examinant, who saved himself upon two or three planks that were loose." The duke of Medina kept out in the open sea, and entered the Bay of Biscay about the end of September. A few ships reached Spain, under the command of Recalde, in a shattered condition. Some of the wretched men who were shipwrecked were murdered by the wild Irish; and some, more disgracefully, were put to the sword by order of the lord deputy. Hakluyt thus sums up the Spanish losses: "Of one hundred and four and thirty sail, that came out of Lisbon, only three and fifty returned to Spain. Of the four galeasses of Naples, but one; the like of the largest galleons of Portugal; of the one and ninety galleons and great hulks, from divers provinces, only three and thirty returned. In a word, they lost eighty-one ships in this expedition, and upward of thirteen thousand five hundred soldiers."

Before the ultimate fate of the armada could be known, Elizabeth wrote this characteristic letter to the king of Scotland:

"Now may appear, my dear brother, how malice conjoined with might strive to make a shameful end to a villainous beginning, for, by God's singular favor, having their fleet well beaten in our narrow seas, and pressing with all violence to achieve some watering-place, to continue their pretended invasion, the winds have carried them to your coasts, where I doubt not they shall receive small succor and less welcome; unless those lords that, so traitor like, would belie their own prince, and promise another king relief in your name, be suffered to live at liberty, to dishonor you, peril you, and advance some other, which God forbid you suffer them live to do. . . . You may assure yourself that, for my part, I doubt no whit but that all this tyrannical, proud, and brainsick attempt will be the beginning, though not the end, of the ruin of that king, that, most un-

* Stow.

* "Certain Advertisements out of Ireland," 1588, reprinted in the "Harleian Miscellany."

kingly, even in midst of treating peace, begins this wrongful war. He hath procured my greatest glory that meant my sorest wreck." *

On the 8th of September eleven banners taken in the Spanish ships were displayed to the Londoners, who had done such hearty service in the cause of their country. They were afterward hung over London Bridge, a far nobler trophy than the heads of traitors. But in the midst of this triumph Leicester had died. The private sorrow of the queen retarded her participation in the public joy. But on Sunday, the 24th of November, Elizabeth rode in a chariot to St. Paul's, in the most magnificent of dresses; and the streets were hung with blue cloth; and the companies of the city stood on each side in goodly order; and the trophies were carried in procession; and the great captains of England's Salamis were about their queen; and she graciously saluted them by name; and a solemn thanksgiving was offered up, and the glory given to God only. On that day there were also given in every church of the land "public and general thanks unto God, with all devotion and inward affection of heart and humbleness, for his gracious favor extended toward us in our deliverance and defence, in the wonderful overthrow and destruction showed by his mighty hand on our malicious enemies the Spaniards, who had thought to invade and make a conquest of the realm."

The parliament which met in February, 1589, was naturally warlike; exulting in the past success, and resolved upon supporting the queen in the contest which was so truly a battle for national existence. Sir Christopher Hatton, the lord chancellor, told the Peers and Commons not to be deceived into a belief that England was secure, through the divine mercy which had rendered the vast armada vain and useless. "Do not you imagine," he said, "that they are ardently studious of revenge? Know you not the pride, fury, and bitterness of the Spaniard against you?" This was preparatory to asking for a subsidy; and, although there was no precedent for such a mark of confidence, two subsidies were granted in one supply, payable in four years. There was no delusion in the belief that Philip would renew his attempt upon England. It was proclaimed by the fanatical Romanists in their writings, that it was not till two attacks had failed that the Israelites made desolate the towns and villages of the tribe of Benjamin, and smote man and beast with the edge of the sword. The chastisement of the English, they said, was only deferred. Philip resolved to build smaller vessels, and to sail direct to the English coast from his harbors in the peninsula. He would persevere, even if he sold the silver candlesticks which stood on his table.† The Anglo-Saxon spirit was now thoroughly roused; and any scheme for attacking Spain was sure to receive the heartiest encouragement. The government of Elizabeth was economical in the extreme; and it was indisposed to undertake any war, except a war of defence, upon a large scale. The people, therefore, were encouraged to fit out expeditions at their own cost, to which the queen lent assistance. It is common to impute blame to Elizabeth for this parsimony; but her revenues were not spent in her own luxurious gratification. In 1592 Sir John Fortescue, after reciting how she had sustained the people of the Low Countries in their contest for freedom, and had assisted Henry of Navarre against the League, "to free us from war at home," went on to state in what other honorable ways Elizabeth had employed her revenues: "When her majesty came to the crown, she found it four millions indebted. Her navy, when she came to view it, she found greatly decayed. Yet, all this she hath discharged, and, thanks to God, is nothing indebted; and now she is able to match any prince in Europe, which the Spaniards found when they came to invade us. . . . As for her own private expenses, they have been little in building; she hath consumed little or nothing in her pleasures." It has ever been a fashion to call such royal economy meanness; and other queens, as well as Elizabeth, have been slandered for their integrity. We may excuse her government, in their desire not to make rash experiments upon the willingness of the people to bear heavy taxation, if they only gave sixty thousand pounds toward a great expedition for winning Portugal from the Castilians—whom the Portuguese hated—to place the crown upon the head of Don Antonio, an illegitimate branch of the royal line of that country which Philip had added to Spain. Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Norris undertook to lead this somewhat rash enterprise. A great body of adventurers joined the expedition. They did not, however, sail direct to Portugal, but attacked Corunna, burned some ships, defeated a Spanish army, and took the lower town. At last they went on the real purpose for which the armament was fitted out. But Philip was now prepared. Every attempt at insurrection was promptly suppressed. Lisbon was defended by a large force. When the English army under Norris advanced from Peniche, their landing-place, and Drake sailed up the Tagus, they could only obtain possession of the suburbs of Lisbon, and were speedily forced to re-embark for want of ammunition and provisions. On their return they took and burned Vigo, and then came back to England—triumphant to a limited extent, but having lost one half of the adventurers, many in fight, but the greater number by famine and sickness. The young earl of Essex was one of those who took part in this enterprise as a volunteer.

As Drake's ships were returning homeward, with their half-starved crews and soldiers, they received some supplies from a fleet of seven ships which the earl of Cumberland had fitted out at his own charge to attack the Spanish coasts. A fearful mortality among the men of this expedition also crippled their exertions; and, though many prizes were made, the prosperous issue of the great contest was little advanced by this and other detached enterprises. But there was a higher result of such a warfare than the taking of ships or the burning of towns. A grand spirit of devotion to their country was engendered in the people. The energies called forth in that stirring time produced a corresponding elevation of the national character. In one of his earliest comedies, Shakespeare, in a scene where a father recommends his son "to seek preferment," has briefly indicated the great principles which stimulated the ambition of the gentlemen of England at this period:

> "Some, to the wars, to try their fortune there;
> Some, to discover islands far away;
> Some, to the studious universities." *

They had been fighting in the Netherlands during the command of Leicester; they were still fighting for the same cause under Maurice of Nassau; they were about to fight for Henry of Navarre. War against Philip of Spain, wherever to be carried on, would be a war of enthusiasm. Discovery, a natural result of commercial extension, was the one thing wanting to fill the "home-keeping youths" with an ardent desire to burst the narrow confines of their own land, to seek wealth and honor in regions where the earth yielded its richest increase to the slightest labor. Knowledge was to be sought; for not only were learning and ability now the stepping-stones to civil preferment, but ignorance had become a disgrace among the high-born, who once left the churchmen to the almost exclusive possession of intellectual power. The stormy time of the Reformation had been succeeded by a time of comparative peace and security; but this position had been won by a general enlargement of the national thought, and through this growing freedom of opinion a great literature was bursting into life—sustaining and carrying forward the mental independence which had produced it. Gabriel Harvey, in one of his tracts, directed, as verses of his friend Spenser had been directed, against some of the ribaldry of vulgar controversialists, shows, in a passage which is worth quoting, the stimulus which heroic action ought to give, as it must have given, to intellectual production: "England, since it was England, never bred more honorable minds, more adventurous hearts, more valorous hands, or more excellent wits, than of late. . . . The date of idle vanities is expired. Away with these scribbling paltries. There is another Sparta in hand, that indeed requireth Spartan temperance, Spartan frugality, Spartan exercise, Spartan valiancy, Spartan perseverance, Spartan invincibility; and hath no wanton leisure for the comedies of Athens. . . . The wind is changed, and there is a busier pageant upon the stage. . . . When you have observed the course of industry, examined the antecedents and consequences of travel, compared English and Spanish valor, measured the forces of both parties, weighed every circumstance of advantage, considered the means of our assurance, and finally found profit to be our pleasure, provision our security, labor our honor, warfare our welfare—

* "Letters of Elizabeth and James VI.," p. 53.
† Ranke, vol. ii. p. 174.

* "Two Gentlemen of Verona," act i. sc. 3.

who of reckoning can spare any lewd or vain time for corrupt pamphlets; or who of judgment will not cry, away with these paltering fiddle-faddles."* This stilted eloquence of Gabriel Harvey conveys a great truth. The English nation was growing into loftier proportions in this period of new-born energies. He points to the western discoveries of Gilbert, the West Indian voyage of Drake, the arctic expedition of Frobisher, the colonization of Virginia by Raleigh, the hot welcome of the terrible Spanish armada to the coast of England, the voyage into Spain and Portugal of Norris, Drake, and Essex. But he recounts these to show how the period which called forth such energies ought to bear the corresponding fruits of a high literature, and he exclaims, "What miracles of excellency might be achieved in an age of policy and a world of industry." They were achieved.

CHAPTER LXXVI.

The three religious classes of the second half of the reign of Elizabeth—Progress of Nonconformity—Statute against the Puritans—The Puritan enmity to the habits of society—Philip Stubbes' Anatomy of Abuses—Pride of apparel—Gluttony and drunkenness—Dancing considered a vice—Music held to be corrupting—The Sabbath profaned by sports—The Lord of Misrule—May-games; wakes; church-ales—Country festivals—Athletic exercises and sports—Gaming—Stage plays.

THE three chief religious classes of the second half of the reign of Elizabeth have been defined by one who lived near that period: "They may for distinction be called the active Romanists, the restless Nonconformists (of which there were many sorts), and the passive peaceable Protestants."† In the history of this time, as of every other time, the doings of the "active" and of the "restless" must be far more prominent than any movement of the "passive peaceable." Up to the period of the death of Mary Stuart, the "active Romanists" were the only objects of grave solicitude to the government. All the just and rational energies of the queen and the statesmen who surrounded her; all the severities against popish recusants, which were defended as being levelled only against traitors, were calculated to uphold the great edifice of Protestantism, which was the shelter and bulwark of the civil polity. In this contest against the Romanists, none were more zealous than those who, known as Puritans, first objected to some ceremonies of the Anglican Church, and then denounced the hierarchical constitution upon which she rested. They became "restless Nonconformists." They were compared to a man "who would never cease to whet and whet his knife, till there was no steel left to make it useful."‡ Both these classes, however, constituted a decided minority, as compared with the "passive peaceable Protestants"—those who were content to remain in the quiet enjoyment of the security which had been won by the sagacity of their rulers. Among their ranks the enthusiasts were not to be found. The Established Church had opened its arms widely, to embrace many who conscientiously differed as to doctrine and discipline. The majority accepted the invitation to abide by the religion of the State—to form contented if not zealous members of a Church which was expressly calculated to reconcile differences. Her decent ceremonies, her abundant provision for the maintenance of her ministers, her beautiful form of common prayer, her solemn offices, were well suited to the quiet and orderly English character. The Romanists, who, at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, were a powerful body decidedly hostile to the government, had, after the contests of a quarter of a century, been absorbed into the ranks of the conformists, or held their own opinions in secret, or had been crushed. The power which had largely contributed to crush the more dangerous of the enemies of the reformed doctrines had, in its turn, become troublesome if not dangerous. Let us endeavor to sketch an outline of the position of the Puritans, in their relations to the Church and State, and in their social relations, as they present themselves to our observation during the years immediately succeeding the great triumph over the attempt to make England an appanage of Spain, a country for the bishop of Rome "to tithe and toll in."

In 1588 the bishop of Winchester, Thomas Cooper, published "An Admonition to the People of England," which aimed at counteracting the effect of certain bold and scurrilous pamphlets which had been issued with the intent to bring the Church and its ministers into contempt. He especially complains that such books should be in men's hands and bosoms, "when the view of the mighty navy of the Spaniards is scant passed out of our sight; when the terrible sound of their shot ringeth, as it were, yet in our ears." But though the Puritans were at issue with the government upon the great question of religious freedom, and held opinions very adverse to the constitution and discipline of the Church, as enforced by the Act of Uniformity, they had not been the less ready to defend their country against invasion. They were naturally most strenuous in their hatred of the invader that drew the sword in the name of Rome. When the immediate danger had passed away, the Puritans went with redoubled zeal about the work which they called a re-reformation. The age of pamphlets had now fully come. As the power of reading was more widely extended, tracts were multiplied, whose tone was adapted for men of strong convictions and obstinate prejudices, to whom abuse would be more acceptable than placid reasoning. Many, also, who cared little for the subjects of controversy, read with avidity the little books that bore the name of Martin Marprelate, and the answers they called forth; for they were bitter and sarcastic, with touches of coarse humor. The queen's proclamation against certain seditious and schismatical books and libels was issued with little effect. The Marprelate tracts were secretly printed and circulated in despite of authority. "The public printing-presses being shut against the Puritans, some of them purchased a private one, and carried it from one county to another, to prevent discovery. It was first set up at Moulsey, in Surrey, near Kingston-on-Thames; from thence it was conveyed to Fawsley, in Northamptonshire; from thence to Norton; from thence to Coventry; from Coventry to Woolston, in Warwickshire; and from thence to Manchester, in Lancashire, where it was discovered. Sundry satirical pamphlets were printed by this press, and dispersed all over the kingdom."* The crisis of a great struggle had arrived; and these libels were the straws which, thrown up, showed which way the wind blew.

The Protestant ministers who fled from the persecutions of Queen Mary had remained long enough in communion with foreign reformed churches to bring home, upon the accession of Elizabeth, opinions much opposed to the system of church government as established by the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity. There were some portions of the ceremonies prescribed in the rubric which they held to be superstitious. They regarded the vestments of the clergy as popish. They objected to the sign of the cross in the office of baptism, and to the ring in that of matrimony. They objected to kneeling at the communion service. Throughout the reign of Elizabeth her council held divided opinions upon these matters of controversy; but the queen herself was opposed to an abolition of forms to which the only serious objection was that they belonged to the rites of the earlier Church. But in that age opinions assumed a more violent character of opposition when their differences centred round some visible object; and we still contend in a like fashion, as soldiers in a battle strive to gain or to hold the rag of silk under which one side fights, while the principle of the warfare has passed out of mind. The clergy who returned from their seven years' exile during the time of persecution, were put in possession of many of the livings from which the Romish priests had been in their turn ejected. They very soon ceased to regard the Act of Uniformity as imperatively binding; and great irregularities in the performance of ceremonies crept in, and were for some time tolerated. But at length a rigid observance of the rubric was enforced, and the ministers who would not conform were thrust out from their benefices. There was now a body of men, powerful from their abilities and their earnestness, deprived of their means of subsistence, and excluded from the vocations to which they were dedicated. They had their admirers and their followers; and their course was to form separate assemblies. In 1567 a congregation of dissenters were seized at Plumbers' Hall, and some were committed to prison. As yet the contest had been about what the Puritans held as superstitious ceremonies. The resistance with which they were encountered upon minor points ulti-

* "Pierce's Supererogation," 1593. Reprinted in "Archaica," vol. ii. p. 62. † Walton, "Life of Hooker." ‡ Ibid.

* Neal's "History of the Puritans," vol. i. chap. viii.

mately led them to condemn the episcopal constitution of the Anglican Church, and to proclaim the superiority of the Genevan model. Although the queen was decidedly opposed to their pretensions, which, as set forth by some of their leaders, affected her own claim to supremacy, they had a covert support among the most influential of her ministers. Burleigh and Walsingham, and even the favorite, Leicester, knew that if the civil government became persecutors of these zealous men it would alienate its warmest supporters in the contest between Protestantism and Romanism. These were the men who were the most powerful in keeping the people from lukewarmness in the great cause for which they were fighting. But the queen and the ecclesiastical authorities were too strong for the moderate party of the council. Archbishop Parker discountenanced the meetings of the clergy called prophesyings. The licenses for preaching were greatly restricted under his authority. Archbishop Grindal, who succeeded Parker, took a different view of what he considered the interests of the Church. He inclined to a toleration of preachings and prophesyings, and accordingly fell under the queen's displeasure. Archbishop Whitgift, who succeeded to the primacy in 1583, was determined to put down rather than conciliate the party of the Puritans. As might be expected, he drove them into Nonconformity. He prohibited all preaching, reading, or catechizing in private houses, if any resorted thereto not of the same family. He imperatively required from every minister of the Church a new subscription, which under previous requirements had been probably evaded. The clergy were now absolutely driven to subscribe to the point of the queen's supremacy, to that of the lawfulness of the Common Prayer and the Ordination Service, and to the Thirty-nine Articles. He appointed a new ecclesiastical commission, who were to examine the clergy upon twenty-four articles, of so stringent and subtle a nature that Burleigh wrote to the archbishop: "I find them so curiously penned that I think the Inquisition of Spain used not so many questions to comprehend and to trap their priests." Burleigh remonstrated in vain; the archbishop, supported by some of the bishops, pursued his course. The result was, first a furious attack upon episcopacy in the pamphlets of Martin Marprelate, and then severe laws against the Puritans, which had no ultimate effect but that of fortifying their opinions, and ultimately of making their cause the rallying point of civil and religious liberty. In 1593 an act was passed "to restrain the queen's subjects in obedience." Those who disputed the queen's ecclesiastical authority, abstained from church, or attended "any assemblies, conventicles, or meetings, under color or pretence of any exercise of religion," were to be imprisoned unless they made a formal submission in the open church; if at the expiration of three months they did not conform they were to abjure the realm; if they refused so to do, or returned after abjuration, the penalty of death awaited them. In the same session an act of increased severity was passed against "popish recusants." The times were changed. There was now little distinction between the nonconforming Protestant and the recusant Romanist in the eyes of the dominant Church. The obvious and not unreasonable excuse for this course, which we now call bigotry, is that neither of the three great parties, if placed in power, would have admitted the principle of toleration. There was not for Protestant, Puritan, or Papist, any middle course between the assertion of his own principles and the destruction of those of his adversaries. Cartwright, the great leader of the Puritans, claimed absolute power for the church he would have set up; and he exhorted his brethren to resistance and nothing but resistance: "The Lord," he says, "keep you constant, that ye yield neither to toleration, neither to any other subtle persuasions of dispensations and licenses, which were to fortify their Romish practices; but, as you fight the Lord's fight, be valiant." * And so, in this spirit of giving no quarter to those who asked none, the ecclesiastical commission ejected ministers; the government hanged libellers; and Penry, the supposed author of the Marprelate tracts, was hastily and cruelly executed, under the statute of 1581, for seditious words and rumors against the queen. These severities were chiefly directed against the separatists from the Church who were then denominated Brownists, and afterward Independents. No man of those times who really desired the advancement of true religion could look upon the odious scoffings of either party—upon the schismatic spirit which rejected union as an accursed thing, and upon the arrogant temper which thought to compel conformity by banishment and the gibbet—without feeling sorrow and humiliation that so noxious weeds had sprung up amid the rich harvest of the Reformation. Such lovers of peace would long to address the violent of both classes in the prophetic words which the most illustrious of the defenders of the establishment, the eloquent, profound, and sensible Hooker, addressed "to those who seek the reformation of the laws and orders ecclesiastical in the Church of England:" "Far more comfort it were for us, so small is the joy we take in these strifes, to labor under the same yoke as men that look for the same eternal reward of their labors; to be enjoined with you in bands of indissoluble love and amity; to live as if our persons being many, our souls were but one; rather than in such dismembered sort to spend our few and wretched days in a tedious prosecuting of wearisome contentions; the end whereof, if they have not some speedy end, will be heavy, even on both sides." *

Such, then, were the relations of the Puritan party to the Church and State, and so ominous were these "wearisome contentions," when Hooker published the first four books of his great work in 1594. In their social relations these dissenters certainly did not present an amiable aspect to the rest of the community. What Hooker said of the Anabaptists was indirectly pointed at them: "Every word otherwise than severely and sadly uttered, seemed to pierce like a sword through them. If any man were pleasant, their manner was fervently with sighs to repeat those words of our Saviour Christ, 'Woe be to you which now laugh, for ye shall lament.'" It was in this temper that the Puritans made themselves obnoxious as the enemies of all innocent amusements; and, affecting "to cross the ordinary custom in every thing," equally denounced the general habits of society, however harmless or indifferent, as well as its exceptional vices. In looking at this aspect of Puritanism we may collect some distinctive traits of the social life of the latter period of the reign of Elizabeth. We believe that we should greatly err if, accepting the denunciations of the Puritanic writers without qualification, we were to regard this as a period of very marked profligacy. We open "The Anatomie of Abuses" of Philip Stubbes—"a most rigid Calvinist, a bitter enemy to popery, and a great corrector of the vices and abuses of his time." † This lay-preacher has no gradations in his scale of wickedness. "The horrible vice of pestiferous dancing" is as offensive to him as "the beastly vice of drunkenness;" and "new devices and devilish fashions" of apparel are as odious in his sight as "gaming-houses, the shambles of the devil." Nevertheless he is an honest and trustworthy observer of manners, at a time when the moralist had a wide range for observation; when he looked upon a people rather than a class—the courtier and the citizen, the artisan and the peasant. The pursuits of all members of the social state had become blended in mutual wants and dependencies. Let us follow this quaint old writer in some of his delineations of the English of the latter part of the sixteenth century—"a strong kind of people, audacious, bold, puissant, and heroical, of great magnanimity, valiancy, and prowess;" but, "notwithstanding that the Lord hath blessed that land with the knowledge of his truth above all other lands in the world, yet is there not a people more corrupt, wicked, or perverse, living upon the face of the earth." ‡ Out of the manifest exaggerations of this declaimer we may collect many curious and unquestionable facts.

In the epistle dedicatory of his volumes, Stubbes says, "Reformation of manners, and amendment of life, was never more needful; for was pride, the chiefest argument of this book, ever so ripe?" By "pride" we understand him to mean what is the accompaniment of every period of general prosperity—a love of luxury and of luxurious display, not confined to the superior classes, but spread by the force of the imitative principle very widely through many inferior degrees of station. "Do not," he says, "both men and women, for the most part, every one, in general, go attired in silks, velvets, damasks, satins, and what not, which are attire only for the nobility and gentry, and not for the others at any hand?" The sumptuary laws of Henry VIII. had ceased to be regarded. Those who were winning wealth by industry would no longer submit, if they ever did

* Quoted by Mr. Hallam, from Madox, "Vindication of the Church."

* Preface to "Ecclesiastical Polity," vol. i. p. 190. Oxford, ed. 1820.

† Antony à Wood.

‡ Stubbes, p. 4. We quote from the rare reprint edited by Mr. Turnbull.

submit, to be told by statute what they were not to wear, according to a scale of income varying from 200*l.* a year to 5*l.* * They utterly despised the reason set forth for such arbitrary regulation—namely, to prevent "the subversion of good and politic order in knowledge and distinction of people, according to their estates, pre-eminences, dignities, and degrees." † A statute of Philip and Mary was directed against the wearing of silk, except by certain privileged classes. The statesmen of Elizabeth meddled little with these matters, but we find in the statute-book three laws which were intended, as we suppose, for the encouragement of home manufactures. By a statute of 1562–3, a most singular device was adopted for preventing persons, except those of inordinate wealth, indulging too largely in the extravagance of "foreign stuff or wares" for appareling or adorning the body. If such finery was sold to any person not possessing 3000*l.* a year in lands or fees, not being paid for in ready money, the seller was debarred of any legal remedy for the recovery of the debt. ‡ By a statute of 1566 velvet hats or caps were prohibited to all under the degree of a knight; and by that of 1571 every person, except ladies, lords, knights, and gentlemen having twenty marks by the year in land, was to wear upon his head, on Sundays and holidays, a home-made cap of wool, very decent and comely for all states and degrees. § If Stubbes is to be relied upon, all states and degrees rejected the statutory notion of what was decent and comely. They wore hats "perking up like the spear or shaft of a temple;" or hats "flat and broad on the crown, like the battlements of a house;" or "round crowns" with bands of every color. They wore hats of silk, velvet, taffety, sarsenet, wool, and of "fine hair, which they call beaver, fetched from beyond the seas, from whence a great sort of other vanities do come besides." He was of no estimation among men who had not a velvet or taffety hat; "and so common a thing it is, that every serving-man, countryman, or other, even all indifferently, do wear of these hats." With these exceptional laws, which thus appear to have been wholly inoperative, Elizabeth and her council left the regulation of apparel to a far higher law than any parliament could enact—to the tastes of the people and their ability to gratify them. The foreign fashions were copied, and the foreign silks and velvets imported, with no restraint that had the least effect. The queen herself carried her love of costly dress almost into a mania. It was the only expenditure in which she was profuse. In her youth, said Bishop Aylmer, "her maidenly apparel, which she used in King Edward's time, made the noblemen's daughters and wives to be ashamed to be dressed and painted like peacocks." Sir John Harrington has a story of a bishop, which shows how the same Elizabeth thought of such adornments at a later period of her life. "On Sunday my lord of London preached to the queen's majesty, and seemed to touch on the vanity of decking the body too finely. Her majesty told the ladies that 'if the bishop held more discourse on such matters, she would fit him for heaven, but he should walk thither without a staff, and leave his mantle behind him.'" ‖ The ruff and the vardingale had then superseded all "maidenly apparel;" and we are now accustomed to think of Elizabeth and her ladies as they shone forth in the most gorgeous but least graceful of womanly attire. The liberty of the press, small as it was, must have been more relied upon than the liberty of the pulpit, when Philip Stubbes hurled his thunder against every article of dress with which we are familiar in the portraits of the magnificent queen. The wreaths of gold and jewels in the bolstered hair; the rings of precious stones in the pierced ears; the "great ruffs and neckerchers of holland, lawn, cambric, and such cloth, smeared and starched in the devil's 'liquor,' starch;" the gowns "of divers fashions, changing with the moon;" the fringed petticoats; the colored kirtles—these vanities of the rich and great had, according to this minute censor, descended to the very humble: "So far hath this canker of pride eaten into the body of the commonwealth, that every poor yeoman's daughter, and every husbandman's daughter, and every cottager's daughter, will not stick to flaunt it out in such gowns, petticoats, and kirtles, as these." Doubtless this description of the spread of luxury is greatly overdone; or we might receive it as a proof of the general diffusion of wealth. But when this godly satirist tells us of these cottagers' daughters—"they are so impudent that, albeit their poor parents have but one cow, horse, or sheep, they will never let them rest till they be sold, to maintain them in their braveries"—we may be certain that he is speaking "in Ercles' vein." The holiday finery of the village maiden was limited to a ribbon and a colored nether-stock. A "queen of curds and cream," transplanted to a town, might "spend the greatest part of the day in sitting at the door to show her braveries," but on her native green she was as pure and simple as the rose in her bosom.

The pride of apparel, set forth by this anatomist of abuses, was scarcely more obtrusive in women than in men. All ranks, according to this authority, lavished their means upon the abominations of stately bands and monstrous ruffs, upon embroidered shirts, upon slashed and laced doublets, upon French and Venetian hosen, upon knit nether-stocks (stockings), upon velvet cloaks. There never was a period in which the satirist did not affirm that the preceding generation was healthier and braver, and altogether nobler than that to which he had the misfortune to belong; and so our good old Puritan writes, "how strong men were in times past, how long they lived, and how healthful they were, before such niceness and vain pampering curiosity was invented, we may read, and many that live at this day can testify. But now, through our fond toys and nice inventions, we have brought ourselves into such pusillanimity and effeminacy of condition, as we may seem rather nice dames and wanton girls, than puissant agents or manly men, as our forefathers have been." * The year 1588 gave a practical answer to the charge of pusillanimity. The Saxon heart was as brave as ever, though it beat under an Italian doublet. Nevertheless, if there had not been some salt in society to preserve the body politic from the taint of selfishness, these and other excesses of pride might be received as symptoms of national decay. Gluttony and drunkenness are the vices of the rudest communities; but in the more general diffusion of wealth in the reign of Elizabeth they assumed those forms of ostentatious display which are among the worst evils of social refinement. The Puritan writers were not alone in their remonstrances against the luxuries of the table which marked the latter years of the sixteenth century. Stubbes compares the variety of meats and sauces, the sweet condiments, the delicate confections of his time, with the past days, when "one dish or two of good wholesome meat was thought sufficient for a man of great worship to dine withal." Thomas Nash, whom the Puritans counted among the wicked, enlarges on the same theme: "We must have our tables furnished like poulterers' stalls, or as though we were to victual Noah's ark again. . . . What a coil have we, this course and that course, removing this dish higher, setting another lower, and taking away the third. A general might in less space remove his camp, than they stand disposing of their gluttony." † Excessive drinking, a vice which reached its climax in the degraded court of James I., was not wholly of native growth. The same writer says, "From gluttony in meats let me descend to superfluity in drink—a sin that, ever since we have mixed ourselves with the Low Countries, is counted honorable; but before we knew their lingering wars was held in the highest degree of hatred that might be." ‡ Stubbes says, "Every country, city, town, village, and other places hath abundance of ale-houses, taverns, and inns, which are so fraught with maltworms, night and day, that you would wonder to see them." There were punishments for low debauchery, such as the drunkard's cloak. Against this growing sin, which was creeping up from the peasant and the mechanic to the yeoman and the courtier, the preachers lifted up their voices in the pulpit, and not always in vain. Robert Greene, the unhappy dramatist, who died in the midst of his excesses, tells how he was stopped in his early career of riot by hearing a good man preach of future rewards and punishments; but that he could not stand up against the ridicule of his companions, who called him Puritan and Precisian, and so went again to his drinking-booth, his dice, and his bear-baiting. But we may be sure that these earnest preachers in some degree injured the good effect of their religious exhortations against real vices by denouncing those harmless recreations which to the greater number supplied the place of grosser excitements. In resisting "the beginnings of evil" too much zeal may be as fatal as too much laxity.

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* 24 Hen. VIII., c. 13.
§ 13 Eliz., c. 19.
† Ibid.
‖ "Nugæ Antiquæ," vol. i. p. 170.
‡ 5 Eliz., c. 6.

* Stubbes, p. 44.
† "Pierce Pennilesse," edited by J. P. Collier, from the original of 1592, p. 47.
‡ Ibid., p. 52.

The court of Elizabeth, in which

"My grave Lord-Keeper led the brawls,"

was a dancing court. The queen danced when she was a girl, as her sister Mary also danced. In 1589, at her palace of Richmond, her "ordinary exercise" was "six or seven galliards in a morning, besides music and singing." * In 1600, when she was feeble, and asked for a staff when wearied, she could still delight, at the house of Sir Robert Sydney, to look upon the pleasures of the young, "and smiled at the ladies, who in their dances often came up to the step on which the seat was fixed to make their obeisance, and so fell back into their order again." † The Puritans denounced all dancing in mixed companies of the sexes. The dancing-schools, which then abounded, were, they said, for teaching "the noble science of heathen devilry." They held that "men by themselves and women by themselves" might dance without sin, "to recreate the mind oppressed with some great toil and labor." The people, high and low, did not choose to accept this limitation of their favorite amusement; and so upon the rushes of the torch-lighted hall, having before them the noble example of Sir Christopher Hatton, ‡ the courtiers danced their grave measures and corantoes, to the airs of Queen Elizabeth's "Virginal Book;" and the peasant youths and maidens, on the village green, saw the sun go down, as they tripped "the comely country-round." Puritanism thought it right to make war upon every such amusement, crying out, "Give over your occupations, you pipers, you fiddlers, you minstrels, and you musicians, you drummers, you tabretters, and you fluters, and all other of that wicked brood." § They held that "sweet music at the first delighteth the ears, but afterward corrupteth and depraveth the mind." In this, and in many other battles which they fought, they warred against nature, and were beaten. Music was the especial art of the Elizabethan days. In every household there was the love of music, and in many families it was cultivated as an essential part of education. The plain tune of the church did not unfit the people for the madrigals of the fireside—exquisite compositions, which tell us how much of the highest enjoyments of a refined taste belonged to an age which we are too apt to consider very inferior to our own in the amenities of life.

We should do the Puritanic writers and preachers injustice if we did not see and point out that many of their objections to the recreations of the people were originally directed against their use on the Sunday. The Christians' first day of the week being regarded by the Romanists as a holiday, on which, after the hours of devotion, all amusements lawful in themselves were not unlawful, the more rigid Protestants determined, in their implicit reverence for the Old Testament, to adopt the strictest Judaical observance of the Sabbath, as one of the most distinguishing attributes of the Reformation. This view was injurious to the desire for conciliation which influenced the majority of the conforming clergy, who were either opposed upon principle to the application of this supposed test of a holy life, or saw the impolicy of depriving the people of the recreations which their forefathers deemed not only innocent but salutary. After the evening service, to shoot at the butts, to play at football, even to see an interlude, were not accounted unchristian occupations. Round the old manor-house the lads and lasses of the village would have their Sunday evening games of barley-break and hand-ball, while the squire and even the parson would look on approvingly. The Puritans conscientiously believed such license to be incompatible with religious principle, and set about opposing these pursuits with an earnestness commensurate with the difficulty of their task. Cartwright, the most influential of their number, speaking of the way in which a clergyman performed the service, says, "He posteth it over as fast as he can gallop; for either he hath two places to serve, or else there are some games to be played in the afternoon." When there were daily prayers in the parish churches, and especially at holiday seasons, the old traditional sports and mummeries of the people were also offensive to some, though tolerated by many. Thus Puritanism came to do battle, not only against those amusements on Sundays, and at other especial times when the Church claimed serious thoughts, but against the amusements themselves, whenever practised. In 1585 a bishop of Lincoln, in his "Visitation Articles of Inquiry," asks, "Whether your Minister and Churchwardens have suffered any Lords of Misrule, or Summer Lords and Ladies, or any disguised person in Christmas, or at May-games, or Morris-dancers, or at any other time, to come unreverently into the churchyard, and there to dance or play any unseemly part, with scoffs, jests, wanton gestures, or ribald talk, namely in the time of common prayer." * The popular license on these holiday occasions, among a people in whom the love of fun was inbred, no doubt often went beyond the bounds of decorum; and thus the stricter Protestants endeavored to sweep away the merriments altogether. They were in due time successful—"the hobby-horse was forgot," and the "sealed quarts" at the ale-house-door remained the only attraction.

The Lord of Misrule was a great personage in town and country. He was the "master of merry disports" in royal palaces and civic halls. Learned doctors of the universities and great benchers of the inns of court recognized his authority. He held his ground through all the troublesome times of the Reformation up to the Civil Wars, when his mock pageantry was swept away with the realities of power that then perished. The Christmas sports and their lord would have perished, even though Prynne, with other learned Puritans, had not called upon "all pious Christians eternally to abominate them," because they were "derived from the Roman Saturnalia and Bacchanalian festivals." But in Elizabeth's days, though most of the so-called superstitious ceremonies of the ancient Church had been swept away, the people, high or low, would not readily surrender those festive observances which, although common in the times of Popery, were not necessarily connected with its spirit or its practice. Thus, in every borough, and more especially in every village, the Lord of Misrule, chosen by universal suffrage at Christmas or at Whitsuntide, headed his company of lusty mummers, in their gaudy liveries, their scarfs and laces, their legs hung with little bells; and "then march this heathen company toward the church and churchyard, their pipers piping, their drummers thundering, their stumps dancing, their bells jingling, their handkerchiefs swinging about their heads like madmen, their hobby-horses and other monsters skirmishing amongst the throng." † We laugh at these follies which the Puritans execrated; but in this license the national character may be recognized. The riot of the multitude was placed by themselves under control. The Lord of Misrule was as absolute as the parish constable. The empire of law was recognized by "the wild heads of the parish" in choosing their captain; and "the foolish people" submitted themselves for their guidance to his authority, upon the principle of order by which their more serious liberties were upheld. Among such a people it was useless declaiming against May-games; against Plough-Monday dances, with their "tipsy jollity;" against church-ales, and wakes. The old hearty spirit of hospitality might be denounced as gluttony, and the free intercourse of joyous hearts reprobated as licentiousness. If the feasts and the merry-makings had been simply vicious they could not have so long prevailed among a nation essentially moral. Even in the popular gatherings, which have been so emphatically described as occasions for sin, there were objects of piety and charity connected with the harmless merriment and wild excitement. Such were the wakes and the church-ales. The wake was the annual feast to commemorate the dedication of the parish church. Stubbes has described the festival with less than his usual acrimony: "Every town, parish, and village, some at one time of the year, some at another—but so that every one keep his proper day assigned, and appropriate to itself, which they call their wake-day—useth to make great preparation for good cheer; to the which all their friends and kinsfolks, far and near, are invited." He speaks the language which the Puritans applied to every relaxation when he asks, "Wherefore should the whole town, parish, village, and country, keep one and the same day, and make such gluttonous feasts as they do?" Such declaimers have ever confounded abuse with use. The use of wakes was recognized at a later period, as promoting "neighborhood and freedom, with manlike and lawful exercises." ‡ "Neighborhood" was that old "hearty spirit of social intercourse, constituting a practical equality between man and man,

* Lodge, vol. ii. p. 411.
† "Nugæ Antiquæ," vol. i. p. 315.
‡ See Gray's "Long Story."
§ Stubbes, p. 204.

* Quoted in "The Martin Marprelate Controversy," by the Rev. W. Maskell.
† Stubbes, p. 169.
‡ Proclamation of Charles I., 1633.

which enabled all ranks to mingle without offence and without suspicion in these public ceremonials." * The object of the church-ale was thoroughly practical, and in complete accordance with one great national characteristic—that of voluntary contributions for public objects. At the season of Whitsuntide, when the spring was calling up "a spirit of life in every thing," there was a parish feast, which the church-wardens had prepared for by an ale-brewing, and the profit that was made by filling the black-jacks of the jovial countrymen was applied to the repairs of the church. Fancy-fairs have superseded Whitsun-ales. We are a more decorous people than these our ancestors, with their exuberant merry-makings for every season—their sheep-shearing feasts, with cheese-cakes and warden-pies—their hock-cart at harvest-home—their Christmas, with the boar's-head and the yule-log in the great hall, the tenants sitting at their landlord's table, and the laborers and their wives and children crowding in unreproved. All these indications of a kindly spirit, not chilled by distinctions of rank, are gone. Let us strive to revive the spirit in all forms fitting our own age.

Roger Ascham maintained that "to ride comely run, fair at the tilt or ring, to play at all weapons, to shoot fair in bow or surely in gun, to vault lustily, to run, to leap, to wrestle, to swim, to dance comely, to sing, and play of instruments cunningly, to hawk, to hunt, to play at tennis, and all pastimes generally which be joined with labor, used in open place, and in the daylight, containing either some fit exercise for war or some pleasant pastime for peace, be not only comely and decent, but also very necessary for a courtly gentleman to use." The training of the courtly gentlemen of England has, for three centuries, been according to the maxim of the wise old "schoolmaster;" and a better training could never have been devised to produce the leaders of a manly people. But the pastimes joined with labor—the vaulting, running, leaping, wrestling, swimming—were as necessary for the yeomen, the artisans, and the peasants, as for the gentlemen of England. Such training, "fit exercise for war," has won our country's battles, from Agincourt to Alma. Such training, "pleasant pastime for peace," has still done something for brotherly kindness among degrees of men whom fortune had too much isolated. It was this frank and rough fellowship in their field sports—their hunting, hawking, birding, fishing, otter-hunting—it was this bold rivalry in their hurling and their football, their wrestling and their single-stick, their archery, their land and water quintain, which knitted the squire and the yeoman and the ploughman—the merchant, the artificer, and the sturdy apprentice—in a companionship which made them strong enough to defy the world in Elizabeth's heroic time. The Puritans, who, when it came to the issue whether they should be slaves or fight, fought as well as the most reckless, made the mistake of trying to put down the rude games of the people because they might lead to brawling and contention, and withdraw them from godliness. They were wiser in their denunciations of gaming and gaming-houses, which were among the corruptions of the town at this period. Sir John Harrington wrote "A Treatise on Playe," in which he endeavors to purify its abuses rather than banish it from the houses of princes and out of their dominions, as "holy and wise preachers" desired. If he were to show no indulgence to such recreations, he says, "I should have all our young lords, our fair ladies, our gallant gentlemen, and the flower of all England against me." But he nevertheless draws a picture of "one that spends his whole life in play, of which there is too great choice," that sufficiently illustrates the prevailing madness: "In the morning, perhaps, at chess, and after his belly is full then at cards; and when his spirits wax dull at that, then for some exercise of his arms at dice; and being weary thereof, for a little motion of his body, to tennis; and having warmed him at that, then, to cool himself a little, play at tables;† and, being disquieted in his patience for overseeing cinque and quatre, or missing two or three foul blots, then to an interlude; and so, as one well compared it, like to a mill-horse treading always in the same steps, be ever as far from a worthy and wise man as the circle is from the centre."‡

Drinking, dicing, bear-baiting, cock-fighting—the coarsest temptations to profligacy—were not such abominations in the eyes of the Puritans as "stage-plays, interludes, and comedies." The aversion which the early Reformers entertained toward the Mysteries and Miracle Plays were poured forth in fuller measure upon the plays of profane subjects, which had now become the universal amusement. The more it was said that some good example might be learned out of them, the more furious were those who would suppress them altogether. This was the great controversy of a century. It began when the drama was in its puling infancy; it grew more violent during its erratic youth; it ceased not when its glorious manhood had supplied the best answer to its enemies; it triumphed in that drama's licentious decline. The history of the stage is an interesting chapter of our social history, through several generations. In the latter years of the reign of Elizabeth, when the Puritans, zealous, persevering, and united, had possessed themselves of much of the municipal power of the larger cities and towns, there was frequent warfare between the civic authorities and the performers of plays. The severe moralists called them "caterpillars of the commonwealth;" the law defined them as "vagabonds." But the law, which mixed together in one common opprobrium "all fencers, bearwards, common players in interludes, minstrels, jugglers, pedlars, and petty chapmen," who wander abroad and have not license of two justices of the peace, in what shire they shall happen to wander*—that same law excepted the established companies of players, by making those only vagabonds who were "not belonging to any baron of this realm, or toward any other honorable person of greater degree." The number of honorable persons who gave their sanction to companies of players was sufficient to secure a sanction for dramatic performances, wherever there was a demand for such amusements. But notwithstanding these privileges, there was frequent opposition to the acting of plays, especially in London; and thus the earl of Leicester's players, of which company James Burbage was the chief shareholder, being refused a license to perform within the walls of the city, erected a theatre in the Blackfriars, in 1576. The original theatrical performances were in the inn-yards of the city, such as the Belle Savage. The better sort of spectators sat in the gallery which connected the inn-chambers; the larger number of the audience stood in the open yard. Gradually hostelries were converted into theatres, and new buildings were erected for dramatic representations. They were multiplied in various parts of the town, and especially in Southwark. The company of the lord chamberlain, who were the queen's household servants, had two theatres—the Blackfriars and the Globe—the one for winter, the other for summer performances. Of this company Richard Burbage was the chief actor, and William Shakespeare was a shareholder in 1589. This we know from a document, in which the "poor players" address Lord Burleigh, affirming that they "have never given any cause of displeasure, in that they have brought into their plays matters of state and religion, unfit to be handled by them, or presented to lewd spectators." A commission had been issued to inquire what companies of players had thus offended. This was the period of the Marprelate controversy, and the stage was made an instrument for attacking the Puritans. Nash boasted that "Vetus Comœdia had brought forth Divinity with a scratched face, holding her heart as if she were sick." Spenser has described this period of license as one of ugly barbarism and brutish ignorance, of scoffing scurrility and scornful folly; and he asks why "the man whom Nature self had made to mock herself"—"our pleasant Willy"—chooses "to sit in idle cell" rather "than so himself to mockery to sell." There can be little doubt that "the gentle spirit" thus alluded to by the greatest poet of that time—a poet of enduring greatness—was Shakespeare. He had, we are assured, already written two or three of his comedies, of which "unhurtful sport, delight, and laughter" were the characteristics. A grander labor was before him—the labor of preserving for all ages and all nations the influences of what has been truly called "great Eliza's golden time," a time of free thought and heroic action, when individual prosperity had not deadened the sympathy for national greatness; when men lived for their country as much as for themselves; a time of security and comparative peace, born out of a long period of unrest. Of the great interpreter of the spirit of that age we shall have again to speak, in a brief notice of the Elizabethan Literature.

* "William Shakspere, a Biography."
† "Tables," backgammon.
‡ "Nugæ Antiquæ," vol. i. p. 198.

* 14 Eliz. c. 5.

CHAPTER LXXVII.

Henry of Navarre succeeds to the throne of France—English expeditions to aid Henry IV.—A parliament called—Contests of the Crown and the Commons—Intrigues of Spain in Scotland—Naval expeditions—The taking of Cadiz—Parliament—Statutes regarding the poor—Progress of poor-law legislation—Poverty and vagabondage—Laborers refusing to work at usual wages—Egyptians and pretended Egyptians—Villainies of London—Insecurity of the suburbs—Statutes against the increase of buildings—Almshouses—Incidental causes of indigence—Fluctuations of price—Sickness—Nuisances—Fires—Insufficient household accommodation—Increase of town populations—Crimes of towns—Police.

Henry of Navarre, the great champion of Protestanism, by a tragical event was suddenly placed upon the throne of France. On the 8th of August, 1589, Jacques Clement, a monk, stabbed Henry III., and the king died of his wounds on the following day. Henry IV. became the sovereign of a troubled kingdom, reduced by long intestine conflicts to extreme weakness and misery. Henry III., when he fell under the blow of an assassin, was in arms against the great Catholic confederacy known as the League, then exasperated by the murder of their leader, the duke of Guise, and of the cardinal his brother. The king was advancing against Paris with an army to put down this formidable party and the rebellious citizens who adhered to them, when the Dominican friar fearfully revenged the crime which his monarch had perpetrated. Henry IV., on account of his religion, had to encounter the most determined opposition to his succession to the crown, although the undoubted heir. The duke of Mayence, the brother of the murdered Guises, took the command of the League. The king of Spain was ready with his most strenuous aid to keep a Protestant out of the throne of France, coveting probably that great kingdom for himself. Elizabeth of England hesitated not to give her support to the Huguenot king, who had so long battled with the most adverse fortune. She sent him a supply of money—no large sum, it may seem in these days, being only twenty-two thousand pounds—but Henry declared it was a larger treasure than he had ever seen. An English force, under the command of Lord Willoughby, soon after landed at Dieppe, and the king was thus encouraged to continue a contest which without this timely assistance might have been hopeless. Henry, who had learned the art of war in many a desperate struggle with the powerful enemies of the reformed religion, and had early known how to win the love of all who served him, and to gain new adherents to his cause by his kind and generous nature, his courage and endurance, was now in a position to risk a general engagement with the enemy who at his accession to the throne appeared well able to destroy him. At the great battle of Ivry a gallant army followed his white plume to a complete victory. But the duke of Parma, with the forces of Spain, came to the relief of the League, and compelled Henry to raise the siege of Paris. Elizabeth again sent him succor. In April, 1591, Sir John Norris landed in France with a force of three thousand men; and in July of that year another small army, four thousand in number, under the earl of Essex, was also sent to the aid of Henry. But the duke of Parma, the most accomplished general of that time, again came to the relief of the League; and the expeditions of England had no satisfactory result.

Robert Devereux was the son of a distinguished but unfortunate nobleman, Walter, earl of Essex, who died at Dublin in 1576, "his hard estate having long ebbed even to the low water mark," as he described the issue of his ruinous attempt to subdue and colonize a district of Ulster. He committed his eldest son, Robert, who was born in 1567, to the kindness of the queen, requesting that he might be brought up in the household of Lord Burleigh. The youth was sent to Trinity College, Cambridge, and, with a handsome person and many accomplishments, made his appearance at court in 1584. He was related to the queen; and the favorite, Leicester, had become his step-father by marrying Letitia, the widow of the Lord Walter. Honors were showered upon him, to an extent which provoked the jealousy of older courtiers, and increased the dangerous impetuosity of his own nature. We have mentioned his participation in the attack upon Lisbon under Drake and Norris. He had displeased the queen by joining this expedition without her permission; but on his return soon regained her favor. Raleigh and Essex were each jealous of the influence of the other; and the Cecils, though they kept their feelings under subjection to their policy, could ill brook the confidence which the queen placed in one so young and so indiscreet. The petted earl claimed an almost exclusive right to the royal smiles; and having offered an insult to Sir Charles Blount, to whom Elizabeth had given some mark of her approbation, a duel ensued, in which Essex was wounded. The queen upon the occasion exclaimed, "By God's death, it was fit that some one or other should take him down, and teach him better manners, otherwise there would be no rule with him." Such was Essex, at the age of twenty-four, when he was appointed to the command of the expedition sent to the aid of Henry IV. He conducted himself with his native gallantry, but made a singular display of his want of discretion by sending a challenge to the governor of Rouen to meet him in single combat. He had attempted the same revival of the worn-out spirit of chivalry in his Lisbon campaign. The only brother of Essex, Walter Devereux, was killed in the unsuccessful warfare of 1591.

The naval enterprises of this year had no more fortunate issue. A squadron of seven ships was sent, under the command of Lord Thomas Howard, to intercept the Indian fleet on its return to Spain. But Philip was prepared, and had fitted out a force of fifty-five sail as an escort. The little English squadron fell in with this armament, and one of Howard's vessels became a Spanish prize. This was the first ship that Spain had taken from England during the war. It was commanded by Sir Richard Grenville, the vice-admiral; and the memory of the unequal fight which this heroic captain sustained from three in the afternoon to daybreak the next morning long abided with the English sailor as one of his noblest examples of courage and resolution. Grenville was three times wounded during the action, in which he again and again repulsed the enemy, who constantly assailed him with fresh vessels. At length the good ship lay upon the waters like a log. Her captain proposed to blow her up rather than surrender, but the majority of the crew compelled him to yield himself a prisoner. He died in a few days, and his last words were, "Here die I, Richard Grenville, with a joyful and quiet mind; for that I have ended my life as a true soldier ought to do, fighting for his country, queen, religion, and honor."

The mode in which the war against Spain was carried on by England made the wealth of the Indies a very insecure possession to King Philip. Rich carracks were sometimes taken and sometimes destroyed. Real treasures, such as fourteen hundred chests of quicksilver, which were found in two ships captured by a Londoner, were abstracted from the riches of the Spaniard, and the Catholic king's dealings in a commodity which he sold at great profit to his Indian subjects were also interrupted. Thomas White, the Londoner, with his valuable quicksilver, also obtained a prize, worthless in England, of two millions of papal bulls for indulgences. But this war was also costly to England; and in 1593 Elizabeth called a parliament, for she needed a subsidy. In this parliament the act against "popish recusants," and the act against the Puritans, "to restrain the queen's subjects in their obedience,"* were passed with little debate, but amid manifest heart-burnings. The queen and the Commons were beginning to be at issue. Prerogative and privilege were giving indications that the time was approaching when they would come into actual conflict. There was a temper growing up among the people which, if it appeared feeble when compared with the ancient feuds between the sovereign and the aristocracy, was, to some acute observers, the little cloud which foretold the coming tempest. Cecil, in 1569, complained of "the decay of obedience in civil policy, which, being compared with the fearfulness and reverence of all inferior estates to their superiors in times past, will astonish any wise and considerate person to behold the desperation of reformation." There is a remarkable passage in Sidney's "Arcadia," in which he no doubt seeks to indicate the popular temper of his times: "When they began to talk of their griefs, never bees made such confused humming: the town-dwellers demanding putting down of imposts, the country fellows laying out of commons: some would have the prince keep his court in one place, some in another: all cried out to have new counsellors; but when they should think of any new, they liked them as well as any other that they could remember; especially they would have the treasure so looked unto as that he should never need to take any more subsidies. At length they fell to direct contrarieties. For

* See p. 378.

the artisans they would have corn and wine set at a lower price, and bound to be kept so still; the ploughmen, vine-laborers, and the farmers would have none of that. The country men demanded that every man might be free in the chief towns; that could not the burgesses like of. The peasants would have all the gentlemen destroyed; the citizens, especially such as cooks, barbers, and those other that lived most on gentlemen, would but have them reformed. And of each side were like divisions, one neighborhood beginning to find fault with another, but no confusion was greater than of particular men's likings and dislikings: one dispraising such a one, whom another praised, and demanding such a one to be punished, whom the other would have exalted. No less ado was there about choosing him who should be their spokesman. The finer sort of burgesses, as merchants, prentices, and cloth-workers, because of their riches, disdaining the baser occupations: and they, because of their number, as much disdaining them; all they scorning the country men's ignorance, and the country men suspecting as much their cunning." This picture of a state of things from which the "regimenting" of the Plantagenets and the two first Tudors had passed away, presents a vivid notion of the keen and jealous competition of an industrious people among themselves, and the grudging submission which citizen and peasant now yielded to those who had once lorded it over their traditionary liberties. Out of such "contrarieties" is gradually formed that power of public opinion which no statesman can safely despise. When the chaotic elements have grown into form and substance—when there is liberty of speech and liberty of writing—representative government becomes the surest basis of social order. But in the first rough utterances of public opinion rulers only hear prophetic sounds of coming woe. Such a condition of society as Sidney has described, of which the more daring spirits in the House of Commons were the exponents, was calculated to precipitate a contest between the Crown and the people's representatives. But the strength was as yet all on one side; and Elizabeth was too sagacious to use her strength unnecessarily. There was a discontented temper among some members of the parliament of 1593, and the queen put it down with a haughtiness which looks like unmitigated despotism. When the Commons asked, according to ancient usage, for liberty of speech, the lord-keeper replied, in the name of the queen, "Privilege of speech is granted, but you must know what privilege you have; not to speak every one what he listeth, or what cometh in his brain to utter that; but your privilege is, aye or no. Wherefore, Mr. Speaker, her majesty's pleasure is that if you perceive any idle heads, which will not stick to hazard their own estates; which will meddle with reforming the Church, and transforming the commonwealth; and do exhibit any bills to such purpose, that you receive them not, until they be viewed and considered by those who it is fitter should consider of such things, and can better judge of them." A few bold members were not daunted by this temper, but prepared a bill for entailing the succession to the crown. This, of all other subjects, was the most disagreeable to the queen, and four of the members were committed to prison for this hardihood. The courage of the Puritans was not subdued by this severity, for Mr. Morice brought in a bill for correcting the abuses of the Ecclesiastical Court. The queen sent for the speaker, who delivered a message to the House, that her majesty commanded that "no bills touching matters of state, or reformation in causes ecclesiastical, be exhibited." The same day Morice was committed to custody, and, according to some statements, was in confinement when he died in 1596. In a dignified letter to Burleigh the persecuted Morice says, "That I am no more hardly handled, I impute, next unto God, to your honorable goodwill and favor. . . . I see no cause in my conscience to repent me of what I have done, nor to be dismayed, although grieved, by this restraint of my liberty; for I stand for the maintenance of the honor of God and of my prince, and for the preservation of public justice and the liberties of my country against wrong and oppression; being well content, at her majesty's good pleasure and commandment (whom I beseech God long to preserve in all princely felicity), to suffer and abide much more. But I had thought that the judges ecclesiastical, being charged in the great council of the realm to be dishonorers of God and of her majesty; perverters of law and public justice; and wrong-doers unto the liberties and freedoms of all her majesty's subjects, by their extorted oaths, wrongful imprisonments, lawless subscription and unjust absolutions; would rather have sought means to be cleared of this weighty accusation, than to shroud themselves under the suppressing of the complaint and shadow of mine imprisonment." Such men as Morice built up the constitutional freedom whose foundations were still strong, however decayed the old fabric. Upon the matter of the subsidy, the Commons met the wishes of the Crown, but with evident reluctance. Francis Bacon, then rising into importance, made a speech against the amount of the subsidy, and for some time lost his chance of court favor.

The contest between the Crown and the Commons in the question of the succession was the renewal of a controversy which had been conducted with some bitterness in 1566. There had been other occasions on which the queen resisted the freedom with which members uttered opinions which seemed to limit her prerogative. Mr. Yelverton in 1576 said that princes were to have their prerogatives, but yet to be confined within reasonable limits; the queen could not of herself make laws, neither could she break them. In 1576 Peter Wentworth complained that the liberty of free speech had been infringed; and he went so far as to say "none is without fault, no, not our noble queen—but has committed great and dangerous faults to herself." The Commons themselves consigned Wentworth to the Tower; but after a month's imprisonment the queen said she remitted her displeasure toward him. Before we join in the common cry against the despotism of Elizabeth as a personal attribute, we must bear in mind that in those days the doctrine of ministerial responsibility for every act of the Crown was utterly unknown. There was no intervening authority to break the force of a collision between the sovereign and the parliament. Elizabeth was responsible to public opinion for her public acts, and she almost invariably took these acts upon herself. We need therefore scarcely wonder at occasional displays of temper when any member made an attack upon her administration of affairs. Mr. Hallam has truly remarked upon the conflicts between the Crown and the parliament, that "if the former often asserted the victory, the latter sometimes kept the field, and was left on the whole a gainer at the close of the campaign."* Whatever might have been the desire of the Crown to narrow the powers of parliament, its constitutional authority was universally recognized. Had the monarchy under Elizabeth been so wholly despotic as Hume, the defender of the divine right of the next race of kings, has chosen to maintain, Harrison, in 1577, would not have dared to write the following unqualified statement of the nature of parliament: "This house hath the most high and absolute power of the realm; for thereby kings and mighty princes have from time to time been deposed from their thrones; laws either enacted or abrogated; offenders of all sorts punished; and corrupted religion either disannulled or reformed. To be short, whatsoever the people of Rome did in their *centuriatis* or *tribunitiis comitiis*, the same is and may be done by authority of our parliament-house, which is the head and body of all the realm, and the place wherein every particular person is intended to be present, if not by himself, yet by his advocate or attorney. For this cause also anything there enacted is not to be misliked, but obeyed of all men, without contradiction or grudge."†

The war of Spain against England never lost its original character of a war of religious hatred, in which the utter destruction of the Protestant queen was the great object to be kept in view. In 1593 Elizabeth was to be assailed through Scotland. Philip was conspiring with the earls of Angus, Errol, and Huntley to send an army to operate with them in re-establishing Romanism in Scotland, and to march upon England with a united force for the same purpose. This scheme to betray Scotland to Spain, and then to subdue England, had been the policy of the Roman Catholic faction for several years. The lord-keeper, in his speech to the parliament in 1593, says, "A greater part of the nobility in Scotland be combined in this conspiracy, and they have received great sums of money for their services therein. . . . This conspiracy the king of Scots was hardly brought to believe, but that her majesty advertised him thereof, having entertained intelligence thereof, as she hath of all things done and intended in these parts." This vigilance on the part of the English government was necessary for its own safety; for James, with the weakness and cunning of his nature, suspected Elizabeth of a de-

* "Constitutional History," chap. v.
† "Description of England."

sign to promote discord between himself and his friends—a design which many historians take for granted in these transactions, as in every other between the governments. A writer, who is too well informed to be led away by these historical prejudices, says, with regard to this plot of the Catholic nobles, that when the truth became too apparent to the Scottish king, "to admit of denial, his childish fondness for some of the very persons who were striving to ruin him involved his country in troubles and bloodshed, and called down upon him many an indignant remonstrance from his neighbor queen."* James at length took arms against the "Spaniolised rebels," and this danger was past. But Philip had in his armory an other weapon against Elizabeth. He bribed her domestic physician, Roderigo Lopez, a Portuguese Jew, to poison her. This man had been taken prisoner in one of the ships of the armada, and his skill in medicine, according to the imperfect knowledge of that time, recommended him to the queen. He soon availed himself of his position to become a spy of the Spanish ministers. The Count de Fuentes accepted the offer of Lopez to poison the queen for a reward of fifty thousand crowns; and he urged the mediciner to complete the business speedily, "that the king may have a merry Easter." Lopez had two Portuguese refugees as confederates. They were convicted, and hanged on the 7th of June, 1594. The discovery of this atrocious scheme was due to the perseverance of Essex.

In 1593 Henry IV. made a formal abjuration of those Protestant opinions for which he had so long gallantly fought. Without this concession he would probably never have succeeded in tranquillizing France. But he did not, as many apostates have done, persecute the religion which he had forsaken. The edict of Nantes, by which he granted toleration to the Protestants, in 1598, may advantageously contrast with the penal laws to which the Roman Catholics of England were so long subjected. Elizabeth, although displeased at the position which Henry had taken, still continued to render him aid in his war with Spain—the common cause of each country. An English naval armament assisted him, in 1594, in taking Brest from the Spaniards. In the attack upon this fort Sir Martin Frobisher was mortally wounded. Two other of the heroes of 1588 fell victims to disease, in an expedition against the Spanish settlements in the West Indies. Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins sailed in 1595, with six of the queen's ships, and twenty others, fitted out at private charge, having on board a considerable land force, commanded by Sir Thomas Baskerville. They made an assault on Porto Rico, but they were repulsed. Hawkins soon after died. Drake went forward, and landed at Nombre di Dios, in the Isthmus of Darien. The success which had attended his early exploits had now deserted him. The Spaniards were prepared, as at Porto Rico. The enterprise failed, and the great admiral succumbed to sickness and to disappointment. Baskerville returned home, after having fought with a Spanish fleet off Cuba, with no decisive results on either side.

The year 1596 was signalized by an expedition against Philip's European dominions. He was making preparations for another invision of England; and the lord high admiral, Howard, of Effingham, counselled that the blow should be anticipated by an attack upon Spain herself. Burleigh, always cautious, but more cautious in his declining years, was opposed to so costly and doubtful an enterprise. But there was a youthful counsellor with influence greater than Burleigh's whose sentence was for the boldest warlike policy. Essex prevailed, and was appointed commander of the expedition, but somewhat restrained by a council of war. The English fleet sailed from Plymouth on the 1st of June, 1596. The harbor of Cadiz was known to be full of shipping; and after an attempt, which failed, to land at St. Sebastian's, it was determined to attack the galleys in the bay. Essex, when the council had somewhat unwillingly come to this determination, threw his hat into the sea, in the extravagance of his joy, and, though against the orders which had given the honor of leading the attack to Raleigh and Lord Thomas Howard, broke through the midst of the fleet in which he had been stationed, and was soon in the heat of the action. The Spanish ships fled to the protection of the guns at the fort of Puntal, where some were set on fire by their own crews. The English admiral refused to accept a price as the ransom of the remainder, and they were all burned by the Spanish commander. Essex now led his men to an attack upon the town of Cadiz, which was strongly fortified. The daring of this young leader called forth the impetuous courage of his "war-proof" English. At the moment when the issue of the attack seemed doubtful, Essex threw his own standard over the wall; "giving withal a most hot assault unto the gate, where, to save the honor of their ensign, happy was he that could first leap down from the wall, and with shot and sword make way through the thickest press of the enemy." The town was taken and given up to plunder. But Essex, departing somewhat from the brutal spirit of ancient warfare, exerted himself as strenuously to prevent slaughter as he had done in leading the attack. The town was burned, after the unhappy inhabitants had been permitted to withdraw. It was the wish of Essex to hold Cadiz, but he was overruled by the council. Nor was he more successful in receiving their support for other enterprises which he proposed. The fleet returned to England, with no greater success than the large destruction which had been effected of the resources of Spain, whose loss was estimated at twenty millions of ducats. Essex wrote a "Censure" upon the conduct of the expedition, in which he blamed the lord admiral and Raleigh. His impetuous nature was calculated to draw down opposition, even in the hour of the most brilliant success. For such a feat as the capture of Cadiz he was eminently fitted; and in being restrained in carrying forward his victory some injustice was probably inflicted upon him. In our time, what Essex did at Cadiz has been described as "the most brilliant military exploit that was achieved on the Continent by English arms during the long interval which elapsed between the battle of Agincourt and that of Blenheim."*

In the following year another naval armament was fitted out against Spain. A fleet sailed from Plymouth on the 9th of July, 1597, but was driven back by a storm, in which many of the ships were disabled and sunk. The remainder of this shattered squadron sailed again on the 17th of August. The commanders, Essex and Raleigh, had disagreements; and the only success that saved the expedition from disgrace was the profitable capture of three ships returning from the Havana.

A new parliament was called to meet on the 24th of October, 1597, which sate till the 9th of February, 1598. In this parliament some of the most important statutes of domestic policy were passed, which require a detailed notice, illustrating, as they all do, the condition of society at that period, and some having held their places in our system of economical law even to the present time.

When the legislators of the reign of Edward VI. had suddenly repealed their wicked and foolish statute of vagabondage,† they had discovered that something more effectual than severity was necessary to be applied to the large number of the population who were unable to work, who were unwilling to work, or for whom no work was provided. They saw that there was a class for whom some public provision must be appointed—a class who would not be content to starve while beggary or thievery offered a last resource. The nation generally was growing richer in the advance of profitable industry, but there was a large body who found no place in the ranks of the industrious. The feudal organization was gone. The more healthful organization of free labor was essentially imperfect. All the irregular modes of subsistence which belong to the transition period, when the unreclaimed portion of the land was to some extent, for common use, were passing away. In the towns, the organization of trades, with their strict laws of apprenticeship and their guilds, excluded from competition with the recognized artisan all those who had not the claim of caste—for caste it was when a workman must have been brought up to a calling, and could follow that calling and no other. The population of England at the end of the sixteenth century was probably not far short of five millions. Some of the more fortunate of the humbler classes were forcing their way into wealth; for although there was a jealous system of exclusion against a general invasion of the domain of profitable employment, the more resolute spirits, having conquered some small vantage-ground, could readily win a higher position by never-ceasing toil and thrift. One of the wits of this age who, as he says, "had spent many years in studying how to live, and lived a long time without money," looks around him and sees how some thrive whom he considers as base

* Bruce, Introduction to "Letters of Elizabeth and James," p. xv.

* Macaulay, "Essays," art. "Lord Bacon."

† See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 292.

men: "I called to mind a cobbler that was worth five hundred pounds; an hostler that had built a goodly inn, and might dispense forty pounds yearly by his land; a carman in a leather pilch that had whipped a thousand pounds out of his horse tail." * The way to wealth was open to the meanest if they could find an entrance into the road. But there was a large body who never found the way even to a bare subsistence. It was impossible to have been otherwise in a country where the local divisions that belonged to the times before the Conquest were still so rigidly preserved, and where the means of communication were still so imperfect. In such a condition of society, with the larger number of the more fortunate prospering, and a comparatively few but still a large body driven into vagabondage, it was necessary to do something more than enforce the old terrors of the stocks and the whip. A legal provision for the poor supplied by the assessment of all property was perfected at the close of Elizabeth's reign by bold and far-sighted legislation. This was the result of a series of experiments which are in themselves a conclusive indication of the gradual advance of society to a condition sufficiently stable to dispense with temporary expedients—to build up a system which would endure through all political vicissitudes, and without which the inequalities of modern competitive life would be fatal to the security of the whole social fabric.

The tentative process by which the principle of a public contribution for the relief of the poor was first approached is distinctly set forth in the statute of 1551–2.† A book was to be kept for each parish, in which should be entered the names of the householders and of the impotent poor. In Whitsun-week two or more persons were to be appointed as collectors of alms; and on the Sunday following, when the people are at church, "the said collectors shall gently ask and demand of every man and woman what they of their charity will give weekly toward the relief of the poor." The sums so collected weekly were to be distributed by the same collectors, "after such sort that the more impotent may have the more help, and such as can get part of their living have the less; and by the discretion of the collector to be put in such labor as they be able to do." If any person, being able, refused to contribute, he was to be gently exhorted by the parson and church-wardens; and if their exhortations failed, he was to be sent for by the bishop, to be induced and persuaded to so charitable a deed. A statute of 1555 and another of 1557 continue to provide for the impotent poor by weekly collections, the principle being held "good and beneficial for the commonwealth of this realm." The same principle is maintained by the statute of 1562–3;‡ but there is to be now something more stringent than the exhortations of parson, church-wardens, and bishop. "If any person of his froward or wilful mind shall obstinately refuse to give weekly to the relief of the poor according to his ability," the bishop had power to bind him to appear at the next sessions, when the justices, if he continued obstinate, might determine what sum he should pay, and commit him to prison if he persisted in his refusal. This first assertion of the principle of a compulsory assessment of property for the relief of the destitute is the foundation of the system of Poor Laws, which has endured though all the changes of three centuries. In a few years the general application of the principle was to be gradually effected by a far more perfect machinery. In 1572–3 was passed "An Act for the punishment of vagabonds, and for relief of the poor and impotent."§ It repeals all previous enactments by one sweeping law, in which the old principle of severity against "rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars" receives little mitigation, but which also emphatically declares that poor, aged, and impotent persons should be provided for. The justices of the peace in their several divisions are to use diligent inquiry as to all such impotent poor; to make a register of the names of those who were born within such divisions, or have been living there by alms within three preceding years; to assign them convenient places for their habitations if the parish does not provide for them; to assess the inhabitants of such division to a weekly charge; and to appoint overseers of the poor, who shall have the power of setting to work all such diseased or impotent persons who are not wholly past labor. In this act the system of parochial administration was not fully developed; the justices were to make the assessment. By an act of 1575–6 a stock of wool and hemp was to be provided for setting the poor at work, and "houses of correction" were to be established.* The law remained in this state of transition till 1597–8, when it took the form in which it subsisted, with various slight modifications, till within the last quarter of a century. The statute of the 39th Elizabeth provides for the appointment of overseers of the poor in every parish, who were to make a rate with the consent of the justices. This act "approximates very closely to that passed four years afterward (the 43d of Elizabeth), which still continues in force, and is the foundation and ground-work of our English Poor Law."† But the act of the 39th Elizabeth, which makes so wise and merciful a provision for the helpless portion of the community, was accompanied by "An Act for the punishment of rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars." This act repealed all previous statutes. It prescribed the whipping, the stocks, and the passing from parish to parish, as of old; but it empowered the justices assembled at quarter-sessions to erect houses of correction within their respective counties or cities, and to provide funds for the maintenance of the same. The houses of correction were for the employment of vagrants till they could be placed in some service, or, if infirm of body, in some almshouse. Under the law of Henry VIII. destitution was treated as a crime, and wandering poverty was to be stocked and scourged out of existence. By the law of Elizabeth the impotent poor were nurtured; the sturdy mendicant was punished. The spirit of Christian charity had systematized a provision for the poor, in each parish, even while the justices, under the act of 1572–3, had the power of assessing the district. Stubbes, writing in 1583, says, "The Sabbath-day of some is well observed, namely, in hearing the word of God read, preached, and interpreted; in private and public prayers; in singing of godly psalms; in celebrating the sacraments; and in collecting for the poor and indigent."‡ Individual benevolence might have mitigated much suffering by its merciful zeal; but legalized benevolence, by including alike the warm-hearted and the grudging, compelled every owner of property to recognize the absolute claims of the impotent poor to a small portion in the bounty of the All-giver.

The principle of compulsory assessment was immediately productive of the parochial despotism that has always attached to any law of settlement, even in the mitigated form which the law has assumed in modern times. Long before "the Settlement Act" of Charles II., their own parish was the boundary within which the poor might endeavor to obtain a livelihood; beyond that circle they could not pass. That act recited that, "by reason of some defects in the law, poor people are not restrained from going from one parish to another; and therefore do endeavor to settle themselves in those parishes where there is the best stock." By "the best stock" is meant the largest amount of capital; and in those parishes where there was the best stock the funds for the maintenance of labor were most readily unlocked for the laborers there established. Of course other poor people would endeavor there to settle themselves. A natural struggle took place between those who wanted to come in, and the authorities who were resolved to keep them out. The dread that under-tenants might become chargeable led to a domestic inquisition of a very tyrannous nature. At Leicester a search was made every month to discover under-tenants. At Brighton no incomer was to be allowed until the constable and churchwardens had ascertained that he was of sufficient ability not to be likely to become burdensome to the town. A new tailor comes to Lyme, and he is met by a peremptory notice of a day on which he is to depart. The jury in that place even present a man who "harbouret hhis wife's sister."§ We may also be assured that, armed with two such laws as those of the 39th Elizabeth, the justices and overseers often confounded the class that was to be relieved with the class that was to be punished. After the passing of these statutes instructions were issued by the judges at the assizes for carrying out their provisions.‖ They are very minute; and their precise directions were no doubt useful.

* Nash, "Pierce Pennilesse," p. 6.
† 5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 2.
‡ 5 Eliz. c. 4.
§ 14 Eliz. c. 5.

* 18 Eliz. c. 3.
† Sir G. Nicholls, "History of the English Poor Law," vol. i. p. 185.
‡ "Anatomy," etc., p. 154.
§ See these and numerous other instances in Roberts's "Southern Counties," pp. 179–184.
‖ These articles, as addressed to the constables of Swanbourne, Bucks, are given in the "Verney Papers," published by the Camden Society, p. 88.

But the definition of "a rogue," however intelligible to those who were practically acquainted with the species, must have been liable to the harshest misconstruction. The articles thus begin: "A rogue that saith he was born in such a town, in such a county, he ought to be sent thither." The ninth article runs thus: "No man is to be put out of the town where he dwelleth, nor to be sent to the place of birth or last dwelling, but a rogue." The third article says, "If the husband and wife have a house, and either of them *rogue* about, they must be sent to the town where that house is; and so of inmates." The verb may explain what the noun leaves doubtful. To "rogue about" was to be living from hand to mouth, even if that living was derived from occasional labor; to be without regular service under a master; to be without a settled abode and a permanent occupation. The old definition of "a rogue" is, "an idle sturdy beggar that wanders up and down from place to place without a license."* One statutory definition of the class is, "Persons whole and mighty in body, but having neither land nor master, nor able to give an account of how they get their living."† Shakespeare's Autolycus is a specimen of the clever species of the genus. When the chronicler describes "a great parcel of rogues encompassing the queen's coach near Islington one evening, when she was riding abroad to take the air, which seemed to put her in some disturbance,"‡ we must not conclude that they were thieves who contemplated an attack upon the queen. They were "masterless men," some "valiant and sturdy rogues," but the greater number having no permanent occupation, and gradually swelling the army of professional beggars and robbers. The rogue, as distinguished from the mere vagabond and beggar, was perhaps more particularly comprised in the busy-idle classes which are minutely recited in the statute: "All persons calling themselves scholars, going about begging; all seafaring men pretending losses of their ships and goods on the sea; all idle persons going about either begging, or using any subtle craft or unlawful games and plays, or feigning to have knowledge in physiognomy, palmistry, or other like crafty science, or pretending that they can tell destinies, fortunes, or such other fantastical imaginations; all fencers, bear-wards, common players and minstrels; all jugglers." But the poor itinerant tradesman came under the same definition. "Tinkers, pedlers, and petty chapmen" were consigned to the constable by this sweeping statute. Necessary as the severities might be for "all persons that wander abroad begging, pretending losses by fire or otherwise, and all persons pretending themselves to be Egyptians," there was a bitter relic of the old tyranny of capital over labor when those severities were applied to "all wandering persons and common laborers, able in body, and refusing to work for the wages commonly given." The statute of the 5th Elizabeth, entitled "An Act touching divers orders of artificers, laborers, servants of husbandry, and apprentices," repeals all previous statutes, chiefly because the wages limited are in many instances too small, and not answerable to that time, on account of the great advancement of prices. The rates of wages were therefore to be settled annually by the justices in sessions assembled. The rate so settled, having been approved by the privy council, was to be proclaimed by the sheriff; and the payer and the receiver of higher wages were subjected to fine and imprisonment. The act which declares all able-bodied laborers, wandering through their refusal to work for the wages commonly given, to be "rogues and vagabonds," and subjects them to cruel punishments, was an outrage upon the freedom of labor, which was as certain to be ineffectual as the obsolete statutes for an invariable determination of the rate of wages. The general impulse of society toward industrial improvement was sure to free the laborers from these galling restraints, step by step, as the true principle of the common interest of employer and employed came to be better understood and more honestly carried out.

The statute of the 39th Elizabeth includes among rogues and vagabonds "all persons pretending themselves to be Egyptians." The Egyptians, or Gypsies, themselves were to be dealt with by the very summary process under the statute of Philip and Mary, by which, being declared felons, they were liable to be hanged. But the pretended Egyptians, by an early statute of Elizabeth, were also recognized as felons: "Every person which shall be seen or found in any company or fellowship of vagabonds commonly called Egyptians, or counterfeiting, transforming, or disguising themselves by their apparel, speech, or other behavior, like unto such vagabonds, and shall continue and remain in the same by the space of one month, every such person shall be deemed and judged a felon, and suffer the pains of death."* This special act, to meet a condition of life which we might otherwise consider most rare and exceptional, shows us that England was still a country offering facilities for existence to those who elected to go forth from the restraints of civilization into the extremest license of vagabondage. The Robin Hood class had passed away with the Plantagenets. A lower class of denizens of the woods, with nothing heroical about them, had grown with the growth of a population among which the principle of competition had wholly superseded the feudal organization. The bold spirits of the time of Elizabeth, who spurned the base mechanical arts, had many outlets of honorable employment. The wild profligate who had spent all his means had a new career opened to him, when the rovers became captains and admirals: "He will go to the sea, and tear the gold out of the Spaniards' throats."† But the most reckless of the large number to whom regular labor was misery went out of the towns and villages to the wealds and heaths; discolored their skins; gave an Oriental fashion to their ragged apparel; learned the gypsy dialect, and put on the gypsy nature of cheating and pilfering. To some minds there must have been a charm in this mode of life, proscribed as it was, far beyond the mere desire of a precarious subsistence. The dramatic poets saw its sunny side; and when we read "The Beggars' Bush" of Fletcher, in which the whole aspect of vagrancy has a freshness which makes it look like an essential part of nature, we need not wonder that "pretended Egyptians" were numerous enough to have a statute to themselves. There is another act of Elizabeth which is also an indication of an altered condition of society.‡ It sets forth that lewd and licentious persons "have, of late days, wandered up and down in all parts of the realm, under the name of soldiers and mariners, abusing the title of that honorable profession to countenance their wicked behavior, and do continually assemble themselves, weaponed, in the highways and elsewhere, in troops, to the great terror and astonishment of her majesty's true subjects." There had been ten years of war with Spain at the time of passing this act; and in the long interval between the military service of feudality and the standing army of modern times, troops were occasionally raised for a special warfare, such as the expedition to Cadiz; and, whether with pockets filled with plunder, or penniless, they were returned to their parishes, and were told, by this same statute, "to betake themselves to some lawful course of life, on pain of being reputed felons." This was hard measure, and we need not be surprised that "under the name of soldiers and mariners," some of the honorable profession were a real terror to the true men, while the habitual thieves and beggars became their counterfeits. In this case, as in most others where punishment was first resorted to as the cure of an evil, severity alone was found to be ineffectual; and, four years afterward, the parishes were required by statute to pay a weekly sum, to be determined by the justices, toward the relief of sick, hurt, and maimed soldiers and mariners, having been in the queen's service. If they were found begging, after receiving such allowance, they were to forfeit all claim, and be deemed rogues and vagabonds.§

The latter period of the reign of Elizabeth was a time when the ability to read was widely extended, compared with the general education of the previous century. All readers, especially those with whom study is not habitual, want amusing reading; and there were several smart writers then ready to supply this demand. The Puritans denounced, as "invented by Belzebub," the little novels, and other "toys and bableries" which these writers produced; and the more they railed at the Greenes and Dekkers, who supplied this ephemeral literature, the more their productions were purchased. These men, who lived among the irregular frequenters of taverns and play-houses, had a keen eye for observing the various forms of crime and imposture which presented themselves in London; and their racy descriptions of "coney-catching," and of the more daring "villainies," were among the most popular of pamphlets. We should do great injustice to the morals of the community if we were to conclude from these representations that society was then mainly

* Phillips, "World of Words," 1696. † 14 Eliz. c. 5. ‡ Stow.

* 5 Eliz., c. 20. † Nash. ‡ 39 Eliz., c. 17. § 43 Eliz., c. 3.

composed of two classes—the rogues and the gulls. The natural attraction of the subject led to the production of such descriptions in an age before police-reports; and the amplitude of the details has induced some in recent times to assign far too large a proportion of folly and roguery to the composition of Elizabethan society. Cutpurses there were in abundance. There were gangs of thieves "under Pancras" and at "Hyde Park Corner."* Fleetwood, the recorder, is wearied out of his equanimity by the multitude of rogues for whom he has to make search. When he catches them, and the gallows is ready, gentlemen of the court can balk justice by reprieves.† Within the city walls there is watch and ward, not altogether ineffectual; but the suburbs are wholly unprotected. The northern side of London and Westminster is almost wholly fields and woods; and "the ways over the country," from Finsbury Field, covered with trees and windmills, to Kilburn, with its solitary priory, surrounded by a real "St. John's Wood," are familiar to robbers by day and night. The "Marribone justice," who lives in these rural parts far away from city magistrates, is the warrant-granter of the district.‡ But the metropolis and its suburbs of the days of Fielding could match their robbers for numbers and audacity against those of Fleetwood. Let us not imagine that the times of Elizabeth were marked by more than usual enormities. The gallows then consumed about three hundred annual victims; but the hangmen of Henry VIII. had to operate upon two thousand in each average year. Hanging was the one remedy; and its efficacy did not begin to be much doubted till the present century. The increase of London through the rapid progress of commerce, and of Westminster as the seat of government and of legal administration, constantly brought thither a large class of "valiant and sturdy rogues, masterless men, vagrants, and maimed soldiers."§ Splendid houses connected the city with Westminster, some of which, in the Strand, were standing at the beginning of the present century. But a dense population was beginning to crowd into obscure alleys. In 1580 a proclamation was issued against the erection of new buildings in London. The number of beggars, it alleged, was increased; there was greater danger of fire and of the plague; the old open spaces for walking and for sports were inclosed; the trouble of governing so great a multitude was become too great. By a statute of 1593 it was provided that no new buildings should be erected in London and Westminster, or within three miles, unless they were fit for the habitation of persons assessed at 5*l.* in goods or 3*l.* in land. Houses were not to be converted into separate dwellings. By the increase of buildings, it is said, "great infection of sickness and dearth of victuals and fuel hath grown and ensued, and many idle, vagrant, and wicked persons have harbored there." In 1602 the act had been so ineffectual that a proclamation was issued for pulling down newly-built houses. "Little was done," says Stow, "and small effect followed." The increase of the poorer classes was sought to be prevented in the country districts upon the same principle. By a statute of 1589 no cottage was to be erected unless four acres of land were perpetually annexed to the holding, and one family only was to occupy the tenement. The system might be a temporary expedient; but long experience, and in the case of Ireland bitter adversity, have shown how incompatible is the principle of small holdings of land with the proper cultivation of the country, and the inevitable increase of population as a generation succeeds that must be driven forth into irregular means of subsistence.

It was in the merciful spirit which produced the act for the relief of the poor of the 39th Elizabeth, that, in the same year, the legislature placed the endowment of hospitals or almshouses upon a new footing. By a special act of parliament the earl of Leicester had been enabled to found his hospital at Warwick—an institution which still remains to make the observer doubt whether the favorite of the great queen was altogether so bad a man as historians have chosen to represent. Other hospitals had been founded by special license under the Great Seal. By this act any person might, within twenty years, found and establish, with an adequate provision of land, "hospitals, maisons de Dieu, abiding-places, or houses of correction, as well for the sustentation and relief of the maimed poor, needy, or impotent people, as to set the poor to work; and from time to time place therein such head and members, and such number of poor, as to him shall seem convenient."* By an act of the 21st James I., this statute was made perpetual. Such foundations, which are numerous throughout the land, are enduring monuments of the kindly spirit of our ancestors; and others have been established in the same spirit by associations in modern times. The purposes of many of the old endowments have been abused; their funds have been misapplied; but the value of such institutions has been universally felt as decent retreats for the unprosperous—resting-places, before the final resting-place, where poverty may exist without degradation.

As early as 1563 the legislature had declared that the statutes for the regulation of wages could not be enforced, on account of the advancement of prices. The unnatural advances that had been produced by the depreciation of the currency, in previous reigns, had been wisely remedied in 1560 by reducing the coin of the realm to a just standard.† But there were causes in operation which tended to a steady rise in the market rate of all commodities. The influx of the precious metals had begun decidedly to produce this effect; and concurrently with that increase the condition of the great body of the people was greatly improving, so that there was a more universal demand for every necessary of life. This demand produced a consequent rise of price. In the half century from 1550 to 1599 the average price of wheat had risen 100 per cent. This advance of prices is no indication of a more impoverished condition of the laborers, but the contrary. The increase of the market rate gave an impulse to production, and the cultivation of the land necessarily went on improving. But the improvements were too slow—the amount of agricultural produce too entirely dependent upon good or bad seasons—so that the utmost misery was occasionally produced by excessive fluctuations in price. Wheat was at a famine price in 1573, in 1586 and 1587, in 1596; the price per quarter in those terrible seasons of scarcity being as high, or higher, than the average prices of the present times. Temporary relief was given, in some places, by buying up corn, and selling it at a reduced rate. The necessity in the summer of 1587 was so extreme that some foreign hulks, belonging to the subjects of a friendly power, were seized by English vessels, and brought into Weymouth, being laden with corn and provisions for Spain. The council held that they might be compelled to sell their corn, but wisely did not attempt to enforce such a violation of commercial freedom. The mayor of Weymouth had hoped that a compulsory sale of these stores would relieve the distresses of that part of the country.‡ Such fluctuations of price were among the most bitter inflictions that poverty had to bear. The plague was a necessary attendant upon any dearth approaching to famine. The general health of the people was habitually inferior to the sanitary condition of our own days. Medical knowledge was to a great extent empirical. The universal system of blood-letting twice a year was likely to produce more maladies than it averted. Those who lived in detached cottages and small villages were subject to fevers from the ill-drained lands by which they were surrounded. Those who lived in towns had to endure the pestilent nuisances of the streets, which no magisterial power could keep clean. The scarcity of fuel made the mud-built cottages, in which chimneys were still rare, miserably cold in winter. The thatched cottages of the towns were often on fire; and the rapid destruction of whole streets produced the greatest misery, when the protection of fire insurance was unknown. Such were some of the many causes that reduced the poor to helpless indigence, and which sometimes prostrated even the comparatively wealthy. It was a state of society in which a merciful provision for the relief of the poor was one of the great exigencies of the time. The old laws which equally consigned crime and misery to the fetter and the whip had happily died out.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

Death of Lord Burleigh—Death of Philip II.—Condition of Ireland—Rebellion of Tyrone—Essex appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland—His bootless campaign—Essex suddenly returns to England—He is

* Norden's "Essex," Camden Society.
† See Ellis, First Series, vol. ii. pp. 283, 291, 299.
‡ Jonson, "Every Man in his Humor." § Stow.

* 39 Eliz., c. 5. † See *ante*, p. 342.
‡ Roberts's "Southern Counties," p. 212.

committed to free custody, and then suspended from his offices—His discontent and schemes for redress—Armed assembly at Essex House—Attempt at insurrection—Essex and Southampton tried for high treason—Conduct of Bacon on that trial—Essex executed—Scotland—The Gowrie conspiracy—The last parliament of Elizabeth—Debates on a subsidy—Bill for abating monopolies—The queen's wisdom in yielding to public opinion—Death of Elizabeth—Note on the story of Essex's ring.

In August, 1598, died William Cecil, Lord Burleigh, the faithful counsellor of Elizabeth for forty years. He was the acknowledged head, by character as well as by office, of that illustrious band, whom Mr. Macaulay terms "the first generation of statesmen by profession that England produced." His consummate prudence, his large experience, his perfect adaptation to the nature of his royal mistress, made his long tenure of power almost as much a political necessity as the security of the throne itself. In his last illness Elizabeth sent him a cordial, saying "that she did entreat heaven for his longer life; else would her people, nay herself, stand in need of cordials too." * Months after his death, it was written of the queen that her highness "doth often speak of him in tears, and turn aside when he is discoursed of." † Burleigh, like Elizabeth herself, had a deep and abiding sense of responsibility. Walsingham, seeing him come in from prayers, wished he were as good a servant of God as the lord treasurer, "but that he had not been at church for a week past." The reply of Burleigh is worthy to be held in remembrance: "I hold it meet for us to ask God's grace to keep *us* sound at heart who have so much in our power; and to direct us to the well-doing of all the people, whom it is easy for us to injure and ruin." ‡ Cecil, Walsingham, Smith, Mildmay, Nicholas Bacon, were themselves of the people. They were English gentlemen—the best depositaries of political power that our country has produced; with broader views for the common welfare than the views of the intriguing churchmen, and of the ambitious nobles, who had the chief direction of affairs before the days of Elizabeth. When Burleigh died there was a struggle for ascendency between two court factions, which had a tragical ending, and made the last days of the queen's life dark and dreary.

Within a month of the decease of Burleigh died Philip II. Henry IV. had concluded a separate peace with Spain; for which act, though probably one of imperious necessity, Elizabeth called him "an antichrist of ingratitude." But the two sovereigns had a respect, each for the other; and there was no permanent ill-will between England and France. The death of Philip, however, caused no abatement of the hostility between the Protestant queen and the Most Catholic king. In 1599 Spain again threatened invasion; and extensive preparations for resistance were made with the usual alacrity. The weak place of Elizabeth's dominions was Ireland. The intrigues of Jesuits, who were always scheming and negotiating with the Spanish ministers to obtain money and men for the restoration of the Roman Catholic religion in England, might be detected and defeated by ordinary prudence; but Ireland, with its rude native population, under the control of the Romish priesthood, and with the ancient families of their Anglo-Irish oppressors, haters of Protestantism, was a perpetual trouble to the English government. Ireland yielded no revenue to England; she absorbed a large annual amount of the queen's treasure for her defence. Since the time of Henry VIII., Ireland, without having been wholly neglected, had not been governed with the same vigor that characterized the general administration of Elizabeth. Sir Henry Sidney was engaged for eleven years in keeping down the animosities of the Desmonds and the Ormonds; in repressing insurrections and rebellions; in doing a little, but only a little, for the general civilization of the people. Lord Gray succeeded Sidney, and had the same chronic difficulties to contend with. The attempt of the elder Lord Essex to colonize some forfeited lands was a ruinous failure. Spenser, who made his few years' residence on the banks of the Mulla famous, had his house burned over his head, and his child slaughtered. The neglect and misrule of previous centuries was visited upon those who, in the second half of the sixteenth century, desired "to turn so goodly and commodious a soil to good uses," by "reducing that nation to better government and civility." § So Spenser felt when he prophetically wrote, "whether it proceed from the very genius of the soil, or influence of the stars; or, that Almighty God hath not yet appointed the time for her reformation; or, that he reserveth her in this unquiet state still, for some secret scourge, which shall by her come unto England—it is hard to be known but yet much to be feared." The poet, with the practical wisdom of a statesman, saw that the greatest evils of Ireland were social evils; and that her state would never be otherwise than unquiet until these were in some degree remedied. They were so difficult to be remedied that Spenser says that he had often heard it wished, "even by some whose great wisdom in opinion should seem to judge more soundly of so weighty a consideration, that all that land were a sea-pool." It was Walsingham who uttered that wish. He could dive into plots with a sagacity that beat the Jesuits at their own weapons; but he could not comprehend the height and breadth and depth of the troubles of Ireland; or, comprehending them, could not see any instant remedy. The footing of the English was still confined to the Pale.* Beyond that narrow region there was barbarism. But where the quiet cultivator took the place of the gallowglass and kerne, there grew up a system even worse than that of the outlaw, whose boast was that he "did never eat his meat before he had won it with his sword." It was the foolish oppression of the landlords, who "there use most shamefully to rack their tenants;" it was the inconstancy of the tenant, who "daily looketh after change and alteration, and hovereth in expectation of new worlds"—that kept Ireland miserable, rebellious, the scourge of England, for three centuries. It was no political evil—it was not even religious differences—that made the description which Spenser gives of the Irish cabin in 1593 the true picture of the same cabin two hundred and fifty years after—"rather swinesties than houses"—these dwellings of abject poverty being the chiefest cause of the poor cultivator's "beastly manner of life and savage condition, lying and living with his beast, in one house, in one room, in one bed, that is, clean straw, or rather a foul dunghill." The mode in which this accurate observer speaks of the tenure of land in Ireland implies that a wholly contrary practice prevailed in England; and we may thence have one solution of the different rate of industrial progress in the two countries. "There is one general inconvenience, which reigneth almost throughout all Ireland—that is, the lords of land and freeholders do not there use to set out their land in farm or for term of years to their tenants, but only from year to year, and some during pleasure; neither indeed will the Irish tenant or husbandman otherwise take his land than so long as he list himself." The natural bonds of mutual interest between landlord and tenant thus hanging loose, there could be no growth of capital, and no improved cultivation: a wretched cottier tenantry, worn to the bone by exactions, increased in numbers and in poverty generation after generation; till at length the great collapse came, and the merciful severity of God's providence solved the problem which man's wisdom could never wholly fathom.

The first remedy for the evils of Ireland at the end of the sixteenth century was to put down rebellion with a sufficient force. Hugh O'Neale, earl of Tyrone, had been for some time in insurrection against the English government. He had received arms and military stores from Spain; he was the leader of all who, according to Spenser, were "waiting when the watch-word should come that they should all arise generally into rebellion." As yet he had met with no adequate resistance. Sir John Norris, with the few thousand men that the English government maintained, was unable to make head against an enemy whose defeat only drove his wild companies to the woods and morasses, again to sally forth in new strength. Norris died of fatigue and vexation in this troublesome warfare. Another commander, Sir Henry Bagnal, was defeated with great loss, and himself killed, in an attempt to relieve the fortress of Blackwater, which was besieged by Tyrone's men. It became necessary to make some great effort, if Ireland were to remain to the English crown.

The determination to employ Essex in subduing the Irish rebels was unfortunate for Elizabeth's government, and more unfortunate for himself. He was a chivalrous soldier, fit for daring exploits, but unqualified for conducting a war requiring not only bravery and decision, but that foresight and faculty of organization which are rarely

* Harrington, "Nugæ Antiquæ," p. 237. † Ibid., p. 244.
‡ Ibid., p. 174. § Spenser, "View of the State of Ireland."

* See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 266.

united with an ardent temperament. He was a courtier, but not a statesman; and as a courtier he was rash and obstinate to a degree. Friends and foes alike predicted his fall. He differed in council with the queen, and then insolently turned his back upon her. The thin jewelled hand of Elizabeth was raised in uncontrollable anger, and she boxed his ear as a mother would a petted child. The earl put his hand upon his sword, and swore that he would not have borne such an affront from Henry VIII. For months he sulked and kept away from court. At length, probably to remove him without disgrace, he was appointed to the lord lieutenancy of Ireland, with higher powers than had ever before been granted to that great office. At the end of March, 1599, he left London for Dublin, surrounded by a train of nobles and knights, and greeted by the acclamations of the people, with whom he was an especial object of regard. There were those who said that the high trust bestowed upon Essex would be fatal to him. Bacon, his friend, and probably then a sincere friend, endeavored to dissuade him from accepting the dangerous appointment; and afterward declared that he plainly saw his overthrow, "chained as it were by destiny to that journey." Stow describing the march of Essex from the city, amid the blessings of the multitude, says, "When he and his company came forth of London, the sky was very calm and clear; but before he could get past Islington there arose a great black cloud in the north-east, and suddenly came lightning and thunder, with a great shower of hail and rain, the which some held as an ominous prodigy." The superstition, which saw a presage of danger in the great black cloud in the midst of sunshine, was the natural reflection of the judgment of those who anticipated evil from the too confident deportment of Essex. He swore that "he would beat Tyr-Owen in the field, for nothing worthy her majesty's honor hath yet been achieved." * He underrated the services of all who had preceded him, and the policy they had pursued, of endeavoring to conciliate the Irish malcontents, rather than extirpate them. He was to return from Ireland,

"Bringing rebellion broached on his sword."

He came back in six months, without having accomplished a single object that his predecessors in the government had not more completely effected with a far inferior force. He was entirely ignorant of the difficulties of the enterprise. Raleigh, who knew the country and the people, shrank from the command. Essex maintained that a man of the highest rank, a man popular with soldiers, a man of military experience, should be the queen's vicegerent. He pointed to himself; and his rivals, Robert Cecil and Raleigh, suffered him to fall into the toils. He had a force of sixteen thousand men when he marched out of Dublin on the 10th of May. From some extraordinary vacillation, produced, it is said, by interested advisers in the Irish council, instead of leading his force against Tyrone, he made a progress of seven weeks through Munster; now and then skirmishing with small parties of rebels, and displaying his superfluous energy, "flying like lightning from one part of the army to another;" and having his love of popularity abundantly gratified by his reception in the towns. At Kilkenny the streets were strewed with rushes. At Limerick, "where he arrived by easy journeys," he was "entertained with two English orations." At Waterford he "was received with two Latin orations, and with as much joyful concourse of people as any other town of Ireland." He had marched to Waterford; and he marched back to Dublin by another route, having obtained some useless triumphs over small bodies of rebels, and wasted his army without the least beneficial result. Essex remained at Dublin from the 3d of July till the 28th of August, and then set forth into Ulster to do battle with Tyrone. After a skirmish, the queen's army and the rebel's army were in sight of each other, and Tyrone sent a message that he desired her majesty's mercy and asked that the lord lieutenant would hear him. He proposed to meet Essex at the ford of Bellachinche. "Upon this message his lordship sent two gentlemen with H. Hagan to the ford to view the place. They found Tyrone there, but the water so far out as they told him they thought it no fit place to speak in. Whereupon he grew very impatient, and said, 'Then I shall despair ever to speak with him;' and at last, knowing the ford, found a place where he, standing up to the horse's belly, might be near enough to be heard by the lord lieutenant, though he kept the hard ground; upon which notice the lord lieutenant drew a troop of horse to the hill above the ford, and seeing Tyrone there alone, went down alone: at whose coming Tyrone saluted his lordship with a great deal of reverence, and they talked near half an hour, and after went either of them up to their companies on the hills." * There was a second conference, when others on each side were present; and the result was an armistice for six weeks. "This being concluded," says Harrington, "on the 8th of September, on the 9th the lord lieutenant dispersed his army." Tyrone retired with his forces. On the 17th of September Elizabeth wrote a letter to Essex, disapproving of his proceedings in the strongest terms. The impetuous nature of the man would not endure this reproof. He saw, and perhaps justly, that his rivals in Elizabeth's court were working his downfall; and, in a blind confidence in the queen's favor, he took the fatal resolution of leaving his command in Ireland. There is a graphic narrative by a contemporary of his arrival in England. On the 28th of September, "about ten o'clock in the morning, my lord of Essex lighted at the court-gate in post, and made all haste up to the presence, and so to the privy chamber, and stayed not till he came to the queen's bedchamber, where he found the queen newly up, with her hair about her face: he kneeled unto her, kissed her hands, and had some private speech with her, which seemed to give him great contentment; for when he came from her majesty, he was very pleasant, and thanked God, though he had suffered much trouble and storms abroad, he found a sweet calm at home. 'Tis much wondered at here that he went so boldly to her majesty's presence, she not being ready, and he so full of dirt and mire that his very face was full of it. About eleven he went up to the queen again, and conferred with her till half an hour past twelve. As yet all was well, and her usage very gracious toward him. He was visited frankly by all sorts here of lords and ladies, and gentlemen; only strangeness is observed between him and Mr. Secretary, and that party. After dinner he went up to the queen, but found her much changed in that small time, for she began to call him to question for his return, and was not satisfied in the manner of his coming away, and leaving all things at so great hazard. She appointed the lords to hear him, and so they went to council in the afternoon, and he went with them, where they sat an hour, but nothing was determined on, or yet known; belike it is refered to a full council, for all the lords are sent for to be here this day. It is mistrusted that for his disobedience he shall be committed." †

The personal affection of the queen for Essex was, as in the instances of other favorites, under subjection to what she held as her public duty. We have avoided, and shall still avoid, those passages of the scandalous chronicles of the reign of this queen, which may add to the interest of a novel, but have little to do with the sober narratives of history. The passions of Elizabeth—if we may apply the term passions to her feminine weaknesses—never turned her aside from an impartial decision upon the political faults of those who appear to have had the largest share of her private regard. These favorites, it must be observed, were always men of great ability and rare accomplishments. They were no low adventurers or fierce desperadoes, such as other female sovereigns have honored. Leicester, Hatton, Raleigh, Essex, were men that brought no disgrace upon the court; though the queen's relation to them might be so equivocal that historians have chosen to doubt whether, in youth or age,

"the imperial votaress passed on,
In maiden meditation, fancy free."

The adulation which her flatterers, and even Raleigh, heaped upon her was in the exaggerated style of the euphuistic romance of the time; and, however we may smile at the vanity with which a gray and wrinkled woman received these compliments with approving delight, we must not forget that when she went from the presence chamber to the council-board, the wisest who sat there, the most patriotic, could not excel Elizabeth in sagacity, or show a deeper solicitude for the honor and prosperity of her country. We can forgive every personal folly to the ruler who felt that she held her

* Harrington, p. 246.

* Harrington's "Report concerning the Earl of Essex's Journeys in Ireland," p. 299.

† Letter of Rowland White in the "Sidney Papers."

power as a sacred trust for the benefit of the people. There were many despotic practices recognized as lawful in that period, and the queen had enough of the arbitrary notions of the Tudors in her composition. She required obedience; but she knew what conduct insured the heartiest and most constant obedience. Harrington has a domestic anecdote which illustrates this principle of Elizabeth's conduct as well as her set orations: "The queen did once ask my wife in merry sort, 'how she kept my good will and love, which I did always maintain to be truly good toward her and my children.' My Mall, in wise and discreet manner, told her highness, 'she had confidence in her husband's understanding and courage, well founded on her own steadfastness not to offend or thwart, but to cherish and obey; hereby did she persuade her husband of her own affection, and in so doing did command his.'—'Go to, go to, mistress,' saith the queen, 'you are wisely bent I find: after such sort do I keep the good will of all my husbands, my good people; for if they did not rest assured of some special love toward them, they would not readily yield me such good obedience.'' We may understand, as Essex did not understand, why his public delinquencies would not escape the displeasure of the queen through her private regard. In the morning of the 28th of September he thought he had escaped from the dangers of his Irish career. In the evening he was commanded to keep his chamber. On the next day he was examined before the council, and, instead of being restored to favor, was commanded from court, and committed to the "free custody" of the lord keeper, and was afterward under the same restricted liberty at his own house. This condition, so irritating to one of the temperament of Essex, was followed by more decided humiliation. His deportment was penitential; he addressed the queen in letters of the deepest contrition. But the affairs of Ireland had grown worse; Tyrone was again in rebellion. Another lord deputy was sent, and Blount, Lord Mountjoy, although without military experience, soon restored obedience to the English authority by his energy and prudence. The contrast was injurious to Essex, and gave new opportunities to his rivals. He was again examined before commissioners, and received the severest censure in being suspended from his offices of privy counsellor, of lord marshal, and of master of the ordnance. He was released from custody in August, but was still commanded not to appear at court. A valuable monopoly of sweet wines which he held having expired, the queen refused to renew the patent, saying "that in order to manage an ungovernable beast, he must be stinted of his provender." Under these indignities the mind of Essex lost all balance. Harrington relates his demeanor in his last conversation with him before the outbreak which sealed his fate: "It resteth with me in opinion, that ambition thwarted in its career doth speedily lead on to madness. Herein I am strengthened by what I learn in my lord of Essex, who shifteth from sorrow and repentance to rage and rebellion so suddenly, as well proveth him devoid of good reason or right mind. In my last discourse he uttered strange words bordering on such strange designs that made me hasten forth and leave his presence. Thank Heaven! I am safe at home, and if I go in such troubles again, I deserve the gallows for a meddling fool. His speeches of the queen becometh no man who hath *mens sana in corpore sano*. He hath ill advisers, and much evil hath sprung from this source. The queen well knoweth how to humble the haughty spirit; the haughty spirit knoweth not how to yield; and the man's soul seemeth tossed to and fro, like the waves of a troubled sea." *

It is difficult to understand what method there was in the madness of Essex. It is still more difficult to understand how other men, not having the same excitement of jealousy and revenge which drove the humiliated favorite to acts of treason, should have joined in his wild projects. There can be no doubt that he contemplated removing the queen's advisers by force, believing them to be, as they to a great extent were, his personal enemies. Cecil, Raleigh, and Cobham were held by him to be the chief obstacles to his restoration to favor. But there were circumstances which rendered his attempt not altogether hopeless. The queen was now sixty-eight years of age; and although she had shown no signs of a failure of intellectual vigor, the people were naturally looking forward to a successor. James VI. of Scotland was intriguing in various quarters to procure his official recognition as the future king of England; but upon this point Elizabeth was unapproachable. The wary Cecil was in secret correspondence with James; but the incautious Essex had not scrupled to contemplate the possibility of compelling the government into such recognition, and had even proposed to Mountjoy, the lord deputy of Ireland, to bring over a body of troops for that purpose. His own plans to the same end during his tardy prosecution of the Irish war were more than suspected. There was great discontent among the opposing classes of papists and Puritans, naturally excited by the penalties to which each was subjected as recusants or nonconformists. Essex, whether conscientiously or politically, professed sentiments of toleration. The citizens of London were greatly inclined to the Puritan opinions; and Essex had his house open to preachers of that denomination. The more fanatical Romanists, in which number were included several of those who were afterward prominent in the Gunpowder Plot, did not scruple to ally themselves with those of the extreme opposite opinions, in any scheme for the overthrow of the government. Essex surrounded himself with a number of those who had been his companions in arms; but he placed a greater reliance upon his popularity with the Londoners. Extraordinary pains were taken to familiarize the people with that great story of English history which told how a corrupt and imbecile king had been hurled from his throne. Elizabeth was apprehensive of the effect of the example thus made prominent of the deposition of Richard II.; and when, during the period in which Essex was secluded from court, Hayward dedicated his life of Henry IV. to the earl, she asked Bacon whether he did not see treason in it? She persisted in her notion in spite of Bacon's witty answer, that he "saw no treason, but very much felony, for every second sentence was stolen from Tacitus." The queen was perhaps right as to the possible effect of the popular knowledge of this passage of our annals. At any rate those who were concerned in the schemes of Essex fancied that the bringing forward upon the stage the deposition of a king might familiarize the people with an idea that had long passed out of the English mind, as to the responsibility of sovereign power. Sir Gilly Meyrick, an officer of the household of Essex, on the afternoon of February 1, "procured the out-dated tragedy of 'The Deposition of Richard II.' to be publicly acted at his own charge."* The overt act of treason in which Essex and his adherents were involved took place on the 8th of February. Six months after this event, Elizabeth, in a conversation with Lambarde, keeper of the records in the Tower, in examining a list of historical documents, "her majesty fell upon the reign of Richard II., saying 'I am Richard II.; know ye not that?'" In this conversation the queen also said, "This tragedy was played forty times in open streets and houses."†

On Sunday morning, the 8th of February, the earls of Rutland and Southampton, the lords Sandys and Monteagle, with about three hundred gentlemen, assembled at Essex House, in the Strand. Essex had sent round to say that his life was threatened by Raleigh and Cobham. The queen was apprised of this remarkable gathering, and she dispatched the lord keeper, the comptroller of the household, the lord chief justice, and the earl of Worcester to demand the cause of this assembly. They were admitted by the wicket, without their servants, and found the court full of men. The lord keeper declared their errand, to which Essex replied that his life was sought, and that he had been perfidiously dealt with. These great officers assured him that he should have honorable and equal justice. The evidence, given by the lord chief justice upon the trial of Essex describes this scene very strikingly. "After this conversation, "There was a great clamor raised among the multitude, crying, 'Away, my lord, they abuse you, they betray you, they undo you, you lose time.' Whereupon the lord keeper put on his hat, and said with a loud voice, 'My lord, let us speak with you privately, and understand your griefs;' and then he said to the company, 'I command you all, upon your allegiance, to lay down your weapons and to depart, which you ought all to do, being thus commanded, if you be good subjects and owe that duty to the queen's majesty which you profess.' Whereupon they all broke out into an exceeding loud shout, crying, 'All, all, all.' And whilst the lord keeper was speaking, the earl of Essex and most of the company put on their hats. Then the earl of Essex went

* "Nugæ Antiquæ," p. 179.

* There are reasonable doubts whether this play was Shakespeare's "Richard II." See "Studies of Shakespeare," by Charles Knight.

† Nicholls' "Progresses of Queen Elizabeth."

into the house, and we followed him, thinking that his purpose had been to speak with us privately as we had required; and at that instant one at my back cried, 'Kill them, kill them.' I know him not, if I should see him again, but he had on a white satin doublet. And as we were going into the great chamber some cried, 'Cast the great seal out of the window;' some others cried there, 'Kill them,' and some others said, 'Nay, let us shut them up.' The lord keeper did often call to the earl of Essex to speak with us privately, thinking still that his meaning had been so, until the earl brought us into his back chamber, and there gave order to have the farther door of that chamber shut fast. And at his going forth out of that chamber, the lord keeper pressing again to have spoken with the earl of Essex, the earl said, 'My lords, be patient awhile and stay here, and I will go into London and take order with the mayor and sheriffs for the city, and will be here again within this half hour.'"

When Essex left the lord keeper and the others in custody, he drew his sword, and rushed out of his house, followed by a large number of his adherents, and he shouted, "For the queen, for the queen; a plot is laid for my life." The people, as he rode at the head of his company, either did not comprehend his object, or were unwilling to assist him; for though they were provided with arms, and trained, as they always were during any apprehension of foreign invasion, not a sword or a musket was brought forth to give him assistance. Camden shrewdly says, "Though the citizens were, according to the temper of the common people, desirous enough of change, yet their wealth made them cautious and loyal. And, to say the truth, poverty is that, which, above all things, prompts the English to rebellion." Disheartened, the unhappy nobleman and his friends attempted to return from the city; but they found the streets barricaded with empty carriages. At Ludgate the chains were drawn, and a party of soldiers opposed their progress. A fight ensued, in which several were killed. Essex escaped by water to his own house, which he attempted to defend, with those who got in with him. But no succor from the city reached him, and they surrendered. Essex and Southampton were that night removed to the Tower.

On the 19th of February the two noble friends were put upon their trial, in the court of the lord high steward. The facts against them were too clearly proved to allow of any verdict of the Peers but that of guilty. They were tried upon the old statute of Edward III. "As far as can be ascertained, it seems to have been intended to rest the charge on two propositions: first, that the design to restrain the queen's person, and remove her counsellors, amounted to treason, in the article of compassing the queen's death, of which general treason, the consultation at Drury House, the insurrection in London, the imprisonment of the lord keeper and his companions, and the refusal to dismiss the company upon the queen's command, were overt acts; and, secondly, that the insurrection in the city was in itself a rebellion, and, consequently, a levying of war against the queen, within the statute of Edward III., of which the skirmish at Ludgate, the defence of Essex House against the queen's troops, and many other actions of the earl's on that day, were overt acts."* There was no straining of the law to procure the condemnation of these rash men; although we may well believe the truth of the solemn averment of Essex, "Here I protest before the living God, as he may have mercy upon me, that my conscience is clear from any disloyal thought of harm to her majesty, and my desire ever hath been to be free from bloodshed." Coke, the attorney general, bitterly alluded to that part of the indictment which accused him of aiming to be king, saying of Essex, "He of his earldom shall be Robert the Last, that of a kingdom sought to be Robert the First." Essex, to this charge, made his denial in these words: "And thou, O God, which knowest the secrets of all hearts, knowest that I never sought the crown of England, nor ever wished to be of higher degree than a subject."

There is an incidental circumstance connected with the trial of Essex which cannot be passed over, affecting as it does the moral character of one of the most illustrious in the roll of England's immortals. Francis Bacon was one of the queen's counsel, and he was officially employed against Essex in this trial. He was bound to Essex by no common obligations. The generous earl had given him an estate, because he could not procure for him a lucrative appointment. Essex had struggled against the ill-will of the Cecils to advance Bacon's fortunes, in season and out of season. Yet upon the trial Bacon said stronger things against his friend than were urged by his bitterest adversaries. Bacon compared his proceeding in saying his life was in danger, to that of "one Pisistratus, in Athens, who, coming into the city with the purpose to procure the subversion of the kingdom, and wanting aid for the accomplishing his aspiring desires, and as the surest means to win the hearts of the citizens unto him, he entered the city, having cut his body with a knife, to the end they might conjecture he had been in danger of his life." He compared "this rebellion of my lord of Essex to the duke of Guise's, that came upon the barricades at Paris in his doublet and hose; and when he failed, alleged that he was there upon a private quarrel." There was a general indignation expressed against Bacon for this severity; but what his contemporaries objected to him was mildness itself compared with the judgment of an eloquent modern writer upon these passages of his speeches. They were intended, Mr. Macaulay holds, to deprive the prisoner of those excuses which "might incline the queen to grant a pardon"—"to produce a strong impression on the mind of the haughty and jealous princess on whose pleasure the earl's fate depended."* Bacon, in the "Apology" which he wrote of his conduct in this trial, says, "That which I performed at the bar in my public service, by the rules of duty I was bound to do it honestly and without prevarication." To shut out Essex from mercy, Mr. Macaulay says that Bacon "employed all his wit, his rhetoric, and his learning." We would, rather than impute deliberate blood-guiltiness to this great man, whose kindness of nature was as conspicuous as his genius, entertain the belief that the temptation to a counsel, almost for the first time employed on a great cause, to show forth "his wit, his rhetoric, and his learning" to the best advantage, was a temptation too great to be resisted, even at the sacrifice of his gratitude. That Bacon was a high-minded man in public transactions is as difficult to believe as that he possessed a treacherous and cruel nature. His concern with the official publication entitled "The Declaration of the Treasons of the late earl of Essex and his complices," is as little to be defended as his rhetorical flights upon the trial. It is a garbled and partial narrative. He says, "Never secretary had more particular and express directions and instructions, in every point, how to guide my hand in it.—Myself, indeed, gave only words and style in pursuing their directions;" those of certain principal counsellors. We must feel acutely the meanness of the great writer—he who had already published a volume of his noble "Essays"—in becoming such an unworthy instrument of expediency. But there were excuses. He was poor; he was ambitious. In penning his apology for his conduct in the unhappy affair of Essex, he is manifestly unconscious of his own degradation. There was a singular combination, in those times, of private virtue and public immorality, among courtiers and statesmen. "High-erected thoughts seated in a heart of courtesy" were to be found in the English gentleman as his general characteristic; but the rivalry for power, when power was to be reached chiefly by subserviency, made the aspirant too often a sycophant and a tool. Bacon pocketed the wages of an hireling, when he received a large sum out of the fine which Catesby, one of the Romanist followers of Essex, paid for his pardon. But Bacon probably did not himself see that this was the price of his dishonor.

The earl of Essex was beheaded within the walls of the Tower on Wednesday morning, the 25th of February. There were few persons present at the execution, which was stated to have been in private by his own desire. There were politic reasons for avoiding the manifestations of popular sympathy which one so generally beloved would have called forth in his dying hour. His end was truly "pious and Christian," to use the words of Camden. To the noblemen and others who sat upon the scaffold he addressed a brief speech, in which he deplored the "last sin," which had drawn others for love of him to offend God, to offend their sovereign. But he besought them to hold a charitable opinion of him for his intention toward her majesty, "whose death I protest I never meant, nor violence to her person." Lord Southampton, who had been found guilty and sentenced to death at the same time with Essex, was spared from the scaffold, but was confined during the remainder of Elizabeth's reign. Sir Gilly Meyrick, Henry Cuffe, Sir Christopher

* Jardine, "Criminal Trials," vol. i. p. 381.

* "Essays," vol. ii. art. "Bacon."

Blount, and Sir Charles Danvers, were executed as adherents to the conspiracy.

The correspondence of Essex with King James VI. was certainly among the causes which prevented his restoration to the favor of Elizabeth. The harshness with which he was treated in the autumn of 1600 was a natural consequence of the indignation of the English government at the proceedings of James. At a convention of the Scottish estates, in June of that year, the king proposed that a tax should be levied, for the purpose of asserting his claim to the succession to the crown of England. This demand met with the most strenuous resistance. Among those who led the opposition was the young earl of Gowrie, who had recently returned from the court of Elizabeth. The king was furious against his parliament. They had laughed at his notion of raising money to make a conquest of England; and altogether refused to give him more than forty thousand pounds Scots. After this, Robert Cecil was informed that James had a party in England, and intended not to tarry for the queen's death. The mutual ill-will that subsisted at this time between James and Elizabeth has led to the belief, resting upon very insufficient foundation, that what is called the Gowrie plot may be traced to the contrivance of the English queen.* The whole of this dark affair is involved in the greatest mystery. The facts which are commonly related are briefly these: On the morning of the 5th of August, 1600, James was going forth from his palace at Falkland to hunt, when Alexander Ruthven, the younger brother of Gowrie, desired to speak with him privately. He whispered something about an unknown man having found a pot of gold; and the treasure, which was in Gowrie house, at Perth, might be seen by the king if he would come thither without his attendants. The scent of gold was irresistible to James. After the chase he rode off to Perth with young Ruthven; but he was ultimately joined by his attendants. James dined alone; and after dinner Gowrie, with James's suite, went into the pleasure garden. Alexander Ruthven then told the king it was now time to go and look at the gold. They went together through various apartments, Ruthven locking the doors as they passed along. At length they reached a small round room; and then Ruthven, removing a curtain, disclosed a portrait of his father, and asked James who murdered him. He held a dagger to the king's breast, and said that if he made any attempt to open the window, or to cry out, the dagger should be in his heart. There was a man in the room, Henderson, who had been placed there to aid in the plot. Young Ruthven left the king alone with this man. James appealed to Henderson for protection. Ruthven, soon returning, ran upon the king and attempted to bind him. A desperate struggle ensued, in which James managed to reach the window and cry out for help. Lennox and the other courtiers in the garden saw the king's flushed face at the window as he uttered the cry of "Treason!" Some rushed up the great staircase, but found the door locked. Ramsay, one of the suite, remembered a back stair, and reaching the door of the round chamber, dashed it open, and found the king still struggling with Ruthven. Ramsay stabbed the youth, who was quickly dispatched by others who came up the turnpike-stair. Gowrie himself, with his servants, having seen the dead body of his brother, rushed frantically to the gallery where some of the attendants of James were assembled, and was quickly slain. The populace in the streets of Perth were roused to madness when they heard of the deaths of the two Ruthvens; and they cried to the king, as he looked out, "Come down, thou son of Signor Davie; thou hast slain a better man than thyself." Some of the preachers of the kirk maintained that the king conspired against the Gowries, and not the Gowries against the king; and this belief was by no means confined to the Presbyterian ministers.

The last parliament of Elizabeth met on the 27th of October, 1601. There were debates on the question of a subsidy, which it would be scarcely necessary here to notice, but for a misstatement of Hume. The prejudiced historian affirms that, when Mr. Sergeant Heyle said, "All we have is her majesty's, and she may lawfully at her pleasure take it from us," there was no one who "cared to take him down, or oppose those monstrous positions." In the Reports of D'Ewes, where Hume found Sergeant Heyle's speech, he would have read the reply of Mr. Montague: "If all preambles of subsidies were looked upon, he should find it were of free gift. And although her majesty requireth this at our hands, yet it is in us to give, not in her to exact of duty." Hume compares the government of England, under Elizabeth, to that of Turkey. "The sovereign possessed every power except that of imposing taxes; and in both countries this limitation, unsupported by other privileges, appears rather prejudicial to the people. In Turkey, it obliges the sultan to permit the extortion of the bashas and governors of provinces, from whom he afterward squeezes presents or takes forfeitures: in England, it engaged the queen to erect monopolies, and grant patents for exclusive trade; an invention so pernicious, that had she gone on during a tract of years at her own rate, England, the seat of riches, and arts, and commerce, would have contained at present as little industry as Morocco, or the coast of Barbary."* There was one difference between England and Turkey which the historian does not point out in this commentary upon the English government. Public opinion, expressed to herself in person, and through the House of Commons, led Elizabeth, with true wisdom, entirely to reform that system which many members of her council had an interest in upholding. On the 20th of November a bill was brought in by Mr. Lawrence Hyde, entitled, "An Act for the explanation of the Common Law in certain cases of Letters Patent." Bacon, as attorney-general, opposed the bill, saying, "the use hath been ever to humble ourselves unto her majesty, and by petition desire to have our grievances remedied, especially when the remedy toucheth her so nigh in point of prerogative." Many independent members used strong language in support of the bill, for considering which a committee was formed. On the 25th of November the Speaker stood up, the House wondering at the cause, and said that he had been commanded to attend upon the queen, and had a message to deliver. She thanked them, he said, most heartily for the subsidy; and then added, "that partly by the intimation of her council, and partly by divers petitions that have been delivered unto her both going to the chapel and also to walk abroad, she understood that divers patents, which she had granted, were grievous to her subjects; and that the substitutes of the patentees had used great oppressions." She concluded by declaring, said Mr. Speaker, "that further order should be taken presently, and not '*in futuro*;' and that some should be presently repealed, some suspended, and none put in execution but such as should first have a trial according to the law, for the good of the people." Then Mr. Secretary Cecil stood up, and in a speech as important as amusing, declared that no new patents should be granted, and that the old ones should be revoked: "I say, therefore, there shall be a proclamation general throughout the realm, to notify her majesty's resolution in this behalf. And because you may eat your meat more savory than you have done, every man shall have salt as good and cheap as he can buy it or make it, freely without danger of that patent which shall be presently revoked. The same benefit shall they have which have cold stomachs, both for aquavitæ and aqua composita and the like. And they that have weak stomachs, for their satisfaction, shall have vinegar and alegar, and the like, set at liberty. Train-oil shall go the same way; oil of blubber shall march in equal rank; brushes and bottles endure the like judgment." The proclamation against the growth of wood was to be revoked, only the queen "prayeth thus much, that when she cometh on progress to see you in your countries, she be not driven out of your towns by suffering it to infect the air too near them. Those that desire to go sprucely in their ruffs, may at less charge than accustomed obtain their wish; for the patent for starch, which hath so much been prosecuted, shall now be repealed." The patents for calf-skins and fells, for leather, for cards, for glass, should also be suspended, and left to the law. From this speech we may judge how extensive was the evil of monopolies; and although Cecil disclaimed a desire to yield to popular clamor, he was not insensible to the words which he says he heard as he came along in his coach, "God prosper those that further the overthrow of these monopolies! God send the Prerogative touch not our Liberty." The House was in a fever of rapture at the declaration of the queen; and it was moved that the Speaker should convey their thanks to her majesty. On the 30th, a hundred and forty members of the House were received by Elizabeth; and, after the Speaker's address, he, with the rest, knelt down, and the queen gave her answer. Having

* Robertson, "History of Scotland."

* "History of England," vol. v., Appendix iii.

spoken a few sentences she begged them to rise, and then proceeded: "Mr. Speaker, you give me thanks, but I doubt me, I have more cause to thank you all than you me: and I charge you to thank them of the House of Commons from me: for had I not received a knowledge from you, I might have fallen into the lap of an error, only for lack of true information. Since I was queen, yet never did I put my pen to any grant, but that upon pretext and semblance made unto me that it was both good and beneficial to the subjects in general, though a private profit to some of my ancient servants who had deserved well; but the contrary being found by experience, I am exceeding beholding to such subjects as would move the same at first. . . . I have ever used to set the last judgment-day before mine eyes, and so to rule as I shall be judged to answer before a higher judge. To whose judgment-seat I do appeal, that never thought was cherished in my heart that tended not to my people's good. And now if my kingly bounty hath been abused, and my grants turned to the hurt of my people, contrary to my will and meaning; or if any in authority under me have neglected or perverted what I have committed to them, I hope God will not lay their culps and offences to my charge. . . . Though you have had, and may have many princes more mighty and wise sitting in this seat, yet you never had, or shall have, any that will be more careful and loving." This was the last address of Elizabeth to the Commons of England.

The remaining events of this reign may be briefly told. Lord Mountjoy was more fortunate than Essex in his Irish administration. The Spaniards had landed in Ireland to assist the Roman Catholic insurgents. They took up a strong position at Kinsale, with four thousand troops. Tyrone came to the assistance of the Spanish commander, with six thousand Irish and some foreigners. Mountjoy defeated him, and the Spaniards capitulated. Tyrone, in 1602, surrendered, upon a promise of life and lands.

In March, 1603, Elizabeth was fast sinking. Some have held that she looked back with poignant anguish to the fate of Essex, and hence "the deep melancholy visible in her countenance and actions" noticed by Beaumont, the French ambassador. But he more justly ascribed her dejection to "the sufferings incident to her age." She died at three o'clock in the morning of the 24th of March. On the night before she was entreated to name a successor. Her reply was equivocal. Cecil, however, affirmed that she declared by signs that the king of Scots should succeed her; holding her hands joined over her head, in manner of a crown, when his name was mentioned.

NOTE ON THE STORY OF ESSEX'S RING.

THERE is, in the State Paper Office, an account, written in French, by Dudley Carleton, "of the death of Queen Elizabeth, as caused by melancholy on the death of the earl of Essex."* This paper, which bears the date of April 4th, 1603, to a certain extent confirms the court belief which the French ambassador refers to, but to which he reasonably gives little credit. The story of the ring which Essex sent to Elizabeth, as the token that he asked her mercy, but which token was never delivered, has been circumstantially told by Hume. We have not inserted a similar narrative in our text, believing, with a very competent judge of evidence, that "it is of too doubtful authenticity."† But as we are unwilling entirely to omit so romantic a story, we here give it, as related by Dr. Birch:

"The following curious story was frequently told by Lady Elizabeth Spelman, great-granddaughter of Sir Robert Carey, brother of Lady Nottingham, and afterward earl of Monmouth, whose curious Memoirs of himself were published a few years ago by Lord Corke: When Catherine, countess of Nottingham, was dying (as she did, according to his lordship's own account, about a fortnight before Queen Elizabeth), she sent to her majesty to desire that she might see her, in order to reveal something to her majesty, without the discovery of which she could not die in peace. Upon the queen's coming, Lady Nottingham told her that while the earl of Essex lay under sentence of death, he was desirous of asking her majesty's mercy in the manner prescribed by herself during the height of his favor; the queen having given him a ring, which, being sent to her as a token of his distress, might entitle him to her protection. But the earl, jealous of those about him, and not caring to trust any of them with it, as he was looking out of his window one morning, saw a boy with whose appearance he was pleased; and, engaging him by money and promises, directed him to convey the ring, which he took from his finger and threw down, to Lady Scroop, a sister of the countess of Nottingham, and a friend of his lordship, who attended upon the queen; and to beg of her, that she would present it to her majesty. The boy, by mistake, carried it to Lady Nottingham, who showed it to her husband, the admiral, an enemy of Lord Essex, in order to take his advice. The admiral forbade her to carry it, or return any answer to the message; but insisted upon her keeping the ring. The countess of Nottingham, having made this discovery, begged the queen's forgiveness; but her majesty answered, 'God may forgive you, but I never can,' and left the room with great emotion. Her mind was so struck with the story that she never went into bed, or took any sustenance from that instant; for Camden is of opinion that her chief reason for suffering the earl to be executed was his supposed obstinacy in not applying to her for mercy."

A sequel to this story was communicated by a trustworthy correspondent to the editor of "Old England." The substance of this communication is, that when Mary, queen of Scots, married Darnley, she sent Elizabeth a ring, being a plain gold circle, to fit the thumb, having a rose diamond, in the form of a heart; that Elizabeth gave this ring to Essex; that it passed into the hands of King James; that it was given by him to Sir Thomas Warner; and has remained in the possession of his descendants to the present time. It must be clear to every reader that the existence of such a ring does not in the slightest degree add to the authenticity of the original story. In the relation as given by Dr. Birch there is manifest exaggeration. The countess of Nottingham died, according to Lord Corke, "about a fortnight before Queen Elizabeth." It has been ascertained that she died on the 25th of February; Elizabeth died on the 24th of March. The death of the queen must have been even more remarkable than her life, if, upon this fatal disclosure, "she never took any sustenance from that instant." A drawing of the "Warner" ring was engraved in "Old England."

* "Calendar of State Papers of the reign of James I.," edited by Mrs. Green, 1857.

† Jardine, "Criminal Trials," vol. i. p. 370.

CHAPTER LXXIX.

Literature and art characteristic of the periods of their production—First years of Elizabethan literature bore the impress of the two preceding reigns—Sackville—The early popular drama—Marlowe and the contemporary dramatists—Growing refinement—Spenser—Shakespeare—Lyrical poetry—Its association with music—Rural images in the poets connected with the pleasurable aspects of country life—Architecture—The palatial mansion—Gardens—The gentleman's manor-house—Classical education.

THE historian Hume, in his desire to exhibit the reign of Elizabeth as a period of uncontrolled despotism, says, "It is remarkable that in all the historical plays of Shakespeare, where the manners and characters, and even the transactions, of the several reigns are so exactly copied, there is scarcely any mention of *civil liberty!*"* Mr. Hallam, without adverting to this passage, has furnished an answer to it: "These dramatic chronicles borrowed surprising liveliness and probability from the national character and form of government. A prince, and a courtier, and a slave, are the stuff on which the historical dramatist would have to work in some countries; but every class of free men, in the just subordination without which neither human society nor the stage, which should be its mirror, can be more than a chaos of huddled units, lay open to the selection of Shakespeare."† The "manners and characters," not only of Shakespeare's historical plays, but of all his other dramas, are instinct with all the vitality that belongs to a state of social freedom, in which what we hold as tyranny was exceptional. The very fact which Hume alleges, but which must be taken with some limitation, that in Shakespeare's historical plays "there is scarcely any mention of civil liberty," is really a proof of the existence of such liberty. In our own time a French writer has recorded, that, after attending a debate in our House of Commons, he observed to an English statesman that he had heard no assertion of the general principles of constitutional freedom. The answer was, "We take all that for granted." We are not about to analyze the characters of Shakespeare's dramas to show that "they comprise every class of free men." We believe of Shakespeare, as we believe of Chaucer, that neither of these great poets could have existed except under a condition of society which permitted a very large amount of civil liberty. But this is not the place to set forth any detailed reasons for this belief; and we should scarcely have alluded to the assertion of Hume, except to show that he properly looked beyond courts and parliaments to discover the spirit of an age. All poetry, as all other art, must in a great degree be the reflection of the time in which it is produced. The Elizabethan poetry, and especially the drama, the Elizabethan music, the Elizabethan

* "History," Appendix iii. vol. v.

† "Literature of Europe," vol. ii. p. 395.

architecture, bear the most decided impress of their own time. The rapid, and therefore imperfect, view which we shall take of the most prominent indications of intellectual progress will be principally to exhibit them as characteristics of their period.

The stormy reigns of Edward VI. and of Mary were not favorable to the cultivation of literature. Wyatt and Surrey belonged to the time of Henry VIII., before the elements of religious contention had penetrated much below the surface of society. But when the nation came to be divided into two great opposing classes, earnest in their convictions, even to the point of making martyrs or being martyrs, the sonneteer and the lyrist would have little chance of being heard. There were a few such poets—Vaux, Edwards, Hunnis—but even their pleasant songs have a tincture of seriousness. The poet who at the very beginning of the reign of Elizabeth struck out a richer vein—Thomas Sackville—breathes the very spirit of the gloomy five years of persecution and almost hopeless bigotry through which England had passed into a healthier existence. There was then a long interval, during which poetry was imping her wings for her noblest flights. The drama was emerging from the childishness and buffoonery of her first period of separation from the shows of Catholicism. The same Thomas Sackville, early in the reign of Elizabeth, produced his tragedy of "Gorboduc," of which it may be sufficient to say, that Sidney describes it as "full of stately speeches and well-sounding phrases, climbing to the height of Seneca his style." * English dramatic poetry was not born with the courtly Sackville. It was struggling into life when it first seized upon the popular mind as an instrument of education—"made the ignorant more apprehensive, taught the unlearned the knowledge of many famous histories, instructed such as cannot read in the discovery of all our English chronicles." † Roughly was that useful work originally done; but it was a reflection of the national spirit, and it produced its effect upon the national character. The early dramatists, if we may credit one of their eulogists, proposed great moral lessons in their representations: "In plays, all cozenages, all cunning drifts, overgilded with outward holiness, all stratagems of war, all the canker-worms that breed on the rust of peace, are most lively anatomized: they show the ill-success of treason, the fall of hasty climbers, the wretched end of usurpers, the misery of civil dissension, and how just God is ever more in punishing of murder." ‡ Such passages have been again and again quoted; but we repeat them to show how thoroughly the English drama became adapted to its time, even before its palmy state. It went forth from the courtly direction of the Master of the Revels at Whitehall and Greenwich, to delight multitudes at the Belle Savage and the Bull. The bones of brave Talbot were "new embalmed with the tears of ten thousand spectators at least." § It was a rude stage, in which the place of action was "written in great letters upon an old door;" a stage without scenes, so that "a hideous monster came out with fire and smoke, and then the miserable beholders are bound to take it [the stage] for a cave." ‖ And yet the most elaborate mechanism, the most gorgeous decoration, never produced the delight which the unassisted action and the simple dialogue of these early plays excited. The spectators were in a new world. They were there to believe, and not to criticise. "You shall have three ladies walk to gather flowers, and then we must believe the stage to be a garden." The thousands who paid each their penny did so believe. They gave up their imaginations to the delusion, and were taken out of themselves into a higher region than that of their daily labors. When the transition period arrived, in which the first rude utterings of a mimetic life were passing into the higher art of the first race of true dramatists—of which race Marlowe was the undoubted head—there was extravagance in action and character; bombast in language; learning—for Marlowe, Peele, Greene, Lodge, Kyd, were scholars—but learning falsely applied; yet there was real poetical power. They dealt in horrors; their comedy was for the most part ribaldry. The drama, says Sidney, "like an unmannerly daughter, showing a bad education, causeth her mother Poesy's honesty to be called in question." But the bad education of the unmannerly daughter was to be greatly attributed to the examples of the outer world in which she was born. She asserted her divine origin when strength and refinement had become united, in the greater assimilation of character between the courtly and the industrious classes; when rough ignorance was not held to be the necessary companion of martial prowess; and elegance and effeminacy had ceased to be confounded.

Against the growing refinement which was a natural consequence of the more general diffusion of wealth, the satirist, whether he belonged to the severe religionists or to the class held by them as the licentious, directed his constant invectives. There was a general belief that luxury, as the use of the humblest comforts was termed, was lowering the national character. Harrison denounces the chimneys which had taken the place of the rere-dosse in the hall; the feather bed and the sheets which had driven out the straw pallet; the pewter vessels which were splendid at the yeoman's feasts, instead of the wooden platters; the carpets and the tapestry, the bowl for wine, and the dozen silver spoons. The town wits held the growing riches of the citizens as the spoils of usury and brokery; and the lawyers who "fatted on gold" were counted the oppressors of the poor. All this is indicative of a great change of manners, resulting from the growing opulence of the middle classes, and the wide increase of competition. There was a general activity of intellect; and it was one of the fortunate circumstances of the social condition of England that there was a great national cause to fight for, which lifted men out of the selfishness of unwonted industrial prosperity. At such a period arose the two greatest poets of that age, or of any age, Spenser and Shakespeare. They each essentially belonged to their time. They each, in their several ways, reflected that time. Spenser dealt much more largely than Shakespeare with the events and characteristics of his age. In his "Shepherd's Kalendar," he is a decided church-reformer. In the "Faery Queen" he shadows forth "the most excellent and glorious person" of Elizabeth; and many historical personages may be traced in the poem. Among the numerous allegorical characters we find Una, the true Church, opposed to Duessa, the type of Romanism. But it is not in these more literal marks of the time that we discover in Spenser the spirit of the time. It is not in his "Mother Hubberd's Tale" where we find the boldest satire against courtly corruption—justice sold, benefices given to the unworthy, nobility despised, learning little esteemed, the many not cared for—that we must look for the general reflection in Spenser's verse of the spirit of his age. His fate had been "in suing long to bide," and he took a poet's revenge for the neglect. It is in the general elevation of the tone of the "Faery Queen," and of the other poems of his matured years, that we may appreciate the moral and intellectual tastes of the educated classes of Elizabeth's latter period. Unquestionably the poet, by his creative power, may in some degree shape the character of an age, instead of being its mirror; but in the relations of a great writer to his readers there is a mutual action, each inspiring the other. The tone of Spenser's poetry must at any rate have been in accordance with the mental condition of those with whom the "Faery Queen" became at once the most popular of all books. It ceased to be popular after two generations had passed away, and the Rochesters and Sedleys were the great literary stars. The heroic age to which Spenser belonged was then over. "Fierce wars and faithful loves" had become objects of ridicule. The type of female perfection was not "heavenly Una, with her milk-white lamb," but "Mistress Nelly" in the side-box. "The goodly golden chain of chivalry" was utterly worthless compared with the price paid for Dunkirk. Such were the differences of morals and intellect between 1600 and 1670. Spenser was the most popular of poets while the ideal of chivalry still lingered in the period that had produced Sidney, and Essex, and Raleigh, and Grenville—when the rough Devonshire captains fought the Spaniard with an enthusiastic bravery and endurance that the Orlandos and the Red Cross Knights of Ariosto and Spenser could not excel. The great laureate's popularity was gone when the Dutch sailed up the Medway; for the spirit of the Elizabethan "golden time" was gone.

The age of Elizabeth may pre-eminently claim the distinction of having called up a great native literature. The national mind had already put forth many blossoms of poetry, and in the instance of Chaucer the early fruit was of the richest flavor. But in the latter part of Elizabeth's reign England had a true garden of the Hesperides. It has been most justly observed that "in the time of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. a person who did not read French or Latin

* "Defence of Poesy."
† Heywood's "Apology for Actors."—Shakespeare Society, p. 52.
‡ Nash. § Ibid. ‖ Sidney.

could read nothing or next to nothing." * Hence the learned education of the ladies of that period. The same writer asks, "Over what tragedy could Lady Jane Grey have wept, over what comedy could she have smiled, if the ancient dramatists had not been in her library?" Lady Jane Grey meekly laid her head upon the block in 1554. Had she lived fifty years longer she would have had in her library all Shakespeare's historical plays, except "King John" and "King Henry VIII.;" she would have had "Romeo and Juliet," "Love's Labor's Lost," the "Merchant of Venice," "Midsummer Night's Dream," "Much Ado about Nothing," "The Merry Wives of Windsor," "Hamlet"—for all these were printed before that period. She might have seen all these acted; and she might also have seen "As You Like it," "All's Well that Ends Well," "The Two Gentlemen of Verona," "Twelfth Night," "Othello." Her pure and truly religious nature would not have shrunk from the perusal of these works, which might worthily stand by the side of her Terence and her Sophocles in point of genius, and have a far higher claim upon her admiration. For they were imbued, not with the lifeless imitation of heathen antiquity, but with the real vitality of the Christian era in which they were produced; with all the intellectual freedom which especially distinguished that era from the past ages of Christianity. The deities of the old mythology might linger in the pageants of the court; but the inspiration of these creations of the popular dramatist was derived from the pure faith for which the Lady Jane died. From no other source of high thought could have originated the exquisite creations of female loveliness which Shakespeare and Spenser equally presented. Some portion of what was tender and graceful in the Catholic worship of "Our Lady," passed into the sober homage involuntarily paid to the perfectness of woman by the two great Protestant poets. In Shakespeare was especially present a more elevated spirit of charity than belonged to the government of his times, although his toleration must have abided to a great extent among a people that had many common ties of brotherhood whatever were their differences of creed. Hence the patriotism of Shakespeare—a considerate patriotism founded upon that nationality by which he is held "to have been most connected with ordinary men." † But Shakespeare lived in an age when nationality was an exceeding great virtue, which alone enabled England, in a spirit of union, to stand up against the gigantic power which sought her conquest through her religious divisions. All around the dramatist, and reflected by him in a thousand hues of "many-colored life," were those mixed elements of society, out of whose very differences results the unity of a prosperous nation. There was a great industrious class standing between the noble and the peasant, running over with individual originality of character, and infusing their spirit into the sovereign, the statesman, and the soldier. The gentlemen of Shakespeare are distinct from those of any other poet in their manly frankness; and the same quality of straightforward independence may be traced in his yeomen and his peasants. His clowns, even, are the representatives of the national humor, which itself was a growth of the national freedom. There was a select lettered class, who, having shaken off the trammels of the scholastic philosophy, were exploring the depths of science and laying the foundations of accurate reasoning. Shakespeare stood between the new world of bold speculation that was opening upon him and the world of submission to authority that was passing away. Thus, while he lingers amid the simplicity and even the traditionary superstitions of the multitude with evident delight—calls up their elves and their witches and their ghosts, but in no vulgar shapes—he asserts his claim to take rank with the most elevated of the world's thinkers in the investigation of the hardest problems of man's nature. Such are a few of the relations in which the art of Shakespeare stood to the period in which he lived; and although it has been truly said, "He was not for an age, but for all time," we hold that he could not have been produced except in that age, and in the country of which he has become the highest glory. There must have been a marvellous influence of the social state working upon the highest genius, to have called forth those dramas for the people, which having their birth in a yeoman's house at Stratford,

"Show, sustain, and nourish all the world."

* Macaulay, "Essays," art. "Bacon."
† Frederick Schlegel.

The lyrical poetry of the Elizabethan time was chiefly written to be married to music. As Shakespeare's drama was drama to be acted, so his songs were songs to be sung. Their grace, their simplicity, their variety of measure, were qualities which are found in the lyrical poems of Marlowe, Green, Lodge, Raleigh, Breton, Drayton, and others less known to fame, who contributed to the delight of many a tranquil evening in the squire's pleasure garden, and by the citizen's sea-coal fireside, where Morley's "Airs," and other popular collections, were as familiarly known as Moore's "Melodies" in our own day. It was not that the musical taste of England was first developed in this period, but that it had spread from the court to the people. There was a greater diffusion of wealth, and therefore more leisure for the cultivation of the elegancies of life. Property was secure. The days of feudal tyranny were past. The whole aspect of the country was necessarily changed. If we open the county histories of this period we find an enumeration of "principal manor-houses," which shows how completely the English gentleman, of moderate fortune, had in every parish taken the place of the baron or the abbot, who were once the sole proprietors of vast districts. A poet of the period has noticed this change in his description of rural scenery.

"Here on some mount a house of pleasure vanted
Where once the warring cannon had been planted."

These lines are from the "Britannia's Pastorals" of William Browne, whose poems, unequal as they are, contain many exquisite descriptions of country life. But nearly all the poetry of this age shows how thoroughly the realities of that life had become familiar to the imaginative mind. The second-hand images with which town poets make their rural descriptions wearisome are not found in the Elizabethan poets. The commonest objects of nature uniformly present their poetical aspects in Shakespeare, as they did in Chaucer. The perpetual freshness and variety of creation were seen by these great masters with that rapid power of observation which belongs to genius. But the minor poets of the end of the sixteenth century evidently studied rural scenery with that feeling of the picturesque which is always a late growth of individual or national cultivation. The country, to the educated proprietor of the soil, had become something more than the source of his revenue. His ancestral trees had now for him a higher interest than to furnish logs for his hall-fire. His garden was no longer a mere place for growing kail and pot-herbs; it was to have choice flowers and shady seats—the stately terrace and the green walk—the fountain and the vase. The poets reflect the prevailing taste. They make their posies of the peony and the pink, the rose and the columbine. They go with the huntsman to the field, and with the angler to the river. They are found nutting with the village boys, and they gather strawberries in the woods. They sit with the Lady of the May in her bower, and quaff the brown ale at the harvest-home. The country has become the seat of pleasant thoughts; and the poets are there to aid their influences.

The architecture of the reign of Elizabeth is essentially characteristic of the period, not only in the simple manor-house of the squire, but in the "great house" of the noble. Sidney has described his own Penshurst, in the earlier half of that period, when the old massive style, adapted for security rather than convenience, had not wholly passed away: "They might see (with fit consideration both of the air, the prospect and the nature of the ground) all such necessary additions to a great house, as might well show that provision is the foundation of hospitality, and thrift the fuel of magnificence. The house itself was built of fair and strong stone, not affecting so much any extraordinary kind of fineness, as an honorable representing of a firm stateliness. The lights, doors, and stairs, rather directed to the use of the guests than to the eye of the artificer; and yet, as the one chiefly heeded, so the other not neglected; each place handsome without curiosity, and homely without loathsomeness; not so dainty as not to be trod on, nor yet slubbered up with good fellowship; all more lasting than beautiful, but that the consideration of the exceeding lastingness made the eye believe it was exceeding beautiful." * The "firm stateliness," the "exceeding lastingness," became of secondary importance when the lord of the house and his retainers had ceased to dine in the great hall; and that prin-

* "Arcadia."

cipal apartment became little more than an entrance to those rooms dedicated to privacy or to state. There was to be provided, in the latter part of the century, a gorgeous gallery "for feasts and triumphs," as Lord Bacon held—such a gallery as may still be seen at Hardwick. Here all the quaint forms of decoration in carving and color were lavished. The walls were covered with portraits, almost the only branch of art then cultivated or encouraged in England. In these palaces there were tapestried "chambers of presence;" many bed-chambers for the family and their guests; lodgings for the various officers of the household; bake-houses and brew-houses; the great court in the centre; and the whole distribution of the private rooms often regulated by "my lord's side and "my lady's side." The garden was an especial object of artistical decoration. Hentzner, in his "Travels in England," in 1598, has described the garden of Theobalds, one of the mansions of Lord Burleigh. It was "encompassed with a ditch full of water, large enough for one to have the pleasure of going in a boat, and rowing between the shrubs; here are great variety of trees and plants; labyrinths made with a great deal of labor; a *jet d'eau*, with its bason of white marble; and columns and pyramids of wood and other materials up and down the garden. After seeing these, we were led by the gardener into the summer-house, in the lower part of which, built semicircularly, are the twelve Roman emperors in white marble, and a table of touchstone; the upper part of it is set round with cisterns of lead, into which the water is conveyed through pipes, so that fish may be kept in them, and in summer-time they are very convenient for bathing; in another room for entertainment very near this, and joined to it by a little bridge, was an oval table of red marble." From the gardens and terraces of these great houses the hall was entered; but now, when the grandest apartments were above, there was a staircase in the hall, of the most decorated character. At such mansions Elizabeth rested during her progresses, when her nobles vied with each other in the most lavish hospitality to welcome their queen; and soon turned their old dreary castles into gorgeous palaces, by the magic art of John Thorpe, the great constructive genius of that age. He perfected that union of the Italian style with the Gothic which produced what we call the Tudor architecture. Some of these palatial edifices still stand, although for the most part dilapidated. Their faded splendors carry us back to the days of "mask and antique pageantry," when the lavish magnificence had something poetical even in its discomfort.

The Elizabethan manor-house is too well known to need any description. It is generally a plain building, with two projecting wings and a central porch. The initial letter of Elizabeth has been held to have suggested this form. In its homely provision for domestic convenience, the manor-house is more completely identified with the prevailing character of English society than the more gorgeous mansion. The manor-house had its hall and its buttery; its dining-room and its parlor; sometimes its chapel; always its great kitchen. It was surrounded with a moat; it possessed its little flower-garden. When the tobacco which Raleigh introduced ceased to be worth its weight in silver, the smoking-room was added. On great festival-days the rich plate is brought out, and displayed on the "court cupboard" of the dining-parlor; and "it is merry in hall, when beards wag all."

The reign of Elizabeth, which witnessed such an outburst of our native literature, had not neglected that cultivation of ancient learning, upon which sound literature and correct taste must in a great degree be built. New colleges had been founded at Oxford and Cambridge. Elizabeth had also founded Trinity College, Dublin. James VI. had erected the university of Edinburgh, in addition to the Scottish academical institutions; and Marischal College, Aberdeen, was built in his reign. To the London Grammar Schools of St. Paul's and Christ Church had been added Westminster School, by the queen, and Merchant Tailors' School, by the great city company of that name. The grammar-schools were essentially the schools of the people; and it is a sufficient praise of Elizabeth's new foundation of Westminster to say that Camden there taught, and that Jonson there learned.

CHAPTER LXXX.

James proclaimed king of England—Question of the succession—Sir Robert Carey's ride to Edinburgh—James quits Scotland—His progress to London—His system of punishments and rewards—Cecil's influence—The coronation—Raleigh, Cobham, Grey, and others arrested on charges of conspiracy—The two plots—Trial of Raleigh—His conviction and long imprisonment—Conferences at Hampton Court—Meeting of Parliament—Contest between the king and the House of Commons upon a question of privilege—Statutes of this session—Wardship—Purveyance—Temper of the Commons—Peace with Spain—James proclaimed king of Great Britain—Character of James.

Queen Elizabeth died at Richmond at three o'clock in the morning of the 24th of March. Before ten o'clock of that day, James, king of Scotland, was proclaimed as her successor. Cecil, and others of the council who were favorable to the claim of James to the English throne, were about the queen during her last illness, and lost not a moment in taking the important step of proclaiming him to the people. It was a wise decision; for, although the title of the descendants of Margaret, queen of Scots, was clear, according to the principle of hereditary succession, the statute of the 35th of Henry VIII. gave that king power to dispose of the succession to the crown by will, and in his will he passed over the descendants of Margaret. The parliamentary title was thus placed in opposition to the hereditary claim. There were descendants in existence of Mary, duchess of Suffolk, the younger sister of Henry VIII. To Lord Beauchamp, one of these, it may be supposed that Elizabeth alluded, in the speech ascribed to her that she would have no "rascal" as her successor. Other titles to the throne were talked of, however remote, among which that of Arabella Stuart was most prominent. The queen's political sagacity would naturally have pointed out the king of Scotland as the successor whose claim would have been recognized with the least confusion; and she probably would not have hesitated, in her dying hour, however she might have unwillingly entertained the question at previous seasons, had she not had sufficient reason to think meanly of the character of James. He was weak and untruthful. Their natures were essentially opposite. There was no love between them.

Sir Robert Carey, at the moment of Elizabeth's death, received a token from Lady Scrope, his sister, that the great queen had passed away after a placid sleep. With the ring that this lady took from the finger of her mistress, Carey posted for Scotland. On Saturday night, after an extraordinary ride of three days and two nights, the alert courtier was on his knees before James to salute him as king of England, with the royal ring as his credential. Carey had obtained the start of the slow messenger of the Privy Council, who arrived in Edinburgh on the following Tuesday. On the 3d of April James, having attended the service in the High Church of St. Giles, delivered a farewell harangue to the congregation, and on the 5th he took his departure from Edinburgh. His queen, Anne of Denmark, and his children, were left behind. Curious was his progress toward London, and very characteristic of his coarse and self-sufficient nature. Men saw the respect for law, which was at the foundation of English liberty and order, despised by the man who was coming to rule over them. A cutpurse was taken at Newark, who had followed the court from Berwick; upon which the king sent a warrant to the recorder of Newark to have the thief hanged. The wise perceived the approach of an ignorant despotism in this contempt of the ordinary course of justice: "I hear our new king," writes Harrington, "hath hanged one man before he was tried; 'tis strangely done; now if the wind bloweth thus, why may not a man be tried before he hath offended?" But James's notion of kingly rewards was as absurd as his notion of kingly punishments. During his journey of thirty-two days from Edinburgh to London he showered the honor of knighthood on two hundred and thirty-seven gentlemen who were presented to him. Elizabeth bestowed such honors sparingly upon her statesmen and soldiers. James made the noblest title of the old chivalry ridiculous.

During his progress to London James feasted at many houses, where he beheld the tokens of wealth and luxury to which he was little used. He at last rested at Theobalds, where the adroit Cecil made his arrangements for a long tenure of power. The king entered London on the 7th of May. Meanwhile Elizabeth had been followed

to her grave at Westminster by fifteen hundred gentlemen in mourning. Many of her late subjects were looking to her successor for relief from the penal laws, which obstructed Puritan as well as papist in the exercise of their religion. Before James reached London a petition was presented to him, signed by eight hundred and twenty-five ministers from various counties, desiring the redress of ecclesiastical abuses. In the State Paper Office there is an address to him from the Catholics of England, imploring "the free exercise of their religion, in private if not in public, by sufferance if not with approbation."* Some of the Romanists, however, expected more from the new king than toleration. In a letter dated from Rome, May 14th, of Robert Parsons, the Jesuit, he hopes the king may become a Catholic; says there are prayers for him in the seminaries; and states that the pope is delighted with the king's book, "Basilicon Doron."† There can be no doubt that, before the death of Elizabeth, James had promised that the Roman Catholics should be tolerated. Within three months of his arrival in London, some of the leading recusants were assured that the fines for recusancy should no longer be enforced; and in the following year the sum paid as fines was very small. That the king had no large views of toleration was soon evident. He bestowed some honors and lucrative places on a few, upon a principle which he avowed when objection was made to Lord Henry Howard, a Catholic, having a seat in the council; James saying that by this tame duck he hoped to take many wild ones.

In June the queen of James, and his eldest son Prince Henry, arrived in England. The coronation took place on the 25th of July, amid the gloom and consternation of the people of London, for the plague was making the most fearful ravages in the city. The sight of the pageant was confined to the nobility and the court. On this account, as alleged, a parliament was not summoned, according to the usual course upon the accession of a new sovereign. Ambassadors came from the United Provinces, from the archduke of Austria, and from Henry IV., to congratulate the new king of England. To all of them James made professions of peace. Sully, the minister of France, was there to sustain the influence of his master. He did so by the power of gold, and not by the sympathies of friendship, as in the time of the great queen. Sully wore mourning for Elizabeth when he first appeared at James's court; but he was soon told that such a tribute of respect was disagreeable, and that at Whitehall her name must no longer be mentioned.

At the death of Elizabeth, the rivalry which had sprung up between Robert Cecil and Raleigh was to have its triumph in the confirmed favor of James to the minister with whom he had for some time been in secret communication. The wily secretary of state was far too strong for the bold captain of the guard. The adroit politician, weak of body but close and circumspect, would be secure of his advantage over the accomplished soldier and navigator, even if James had not manifested a personal dislike for Raleigh. It was unnecessary for Cecil to have written, within a week of the queen's death, that the Council had "stayed the journey of the captain of the guard, who was conducting many suitors to the king."‡ If they had met, James would probably have insulted the man whose most ardent passion was to diminish the power of Spain, while James would have laid England and Scotland at her feet. So Raleigh was deprived of his offices, and within a few months was under a charge of high treason. Hume, in a very brief relation of "the discovery of a conspiracy to subvert the government, and to fix on the throne Arabella Stuart, a near relation of the king by the family of Lennox, and descended equally from Henry VII.," mixes up the accounts of two alleged conspiracies. He says Roman Catholic priests; Lord Grey, a Puritan; Lord Cobham, a profligate man; and Raleigh, a freethinker, were engaged in "a conspiracy;" and he asks "what cement could unite men of such discordant principles, in so dangerous a combination?" The Roman Catholic conspiracy was wholly different from that in which Raleigh, Cobham, and Grey were accused of engaging, and was known as "the treason of the priests," or the "Bye"—the cant word by which it was designated upon the trials of the accused. Its object was to seize the person of the king. The other treason was known as the "Main;" and its purposes were so ill defined that, half a century afterward, it was described, by Rushworth, as "a dark kind of treason;" the author of the "Historical Collections" adding, "in his time the veil still rested upon it." Subsequent investigations have not withdrawn the veil. Cobham, a very weak man, though possessed of great power from his position, had taken part with Raleigh in his jealousy of the earl of Essex; and James, who considered that Essex had been sacrificed through his anxiety to promote that claim to the succession which Elizabeth did not recognize, held them both in great dislike. Cecil, who was equally united with them in jealousy of Essex, had propitiated the king of Scotland; and to him was confided the chief power of the government when James came to the English throne. There is little in these alleged treasons that deserves any minute relation, except as they involve the trial and conviction of one of the most remarkable men in the history of our country. The mind of Raleigh never was exhibited in a more heroic attitude than in his conduct on this memorable trial.

On the 17th of November, 1603, a special commission was held at Winchester, the plague then raging in London and other parts. Sir Walter Raleigh had been indicted on the previous 21st of August upon a charge of high treason; the overt acts alleged being that he had conferred with Lord Cobham as to advancing Arabella Stuart to the crown of England, dispossessing the king; and that it was arranged that Lord Cobham should go to the king of Spain and the archduke of Austria, to obtain six hundred thousand crowns for the support of Arabella's title. It was also alleged in the indictment that Cobham communicated the plan to George Brooke, and that they both said "there never would be a good world in England till the king and his cubs were taken away;" that Cobham wrote to Count Aremberg for the six hundred thousand crowns, which Aremberg promised to give; and that Raleigh was to receive eight thousand crowns. Raleigh pleaded not guilty.

The conduct of the attorney-general upon this trial was such as made even Cecil remonstrate against his unfairness. Coke's brutality to the prisoner remains as a perpetual warning to the bar and the bench, that if the character of the gentleman is ever publicly dissociated from that of the lawyer in the administration of justice, the greatest learning, the most elevated rank, will not save the trickster or the bully from the contempt of his own generation and of future times. Coke began by declaring that the treason of Raleigh was "the treason of the *main*, the others were the *bye*," and then went on to mix him up, as the historian has done, with both treasons. "I pray you, gentlemen of the jury," said Raleigh, "remember I am not charged with the *bye*, which was the treason of the priests." To this quiet observation Coke replied, "You are not; but your lordships will see that all these treasons, though they consisted of several points, closed in together, like Samson's foxes, which were joined in the tails, though their heads were severed." Let us pursue this dialogue a little farther. Coke went on, again travelling far out of the indictment, to associate Raleigh with every charge against other conspirators of whose proceedings it is manifest that he knew nothing. "To what end do you speak all this?" said the prisoner. "I will prove you to be the most notorious traitor that ever came to the bar," rejoined Coke. "Thou art a monster. Thou hast an English face but a Spanish heart." Coke then proceeded with a recital of his charges against Cobham. "If my Lord Cobham be a traitor, what is that to me?" said Raleigh. Then the great lawyer replied, "All that he did was by thy instigation, thou viper, for I *thou* thee, thou traitor!"* When Coke came to the words about "destroying the king and his cubs," which rested upon a declaration of one of the priests of what the Jesuits intended, Raleigh lost patience for a moment, and exclaimed, "O barbarous! Do you bring the words of these hellish spiders against me?" Coke retorted, "Thou art thyself a spider of hell." Such were the flowers of rhetoric with which the attorney-general of that day sustained the dignity of English justice. There is an account of the trial, supposed to be written by Sir Thomas Overbury, in which he contrasts the conduct of Coke, behaving himself "so violently and bitterly," and using "so great provocation to the prisoner," with the demeanor of Raleigh: "As

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* "Calendar of State Papers," edited by Mrs. Green, p. 5.
† Ibid., p. 8.
‡ Ibid., p. 2.

* The speech of Sir Toby Belch, "if thou *thou'st* him some thrice it shall not be amiss," has been held to have been suggested by Coke's insult. But "Twelfth Night" had been acted in 1602.

the attorney was noted, so was the carriage of Raleigh most remarkable; first to the lords, humble yet not prostrate; dutiful yet not dejected; for in some cases he would humbly thank them for gracious speeches; in others, when they related some circumstances, acknowledged that what they said was true; and in such points wherein he would not yield unto them, he would crave pardon, and with reverence urge them and answer them in points of law and essential matter of fact; toward the jury, affable, but not fawning; not in despair, but hoping in them; carefully persuading with reason, not distemperedly importuning with conjuration; rather showing love of life, than fear of death. Toward the king's counsel patient, but not insensibly neglecting nor yielding to imputations laid against him by words; and it was wonder that a man of his heroic spirit could be so valiant in suffering that he was never once overtaken in passion."

The charge against Raleigh rested solely upon the accusation of Lord Cobham, of which a contemporary letter-writer says, it "was no more to be weighed than the barking of a dog." Sir Dudley Carleton, in a letter from Winchester, gives a narrative of the trial of Raleigh. He says, "The evidence against him was only Cobham's confession, which was judged sufficient to condemn him; and a letter was produced, written by Cobham the day before, by which he accused Raleigh as the first practiser of the treason betwixt them, which served to turn against him; though he showed, to countervail this, a letter written by Cobham, and delivered to him in the Tower, by which he was clearly acquitted." Raleigh demanded that Cobham should be confronted with him. He contended that by the law of treasons two witnesses were necessary to conviction. His eloquence was unavailing. He was found guilty and sentenced to death. The opinion of after times is expressed by Mr. Hallam: "His conviction was obtained on the single deposition of Lord Cobham, an accomplice, a prisoner, not examined in court, and known to have already retracted his accusation. Such a verdict was thought contrary to law, even in that age of ready convictions." Raleigh's contemporaries felt that his conviction was most unjust. Raleigh was unpopular, for he was proud; but his trial produced a complete change in the general feeling. One who was present at Winchester affirmed "that whereas when he saw him first he was so led with the common hatred that he would have gone a hundred miles to see him hanged, he would, ere he parted, have gone a thousand to save his life." * The priests and Brooke were found guilty of the "Bye" plot, and were executed. Cobham, Grey, and Markham were found guilty, and were brought upon the scaffold to die. After a theatrical mummery these were reprieved, and wore out long years of imprisonment. Raleigh was also reprieved, and was confined in the Tower till 1616. Those twelve years of captivity were not spent in vain repining. In his prison chamber he wrote his "History of the World"—a noble book, worthy of the man and of the days in which he had gloriously lived—full of poetry and high philosophy, and in its solemn recognitions of the "power, light, virtue, wisdom, and goodness" of the "Omnipotent Cause," and "Almighty Mover," furnishing the best answer to the scurrility of the attorney-general, who called him "damnable atheist," and of the chief justice who, in sentencing him, said, "You have been taxed by the world, Sir Walter Raleigh, with holding heathenish, atheistical, and profane opinions, which I list not to repeat, because Christian ears cannot endure to hear them; but the authors and maintainers of such opinions cannot be suffered to live in any Christian commonwealth."

When the Puritan ministers presented their petition to James on his journey to London, they asked for a conference. On the 14th, 15th, and 16th of January, 1604, the king summoned to Hampton Court the archbishop of Canterbury, eight bishops, five deans, and two doctors, who were to sustain the ceremonies and practices of the Church, and to oppose all innovation. To meet them, four members of the reforming party were summoned, including Dr. Reynolds, a divine of acknowledged learning and ability. Royalty never displayed itself in a more undignified manner. Episcopacy never degraded itself more by a servile flattery of royalty. James, in his insolent demeanor to the representatives of a growing party in the English Church, thought to avenge himself of the humiliation he had been occasionally compelled to endure from ministers of the Scottish kirk. He was the chief talker in these conferences. Harrington, who was present, says: "The king talked much Latin, and disputed with Dr. Reynolds; but he rather used upbraidings than argument, and told the petitioners that they wanted to strip Christ again, and bid them away with their snivelling. . . . The bishops seemed much pleased, and said his majesty spoke by the power of inspiration. I wist not what they mean; but the spirit was rather foul-mouthed." * A few alterations were made in the Common Prayer Book; and a new version of the Holy Scriptures was ordered to be undertaken. James had taken his side; but his pedantic vanity, though suited to the taste of Bishop Bancroft, who fell upon his knees and thanked God for giving them such a king, was not quite fitted for the government of the English nation. In the first parliament of his reign James was at issue with the House of Commons.

On the 19th of March, 1604, the two houses were assembled. In the proclamation by which the king called parliament together, he had, in his grand style of commonplaces, chosen to prescribe the sort of men the people were to choose for their representatives. "There are often," he proclaims, "many unfit persons appointed for that service; and where it is so well known to every private man of wit and judgment, much more to Us, who have had so long experience of kingly government, what ill effects do follow." Among other directions, he emphatically says, "We do command that an express care be had that there be not chosen any persons bankrupt or outlaw." Furthermore, "We notify by these presents, that all returns and certificates of knights, citizens, and burgesses ought, and are, to be brought to the Chancery, and there to be filed of record; and if any shall be found to be made contrary to this proclamation, the same is to be rejected as unlawful and insufficient, and the city or borough to be fined for the same." Again and again, in the reign of Elizabeth, as they had done in former reigns, the Commons had successfully maintained the principle that no writ for a second election of knight or citizen or burgess should issue, without an order from the House itself. It is strongly but truly observed that, in spite of these assertions of the constitutional principle, "a stranger is no sooner seated on the throne than he aims a blow at the very foundation of the people's rights." † The House of Commons had no especial regard for bankrupts or outlaws; but they chose themselves to examine into an allegation of this nature, and not let the chancellor exercise an authority which interfered with their privileges. Sir Francis Goodwin had been returned for Buckinghamshire, in opposition to Sir John Fortescue, who was favored by the government. An outlawry had been found to have formerly hung over him; and the election of Goodwin being declared void, a new writ was issued from Chancery. The House restored Goodwin to his seat; and then James, in his impatient ignorance of the spirit of the English monarchy, told the Commons that "they derived all matters of privilege from him, and from his grant;" and that precedents were not to be credited, when derived from "the times of minors, of tyrants, of women, of simple kings." His contemptuous mention of "women" was an intimation of his scorn for his predecessor, before whose genius he had crouched like a whipped schoolboy. The dispute went on; and then this interpreter of the spirit of the old free monarchy of England said, "We command, as an absolute king, a conference with the judges." The matter ended by both elections being set aside. James was wise enough not to engage in such a conflict a second time.

The House of Commons, at this commencement of a new dynasty, the head of which had not scrupled to proclaim principles inconsistent with the foundations of national freedom, did not care to separate without leaving a solemn record of their opinions, and a justification of their proceedings. It is entitled an "Apology of the House of Commons, made to the king, touching their privileges." Had the doctrines therein asserted been respected by the Stuarts, the blood that was shed forty years afterward might have been spared. We will extract one or two passages of this remarkable document. The Commons review the attempts to maintain that they held not privileges of right, but of grace only; that they were not a Court of Rec-

* Carleton's letter in the "Hardwicke State Papers." This and other documents connected with Raleigh's trial, are given by Mr. Jardine.

* "Nugæ Antiquæ," p. 182.

† Brodie, "British Empire," vol. i. p. 343.

ord; and that the examination upon the return of writs was without their compass; and they thus proceed: "Against which assertions, most gracious sovereign, tending directly and apparently to the utter overthrow of the very fundamental privileges of our House, and therein of the rights and liberties of the whole Commons of your realm of England, which they and their ancestors from time immemorable have undoubtedly enjoyed under your majesty's most noble progenitors; we, the knights, citizens, and burgesses of the House of Commons assembled in parliament, and in the name of the whole Commons of the realm of England, with uniform consent for ourselves and our posterity, do expressly protest, as being derogatory in the highest degree to the true dignity, liberty, and authority of your majesty's high court of parliament, and consequently to the rights of all your majesty's said subjects, and the whole body of this your kingdom; and desire that this our protestation may be recorded to all posterity. . . . What cause we your poor Commons have to watch over our privileges is manifest in itself to all men. The prerogatives of princes may easily and do daily grow. The privileges of the subject are for the most part at an everlasting stand. They may be by good providence and care preserved; but being once lost are not recovered but with much disquiet. If good kings were immortal, as well as kingdoms, to strive so for privilege were but vanity perhaps and folly; but seeing the same God, who in his great mercy hath given us a wise king and religious, doth also sometimes permit hypocrites and tyrants in his displeasure, and for the sins of the people, from hence hath the desire of rights, liberties, and privileges, both for nobles and commons, had its just original, by which an harmonical and stable state is framed; each member under the head enjoying that right, and performing that duty, which for the honor of the head and happiness of the whole is requisite."

But it was not only upon the question of their privileges that the Commons were not in accord with the crown. There had been, with the king's assent, a novel code of canons established in convocation, which aimed at excluding nonconformists from civil rights, and setting up an unconstitutional authority over the laity as well as the clergy. The Commons, in a conference with the Lords, remonstrated against such an innovation. The language in which the king was addressed in the "Apology" is the voice of men who have been nurtured in the belief that they were freemen, and who abide in the determination to remain freemen. They say to the king, Your majesty would be misinformed if any man should deliver that the kings of England have any absolute power in themselves, either to alter religion, which God defend should be in the power of any mortal man whatsoever, or to make any laws concerning the same, otherwise than, as in temporal causes, by consent of parliament. We have, and shall, at all times by our oaths acknowledge that your majesty is sovereign lord and supreme governor in both."

During this session a parliamentary title was given to King James and his descendants by an act for "a most joyful and just recognition of the immediate, lawful, and undoubted succession, descent, and right of the crown."* The natural and wise desire of the king for an union of the two countries was not very cordially met; and in their "Apology" the Commons say, "We were long in treating and debating the matter of union. The propositions were new; the importance great; the consequence far reaching, and not discoverable but by long disputes; our numbers also are large, and each hath liberty to speak." But at length an act was passed, appointing commissioners to treat with the Scots upon this great question.† Many years elapsed before public prejudices had been softened down, and private interests conciliated, so that Scotland and England became one nation. We must not be too ready to hold the legislators of this time as peculiarly ignorant, in passing a law to declare witchcraft felony, without benefit of clergy.‡ The superstition was productive of enormous cruelties; but it had its earnest supporters, and among others the king himself. The popular belief went wholly in that direction.

The legislation of the parliament of 1604 was not so remarkable as the spirit which it displayed in the resistance of encroachments upon its ancient liberties, and in the demand for reforms of ancient abuses. Among those who most strongly maintained the necessity of improvement was Francis Bacon. The grievances of which the Commons had complained, in a petition, were those of purveyance, which fell upon all the people. The burden of wardships, by which the custody, and therefore the profits, of every estate held under military tenure was claimed by the crown during the minority of the heir, fell upon the landed proprietors. Purveyance was the relic of a condition of society which had passed away. Before the communications between the producers of food and the consumers in towns were easy, those wants of the sovereign's household which could not be supplied from the royal demesnes were arranged by purveyors—a body of officers who had the right of claiming provisions in any market for the king's use. They took corn, flesh, every description of food, at their own prices. They had the right of impressing carts and carriages in the same arbitrary manner. Statute after statute had been passed for the regulation of purveyance; but a power so enormous was liable to the grossest abuse. Elizabeth herself called the purveyors "harpies." The evil when James came to the throne had become intolerable; and, according to a speech of Bacon, the purveyors, under their commissions from the Board of Green Cloth, lived at free quarters upon the country; terrifying dealers by their claims of immense quantities of provisions at an insufficient price, out of which they made a profit; cutting down woods without the owner's permission; and even demanding the laborers to work for them at their own grinding rate of payment. The Commons now asked for a total abolition of purveyance. Their petition was not offensive to the king, for he hoped to make good terms for himself by the concession of this remnant of feudal prerogative; but nothing was done. The question of wardship was also postponed, at the desire of the House of Lords.

The temper of parliament, as was the temper of the people, was favorable to the quiet rule of the new king. But it was directly opposed to his notion of a divine right which gave him, in the exercise of his prerogative, an absolute power such as he was prompt to claim. He had declared in a book, "The True Law of Free Monarchies," printed before he came to the English throne, that "although a good king will frame all his actions to be according to law, yet he is not bound thereto, but of his own will, and for example-giving to his subjects." He was told in distinct terms that the loyalty of the people was associated with the care which the sovereign had of their welfare. "If your majesty," says the Apology, "shall vouchsafe at your best pleasure and leisure to enter into your gracious consideration of our petition for the ease of those burthens under which your whole people have of long time mourned, hoping for relief of your majesty, then may you be assured to be possessed of their hearts; and, if of their hearts, of all they can do or have."*

In August, 1604, a treaty of peace was concluded between James, king of England, the king of Spain, and the archdukes of Austria. The policy of the country was wholly changed in the change of its sovereign. The hostility to Spain was a national sentiment; for it was built on the conviction that no peace would be safe with that power while England was Protestant, and was identified with the cause of Protestantism in Europe. Robert Cecil had been bred in the political creed of Elizabeth; but the disposition of James to abandon her policy, and to desire peace with her great enemy in a temper amounting to pusillanimity, compelled Cecil to a subserviency in the negotiations with Spain very different from the spirit which a minister of Elizabeth would have shown. The old friendship with the Netherlands was abandoned. The king of England engaged to give no further aid to the Hollanders, or other enemies of the king of Spain and the archdukes. The commercial treaty, which was connected with the treaty of peace, contained clauses which the Hollanders felt were to their disadvantage. Enmity was thus to spring up between the two countries in which the struggle for the Reformation had been carried on most cordially and strenuously. There was one clause to which Elizabeth would never have consented as long as she had a ship or a cannon—that there was to be "*moderation* had in the proceedings of the Inquisition" against English traders repairing to Spain. What the people felt with regard to Spain, and to the foreign policy of England, may be collected from the boldness with which Raleigh spoke on his trial. Indignantly repelling the charge that he had been bribed with Spanish gold to engage in a conspiracy, he

* 1 Jac. I. c. 1. † Ibid., c. 2. ‡ Ibid., c. 12.

* The substance of this important paper is given by Mr. Hallam. It is to be found in "Cobbett's Parliamentary History."

alluded to the warfare in which he had battled so long against a power that once aimed at universal monarchy, but was now reduced to comparative insignificance. Spain never forgave Raleigh's efforts for her humiliation, nor his public mention of them when she was suing for peace. "I was not so bare of sense but I saw that if ever this state was strong and able to defend itself, it was now. The kingdom of Scotland united, whence we were wont to fear all our troubles; Ireland quieted, where our forces were wont to be divided; Denmark assured, whom before we were wont to have in jealousy; the Low Countries, our nearest neighbors, at peace with us; and instead of a lady, whom time had surprised, we had now an active king, a lawful successor to the crown, who was able to his own business. I was not such a madman as to make myself in this time a Robin Hood, a Wat Tyler, or a Jack Cade. I knew also the state of Spain well; his weakness, and poorness, and humbleness at this time. I knew that he was discouraged and dishonored. I knew that six times we had repulsed his forces, thrice in Ireland, thrice at sea, and once at Cadiz on his own coast. Thrice had I served against him myself at sea, wherein for my country's sake I had expended of my own properties 4000*l.* I knew that where beforetime he was wont to have forty great sails at the least in his ports, now he hath not past six or seven; and for sending to his Indies he was driven to hire strange vessels—a thing contrary to the institutions of his proud ancestors, who straitly forbade, in case of any necessity, that the king of Spain should make their case known to strangers. I knew that of five-and-twenty millions he had from his Indies, he had scarce any left; nay, I knew his poorness at this time to be such that the Jesuits, his imps, were fain to beg at the church doors; his pride so abated, as, notwithstanding his former high terms, he was glad to congratulate the king, my master, on his accession, and now cometh creeping unto him for peace." With such a power the king of England might have concluded an honorable peace, without sacrificing the principle for which Elizabeth had fought for twenty years. She would not have forsaken the United Provinces for any temptation which the Most Catholic king could have held out to shake her good faith and her constancy.

Previous to the accession of James, the sovereign, in the unaltered style of ancient feudal assumption, had the title of "King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland." On the 24th of October, 1604, James was proclaimed "King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland." We cannot reflect upon him for retaining the absurd title of king of France, for the folly was kept up for two centuries longer. His vanity was abundantly gratified in being king of Great Britain and Ireland—an absolute king, as he believed; and not only a king, but a master of all learning, and especially of theological learning, of whom his chancellor declared, at the Hampton Court conference, that never since our Saviour's time had the king and the priest been so wonderfully united in the same person. He was not altogether so royal a personage as Elizabeth, or her majestic father. His figure was ungainly; his habits were slovenly; he was by nature a coward. Not deficient in a certain talent which he rarely put to a right use—"the wisest fool in Christendom"—he had no sense of that public responsibility which attached to his high office. He was a king for himself alone. He estimated the cost of war as the principal inducement to remain at peace. But the wise economy which was opposed to the martial tendencies of the people that he was called to govern was not an economy for the public good. He wasted his revenues upon silly baubles for personal ornaments, and in lavish grants to unworthy favorites. He almost wholly neglected the business of the state; for he was hunting, bolstered up on an ambling palfrey; or he was writing pedantic treatises which nobody read; or he was going in progress, to be flattered and feasted; or he was moving by easy journeys from his palace of Richmond to his palace of Windsor, or in triumphal procession in his state-barge from Greenwich to Whitehall. There were some refinements in his court, for the plays that were acted before him were often those of Shakespeare; and at a later period Jonson wrote "Masques at Court," and Inigo Jones supplied the decorations. In a short time the palace became a scene of profligacy, in which even the mask of decency was not attempted to be put on. Yet this was the king who was to try his hand at making England an absolute monarchy by divine right. Lord Thomas Howard, who had been a powerful instrument in forwarding the accession of James, wrote to Harrington, "Your queen did talk of her subjects' love and good affection, and in good truth she aimed well. Our king talketh of his subjects' fear and subjection, and herein I think he doth well too, *as long as it holdeth good.*"

CHAPTER LXXXI.

The Gunpowder Plot—Lord Mounteagle receives a letter—Fac-simile of the letter—Salisbury is made acquainted with the letter—Its interpretation—Search under the Parliament House—Seizure of Fawkes—The other conspirators—Their preparations during eighteen previous months—Their proceedings after the discovery—They resist the sheriff—Some killed, others taken prisoners—Feelings of the Roman Catholics—Ben Jonson—Trial of Fawkes and others—Garnet the Jesuit—His conviction—His doctrine of Equivocation.

In the last week of October, 1605, the king was contemplating "his return from his hunting exercise at Royston, upon occasion of the drawing near of the parliament time, which had been twice prorogued already."* While James was at his favorite sports, hunting according to a more discreet fashion than that of the old Norman kings, his "little beagle," for so he called Robert Cecil, now earl of Salisbury, was diligently carrying forward the business of the state. Salisbury was at his post at Whitehall on the night of the 26th of October, when his wonted meditations upon the difficulty of providing money for his extravagant master and his rapacious followers, were disturbed by the demand for an audience of a Catholic peer, Lord Mounteagle. The position of this nobleman, who had been called to the House of Peers in the parliament of 1604, was a very equivocal one. He was the son of a Protestant peer, Lord Morley; but, when very young, married a daughter of Sir Thomas Tresham, who was a pervert to Rome under the guidance of missionary priests, and, during the reign of Elizabeth, a most uncompromising recusant. Lord Morley's son then became involved with several leading Roman Catholics in the conspiracy of Essex, and in their invitations to the king of Spain to invade England and to depose the queen. Upon the accession of James, when the king was either balancing the advantages of being Catholic or Protestant, or holding out to the Papists professions of toleration which he had no intention of accomplishing, Mounteagle was a satisfied recipient of court favors, while the old severities against recusants had been renewed, and the Roman Catholics in general were becoming hopeless of power, or even of indulgence. A strange incident had occurred on that night of the 26th of October, when Mounteagle broke in upon the quiet of the secretary of state. The Catholic peer had a house at Hoxton, from which he had been absent a month, when he suddenly arrived that evening to supper. Very opportune was the return, as we learn from the official "Discourse:" "Being in his own lodging ready to go to supper, at seven of the clock at night, one of his footmen, whom he had sent of an errand over the street, was met by a man of a reasonable tall personage, who delivered him a letter, charging him to put it in my lord his master's hands; which my lord no sooner received, but that, having broken it up, and perceiving the same to be of an unknown and somewhat unlegible hand, and without either date or superscription, did call one of his men unto him, for helping him to read it." It appears from another account that the letter was read aloud—of course in the presence of the lord's attendants. It was as follows:

"My lord out of the love i beare to some of youer frendz i have a caer of youer preservacion therefor i would advyse yowe as yowe tender youer lyf to devyse some excuse to shift of your attendance at this parleament for god and man hathe concurred to punishe the wickednes of this tyme and thinke not slightlye of this advertisement but retyere youre selfe into youre contri wheare yowe maye expect the event in safti for thowghe theare be no apparance of anni stir yet i saye they shall receyve a terrible blowe this parleament and yet they shall not seie who hurts them this councel is not to be contemned because it maye do yowe good and can do yowe no harme for the dangere is passed as soon as yowe have burnt the letter and i hope

* "A Discourse of the Manner of the Discovery of the late intended Treason," etc. Published officially. Reprinted in "Harleian Miscellany."

god will give yowe the grace to mak good use of it to whose holy proteccion i comend yowe." The letter is addressed "To the right honorable the Lord Mowteagle."

There have been many conjectures as to the writer of this extraordinary letter. One probable guess is that Francis Tresham, the brother-in-law of Mounteagle gave him this warning to save his own life, though in such obscure terms as should not lead to discovery of the conspiracy in which Tresham and others of Mounteagle's friends were engaged. Greenway, the Jesuit, whose relation of the plot, although written to exculpate himself and others, contains many curious details, gives in his manuscript what seems "to have been the opinion of the conspirators themselves. They attributed it to Tresham, and suspected a secret understanding between him and Lord Mounteagle, or at least the gentleman who was employed to read the letter at table. They were convinced that Tresham had no sooner given his consent than he repented of it, and sought to break up the plot without betraying his associates." * The circumstances indicate that there was a got-up scene enacted in the house of Lord Mounteagle at Hoxton. The unexpected return of the lord of the house; the page met in the street by a man of tall person; the reading aloud of the letter, which the page had received as one of great importance to be delivered to his master's own hand—these are all suspicious incidents. Whether the visit of Mounteagle to Salisbury, "notwithstanding the lateness and darkness of the night in that season of the year," † was a part of the same well-arranged mystery, may be reasonably doubted. Mr. Jardine says, "Many considerations tend to confirm the truth of Father Greenway's suggestion, that the whole story of the letter was merely a device of the government to cover Tresham's treachery, or, for some other state reason, to conceal the true source from which their information had been derived." ‡ According to Dr. Lingard's account of Greenway's relation, he makes no such suggestion as that "the letter was merely a device of the government." It could have been no object of the government that the conspirators should escape. Thomas Winter, one of those actively concerned in the plot, had been a confidential attendant upon Mounteagle; and Thomas Ward, the man who read the letter aloud at Mounteagle's supper, went the next morning to Winter and urged him to fly. We can understand how Mounteagle might have sought to cover his previous knowledge of the plot by having a letter openly delivered which would convey to him the intimation of some dangerous design; and we can also understand how the very unusual course of causing a letter to be read aloud would have been adopted, that his old friends should have a hint to look after their own safety. But it appears unlikely that Salisbury should have been concerned in a device so calculated to defeat the discovery of some impending danger. It would be unsafe to affirm that the letter sent to Mounteagle gave the first intimation to the government of some imminent peril. A man of the name of Thomas Coe appears to have made a communication to Salisbury which conveyed "the primary intelligence of these late dangerous treasons." He claims this merit in a letter to Salisbury of the 20th of December, in which he says, "My good lord, my writing so obscurely, and entitling my narration by the name of a dream or vision, was occasioned by the reason aforesaid" [a doubt whether his letters might be opened]. "Not that it was a dream or idle fantasy, but such an approved truth as was wrested from a notorious Papist, unto whom I did so far insinuate by private conference that he confessed unto me the whole circumference of this treason, as it is since fallen out." § The administrative ability of Salisbury is shown by the wariness with which he conducted his operations from the moment that Mounteagle came to him from Hoxton on that dark October night. Whether his suspicion was first raised, or whether he had a previous knowledge, his course was unaltered. He made no fuss; he quietly communicated the letter to others of the council; he suffered James to go on with his hunting exercise; and when the king came to London, the secretary, having had the ominous letter six days in his possession, presented it to the king, no other person being present. The official "Discourse" claims for the king the right interpretation of the riddle, "For the danger is passed as soon as you have burnt the letter." If the danger was past so soon as the letter was burnt, argued Salisbury, what was the use of the warning. But the king read the mysterious sentence thus: the danger is to be sudden and quick—the terrible hurts, of which the authors should be unseen, "should be as quickly performed and at an end, as that paper should be a blazing up in the fire." Thence, held the king, according to the "Discourse," it should be "by a blowing up of powder." It was "a divine illumination of the royal mind," said Coke on the trial of the conspirators. Salisbury, according to his own statement, had suggested the same interpretation to several of the council, before the king knew anything of the matter. But Salisbury was too politic not to let the vanity of his master expatiate to his parliament upon his claim to the discovery. It was set forth in the "Discourse" how all inquiry had been postponed by the council, "for the expectation and experience they had of his majesty's fortunate judgment, in clearing and solving obscure riddles and doubtful mysteries." The secretary completely threw the conspirators off their guard, even when they knew that the letter to Mounteagle was in the hands of the vigilant minister. They had conferred upon their danger; but the absence of every indication of alarm or suspicion on the part of the government made them despise the advice which Winter had received from his friend in Mounteagle's household.

On Monday, the 4th of November, the lord chamberlain, whose duty it was to make arrangements for the meeting of parliament, went to the House of Lords, and afterward entered the vaults under the parliament-chamber. Lord Mounteagle was of the party. They observed a large store of coals and wood in a cellar; and standing carelessly there they saw "a very tall and desperate fellow." The lord chamberlain asked who the fuel belonged to; and the man answered that they belonged to his master, Mr. Percy, who had rented the cellar for a year and a half. There were no more questions. But there was a general examination, by the direction of a Westminster magistrate, of neighboring houses and cellars, under a pretence of looking for some missing property belonging to the royal wardrobe. The "tall and desperate fellow" was not yet frightened from his purpose. A little before midnight on the eve of the 5th of November the same magistrate, with a strong body of attendants, repaired to the cellar under the parliament-house. A man just stepping out of the door was seized and searched. Slow matches and touchwood were found upon him; and a lantern, with a light within its dark covering, was in the cellar. The heaps of billets were quickly removed, and beneath them were thirty-six barrels of gunpowder.

It is one o'clock in the morning. The prisoner is led to Whitehall. A council is hastily assembled in the king's bed-chamber. The resolute man is beset with hurried interrogatories by king and peers. His name, he says, is John Johnson: he is a servant of Thomas Percy; if he had not been apprehended that night, he had blown up the parliament house, when the king, peers, bishops, and others had been assembled. "Why would you have killed me?" asks the king. "Because you are excommunicated by the pope," is the reply. "How so?" said James. "Every Maundy Thursday the pope doth excommunicate all heretics, who are not of the Church of Rome," is the explanation. He is asked who were privy to the conspiracy, and answers, "he could not resolve to accuse any." The night was passed in the examination of the prisoner; but nothing could be obtained from him that could commit his accomplices. In the morning he was taken to the Tower.

That morning of the 5th of November was a time of deep anxiety in London. The news of a conspiracy so daring in its objects, so mysterious in its origin, so terrible in its remorseless fanaticism, filled all classes with alarm. It was scarcely possible to exaggerate the consequences of a plot which threatened to involve the whole machinery of government in one indiscriminate destruction. Two of the conspirators had left London on the 4th. Two others fled the instant they knew that the pretended servant of Percy was seized. Two more lingered till the morning. Five of these joined company on their road to Ashby St. Legers, in Northamptonshire, all riding with extraordinary speed, having relays of horses. It had been arranged that a general rendezvous should take place at Dunchurch, on the 5th of November, after the great act of vengeance should have been ac-

* Dr. Lingard's "History," vol. ix. p. 69, 8vo ed. Dr. Lingard brought Greenway's MS. from Rome, and first made it known in his "History."

† "Discourse," etc.

‡ "Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot," 1857. This admirable narrative is an expanded and corrected republication of Mr. Jardine's Introduction to "Criminal Trials," vol. ii.

§ Lodge, "Illustrations," vol. iii. p. 301.

complished in London. Toward that place various bodies of Roman Catholics were moving on the appointed day; some being cognizant of a design against the government, but few having been intrusted with the secrets of the leaders. A party was collected on the 5th at the house of Lady Catesby, at Ashby St. Legers. They were at supper when the five who had fled from London rushed in, covered with the mire of the wintry roads, exhausted, hopeless. They had little to think of now but self-defence. Taking with them all the arms they could collect, they rode off to Dunchurch. Here they found a large assembly, with Sir Everard Digby at their head, carousing, and anxiously expecting some joyful intelligence of the triumphs of their party, which they had been led to anticipate by vague hints of a coming time when heresy should no longer sit in high places. The ill-concealed fears, the pale looks, the secret whisperings of the friends who had ridden so hard to join them, told another tale. The instinct with which those who, with a half-confidence, are to be made the instruments of conspiracy fly from their leaders at the first approach of detection, was now in full operation. Those who came with numerous retainers to the great chase on Dunmore heath, which was to be a gathering for more important objects than the hunting of the deer, gradually slunk away. On that night the chief conspirators were left alone. Let us now see who were the principal actors in this perilous enterprise, and how they had been occupied for many months before the fatal fifth of November.

Robert Catesby, the only son of Sir William Catesby, who in the time of Elizabeth passed from the Protestant faith to the Roman Catholic, and whose mother was a sister of Thomas Throckmorton, also a most determined recusant, was imbued with a more than common hatred to the established religion. He was concerned in the insurrection of Essex, but was pardoned upon paying a fine of £3000; and he was prominent in other seditions during the two latter years of the queen's reign. Thomas Winter was of a Roman Catholic family, who were connected by marriage with the family of Catesby; and he also had been occupied with plots, and had been in Spain to negotiate for the invasion of England by a Spanish force, in 1601. John Wright was a pervert from Protestantism, and he had also been engaged in the treason of Essex. These men were old and intimate friends; and these "three first devised the plot, and were the chief directors of all the particularities of it," as their principal associate declared in one of his examinations. He who stated this, on the 19th of November, was the "tall and desperate fellow" who called himself John Johnson, and refused when brought to Whitehall on the 5th, to declare any who were privy to the design which he so boldly avowed. He had been compelled to disclose his real name by a hateful process; for on the 6th of November the king proposed a number of interrogatories to be put to the prisoner, concluding thus: "The gentler tortures are to be first used unto him, *et sic per gradus ad ima tenditur:*" [and so proceed by steps to the extremest.] This recommendation produced its effect; as we may learn from the signature of Guido Fawkes to his examination before the torture, and his signature to an examination after the torture. He was the son of a notary of York, who was Registrar of the Consistory Court of the Cathedral, and he was brought up as a Protestant at the free school there. He became, however, a zealous Papist; and, having served in the Spanish army in Flanders, acquired some of the Spanish notions of the Christian treatment by which heresy was to be extirpated. Guido Fawkes and Thomas Winter came to London together in 1604; and a few days after there was a remarkable meeting between Catesby, Wright, Winter, Fawkes, and a new malcontent, Thomas Percy, a relation of the earl of Northumberland. From the time of this meeting, at which the first words which Percy uttered, were "Shall we always, gentlemen, talk, and never do anything?"—there was abundant work, and very hard work, for these five fanatics.

The confession of Thomas Winter, on the 23d of November, is a very elaborate paper, minutely detailing the rise and progress of the conspiracy. It is perfectly consistent in its details with the facts derived from other sources; and altogether presents so vivid a picture of the energy and perseverance of these misguided men that we shall use occasionally its exact words in detailing their proceedings after they were solemnly banded together in their dangerous enterprise. They gave each other an oath of secrecy, "in a chamber where no other body was;" and, going "into the next room heard mass, and received the blessed sacrament upon the same." The object for which the oath was taken was then disclosed by Catesby to Percy, and by Winter and Wright to Fawkes. In the State Paper Office there is an agreement between Thomas Percy and Henry Ferrers for the hire of a house next the parliament-house. It is dated, May 24th, 1604, and is indorsed by Salisbury. "The bargain between Ferrers and Percy for the bloody cellar, found in Winter's lodging."* Eighteen months were these five men carrying their terrible secret close in their bosoms; imparting it to very few others; never doubting their own unaided power to produce a revolution by one stunning blow; and, from the very nature of the means they employed, exposed to detection at every step. "The bloody cellar" was not under the parliament chamber. They saw no chance of preparing a mine beneath that chamber, but by breaking through the massive foundation wall of the House of Lords. Fawkes received the keys of the house next the parliament-house; and they were ready for their work previous to the expected meeting of parliament. But the parliament was again prorogued to February, 1605; so they departed to the country for awhile. They then took another house at Lambeth, "where," says Winter, "we might make provision of powder and wood for the mine, which being there made ready, should in a night be conveyed by boat to the house by the parliament, because we were loth to foil that with often going in and out." The charge of this Lambeth house was given to Robert Keyes, who, although sworn as a member of the confederacy, appears to have been received "as a trusty honest man," who was ready to earn money for his services. At the beginning of Michaelmas term, 1604, Fawkes and Winter conferred with Catesby in the country, and they agreed "that now was the time to begin and set things in order for the mine." Percy's house was wanted for a meeting of the Commissioners for the Scotch Union. It was an official house; and Percy, its temporary tenant, was obliged to defer his unsuspected proceedings. Percy held the office of a Gentleman-Pensioner, which may account for the absence of all suspicion as to his objects. The conferences of the commissioners were ended a fortnight before Christmas; and then other labors were commenced in right earnest within those walls. Percy and Wright now joined Catesby, Winter, and Fawkes; "and we," says Winter, "against their coming, had provided a good part of the powder; so as we all five entered with tools fit to begin our work, having provided ourselves with baked meats, the less to need sending abroad. We entered late in the night." They had to get through a stone wall three yards in thickness. Their labor was far beyond what they had expected; and they sent to Lambeth for Keyes, and obtained the adhesion to their plot of Christopher Wright, the brother of John. Fawkes, with the boldness which characterized him, vindicated himself and his associates from the belief that they were men of low birth and mean employments, to whom such toil was habitual; but that they were "gentlemen of name and blood." In his examination of the 8th of November he says, "Not any was employed in or about this action, no, not so much as in digging or mining, that was not a gentleman. And while the others wrought, I stood a sentinel to descry any man that came near; and when any man came near to the place, upon warning given by me, they ceased until they had again notice from me to proceed. All we seven lay in the house, and had shot and powder; being resolved to die in that place before we should yield or be taken." Father Greenway expresses his surprise that men delicately nurtured should, in a short space of time, have accomplished far more rough work than men who had been bred to laborious occupation would have accomplished. They were enthusiasts. They had little sense of fatigue, in the confidence that they were engaged in a holy work to which they were called by the immediate voice of Heaven. Whether they were driven on their desperate course by those who claimed to be interpreters of the divine voice must remain to some extent a matter of doubt. They were all followers of the Jesuits. There were none of the conspirators who belonged to the more loyal body of Catholics who were guided by the secular priesthood. The Jesuit missionaries were, at this period, hiding in the secret chambers of old manor-houses to avoid expulsion from the kingdom. But if these seven gentlemen who worked in the mine had been bound together in their atrocious purpose by those who ruled

* Mrs. Green's "Calendar of State Papers," p. 113.

over their consciences, they were at least faithful to their secret advisers. As they worked, they beguiled the time by discoursing about what should be their first proceeding when they had accomplished the sweeping destruction of all the estates of the realm. They were to carry off Prince Charles, and his sister Elizabeth, Prince Henry having perished with the king. They were then to proclaim the heir-apparent, and appoint a protector of the kingdom, during the minority of the sovereign. They were to ask help of foreign princes, when "the business was acted." What next they were to do with a state so "out of joint," was not manifest. They were sometimes beset with superstitious fears. They heard a sound from the middle of the wall, as of a tinkling bell. It was an unearthly sound, and was heard no more when holy water had been sprinkled again and again. They did not resume their labors till February, 1605, having learned that parliament was to be again prorogued. But now their plan of operations was changed. They had "wrought also another fortnight in the mine against the stone wall, which was very hard to beat through," when they heard a rushing noise above their heads. Fawkes, always foremost in any danger, went to ascertain the cause, in his usual disguise of a porter's frock. He found that above the spot where they had been mining was a cellar in the occupation of a coal-dealer, and that he was moving his coals, being about to give up possession. That cellar was immediately under the parliament chamber. They seized upon the opportunity. The cellar was hired, and was quickly filled with barrels of gunpowder, covered over with fagots and billets. In May all their stores were carried in, and, locking the cellar, they departed from London. Fawkes went to Flanders to see if any foreign plotting looked promising. Catesby employed the summer in raising a troop of horse, for service in Flanders, as a part of an English regiment levied by the Spanish ambassador. This troop was officered by Catesby's immediate friends. The conspiracy widened by the introduction to its secrets of Sir Everard Digby, Ambrose Rookwood, and Francis Tresham. Digby was only twenty-four years of age, and was evidently a weak tool of the Jesuits, whom he secreted in his house. "He cordially joined in the project from religious zeal, as soon as he satisfied himself that the action had been approved by his spiritual advisers."* Rookwood was also a young man, who had been repeatedly prosecuted for harboring priests in his house. He had scruples about joining in so extensive a scheme of slaughter, saying, "it was a matter of conscience to take away so much blood;" but Catesby silenced him by saying, "it had been resolved on good authority that in conscience it might be done." Tresham and Catesby were cousins. Tresham had taken a prominent part in the Essex conspiracy, and he very narrowly escaped arraignment and execution; for it was he who kept guard over the Lord Keeper in Essex House, and told him that having stayed two years for a motion in Chancery, he hoped his lordship would now be at leisure to hear him. We have seen how Tresham was suspected to have been the author of the letter to Lord Mounteagle; and it appears that Catesby had great misgivings of the success of his scheme from the time that Tresham became possessed of its perilous secret.

We now resume our narrative from the point at which we left the bewildered conspirators at Dunchurch, after the seizure of Fawkes. The timid adherents to some vague plan of revolt having departed, and left the bolder spirits to their own resolves, these daring confederates determined at once to march with their armed retainers, in the hope to excite a general insurrection of Roman Catholics in the midland counties and in Wales. They set out from Dunchurch at ten o'clock on that same night of the 5th, having dispatched a letter to the Jesuit Garnet, who was in the neighborhood with Sir Everard Digby's family. They marched through Warwick, where they helped themselves to horses, on to Alcester; and having seized some armor at Lord Windsor's, on Wednesday night they had reached Holbeach, the house of Stephen Littleton, one of their friends. Their numbers were gradually diminished by desertion. Not one man joined them. The Roman Catholic party saw that the odious enterprise would long retard any hope of toleration from the government. The conspirators were pursued by the sheriff of Worcestershire with his *posse comitatus*. Digby fled from them at Holbeach, and was seized at Dudley; for the hue and cry had gone through the country. Those who remained at Holbeach prepared to defend the house against assault. An accidental circumstance filled them with terrible forebodings—a circumstance which Coke cleverly alluded to, upon the trial of Fawkes and others, as an exemplification of the principle that there is no law more just than that the wicked should perish by their own acts: "Observe," he said, "a miraculous accident which befell in Stephen Littleton's house called Holbeach, in Staffordshire, after these traitors had been two days in open rebellion, immediately before their apprehension; for some of them standing by the fireside, and having set two pounds and a half of powder to dry in a platter before the fire, and underset the said platter with a great linen bag full of other powder, containing some fifteen or sixteen pounds, it so fell out, that one coming to put more wood into the fire, and casting it on, there flew a coal into the platter, by reason whereof the powder taking fire and blowing up, scorched those who were nearest, as Catesby, Grant, and Rookwood, and blew up the roof of the house; and the linen bag, which was set under the platter, being therewith suddenly carried out through the breach, fell down in the court-yard whole and unfired, which if it had taken fire in the room, would have slain them all there, so that they never should have come to this trial; and *Lex justior nulla est, quam necis artifices arte perire suâ.*"* This explosion of gunpowder was regarded even by the boldest of these men as a token that God was against them. But the next day, when the sheriff arrived and summoned them to surrender, the few who remained determined upon resistance. Thomas Winter was not present when the gunpowder exploded. Stephen Littleton then fled, having asked Winter to fly with him; but Winter, who supposed that Catesby was killed by the accident, said he would see the body of his friend, and bury him before he left. Winter tells the remainder of the story with expressive brevity: "When I came I found Mr. Catesby reasonable well, Mr. Percy, both the Wrights, Mr. Rookwood, and Mr. Grant. I asked them 'what they resolved to do.' They answered, 'We mean here to die.' I said again, 'I would take such part as they did.' About eleven of the clock came the company to beset the house, and, as I walked into the court, I was shot into the shoulder, which lost me the use of my arm; the next shot was the elder Wright struck dead; after him the younger Mr. Wright; and fourthly, Ambrose Rookwood. Then said Mr. Catesby to me (standing before the door they were to enter), 'Stand by me, Tom, and we will die together.' 'Sir,' quoth I, 'I have lost the use of my right arm, and I fear that will cause me to be taken.' So, as we stood close together, Mr. Catesby, Mr. Percy, and myself, they two were shot, as far as I could guess, with one bullet, and then the company entered upon me, hurt me in the belly with a pike, and gave me other wounds, until one came behind, and caught hold of both my arms."

Previous to the trial of the principal conspirators who remained alive, there had been twenty-three days occupied in various examinations, during which the general progress of the conspiracy had been slowly extracted from the confessions of the prisoners. Tresham, who is supposed to have been instrumental in discovering the plot to the government, was not arrested till the 12th of November, although Fawkes had distinctly mentioned him as one concerned. He died in the Tower before the trial. In postponing the trial, it was the great object of the government to obtain evidence that would inculpate the Jesuit missionaries. All the conspirators, with the exception of Thomas Bates, a servant of Catesby, persisted in denying the privity of the Jesuits to the enterprise. The alarm which was felt at the revelation of a treason which contemplated such awful consequences was universal; and thus we may understand how Ben Jonson, a person who, although a writer of masques for the court, was of a sturdy and independent character, appears to have lent himself to the government in what we may regard as the odious function of a spy. There is a letter in the State Paper Office, bearing date the 8th of November, addressed by the poet to Salisbury, in which he says, "There hath been no want in me, either of labor or sincerity, in the discharge of this business, to the satisfaction of your lordship, or the state." Upon the first mention of it the day before, he had consulted the chaplain of the Venetian ambassador, who, he says, "not only apprehended it well, but was of mind with me, that no man of con-

* Mr. Jardine refers to Digby's letters, published in 1678, as evidence of this.

* "Criminal Trials," vol. ii. p. 135.

science, or any indifferent lover of his country, would deny to do it." The chaplain had recommended a fitting person to assist in the "business," but he could not be found. Jonson had made attempts in other places, but could speak with no one in person, "all being either removed or so concealed upon the present mischief." In the "second means" which he had employed he had "received answers of doubt and difficulties, that they will make it a question to the archpriest, with other such like suspensions." The dramatist was himself at this time a Roman Catholic.* Not believing him to have been altogether in the position of a vile informer and betrayer, we are inclined to think that he was doing what other Roman Catholics were doing—assisting in the discovery of a conspiracy which the greater number of their persuasion repudiated. There was a broad line of separation between the disciples of the Jesuits and the majority of Catholics, who lived under the more quiet guidance of the ordinary priests. Jonson was clearly endeavoring to get at some secrets which would remove from the great body of the Catholics the odium which attached to the supposed movers of this conspiracy. "For myself," he says, "if I had been a priest, I would have put on wings to such an occasion, and have thought it no adventure, where I might have done (besides his majesty and my country) all Christianity so good service." The plot was offensive to him, as it was to many others of the Romish Church, upon religious and political grounds. It was opposed to every feeling of justice and humanity. When Jonson says, "I think they are all so enweaved in it, as it will make five hundred gentlemen less of the religion within this week, if they carry their understanding about them," we hold him to mean that those Catholics who exercised their understanding would turn from a religion whose priest-led fanatics were ready to commit such an abominable crime.† We take the poet's case to be an illustration of a very general tone of feeling among the moderate Papists; who, whatever might be their grievances, did not see their way to redress in casting aside all love of country, and all regard for religion, by being neutral and indifferent at a time when such a fearful mystery was suddenly brought to light.

The trial of Robert and Thomas Winter, Guido Fawkes, John Grant, Ambrose Rookwood, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates, took place in Westminster Hall, on the 27th of January, 1606, before a Special Commission. They all pleaded "not guilty," although each of them had been brought to acknowledge the chief facts set forth in the indictment. Fawkes was asked by the Lord Chief Justice how he could deny the indictment, having been actually taken in the cellar with the powder. The report of the trial makes him say, that he had done so because there were certain conferences mentioned in the indictment which he knew not of. Eudæmon Jones, who published an apology for Garnet the Jesuit, declares that what Fawkes said went much farther: that he stated that "none of them meant to deny that which they had not only voluntarily confessed before, but which was quite notorious throughout the realm. But this indictment," he added, "contains many other matters, which we neither can or ought to countenance by our assent or silence. It is true that all of us were actors in this plot, but it is false that the holy fathers had any part in it. We never conferred with them about the matter."‡ In the indictment, Henry Garnet, clerk, of the profession of Jesuits, otherwise called Henry Walley; Oswald Tesmond, otherwise called Oswald Greenway and Oswald Fermour, of the aforesaid profession; and John Gerrard, otherwise called John Brooke, also of the same profession, are included as principals with the other conspirators. A proclamation was issued for their apprehension on the fifteenth of January. Tesmond, more commonly mentioned as Greenway, and Gerrard, escaped beyond sea. It is unnecessary for us to dwell upon the trial of Fawkes and the others. They were necessarily condemned, and sentenced to the penalties of treason. Sir Everard Digby was tried and found guilty at Northampton. They were all executed on the Thursday and Friday following the 27th of January. There appears very sufficient evidence that some of the prisoners believed to the last that their project was not a sinful one. Sir Everard Digby wrote to his wife, "If I had thought there had been the least sin in it, I would not have been of it for all the world, and no other cause drew me to hazard my fortune and life, but zeal for God's religion." Such was the fanaticism of Digby, a man of no great force of character, but amiable, and just in his domestic relations. When we look at the unswerving fidelity of these men to each other, their undoubted confidence of success, their utter blindness to the awful consequences of their scheme, we can scarcely doubt that they were all working together under a strong delusion, gradually taking a firm hold upon their minds through some external influence of the most powerful nature. Grant is reported to have said on the day of his execution, "I rely entirely upon my merits in bearing a part of that noble action, as an abundant satisfaction and expiation for all sins committed by me during the rest of my life." But Digby, who at first thought there was not the least sin in that action, adds, in the letter to his wife, "But when I heard that Catholics and priests thought it should be a great sin that should be the cause of my end, it called my conscience in doubt of my very best actions and intentions." The great body of Roman Catholics, we may well believe, were free from such a horrible delusion. The trial of Henry Garnet, the superior of the Jesuits in England, which we shall now have briefly to notice, does not quite settle the question of the complicity of "the holy fathers;" but it leaves very little doubt of the principles upon which they acted.

Henry Garnet, an Englishman, educated at Winchester, became a member of the Society of Jesus in 1575. In 1586 he was appointed to the mission of the Society in England, and in 1588 he became Superior of the Jesuits here. An accomplished scholar, of mild demeanor and gentle nature, he exercised great influence among the most devoted adherents to the ancient faith. In September, 1605, a remarkable pilgrimage, under the conduct of Garnet, was undertaken by a party of Roman Catholics to St. Winifred's Well, in Flintshire. Anne Vaux, a daughter of Lord Vaux, was among the most devoted followers of the fascinating Jesuit; and she, with the wife of Sir Everard Digby, the wife of Ambrose Rookwood, and other ladies, walked barefoot on a part of the road to the holy fountain. Rookwood himself was among the pilgrims; and in their long progress from Digby's house in Buckinghamshire they rested at the houses of John Grant and Robert Winter. The time of the pilgrimage, the persons associated in it, and its suggestion by Garnet, render it difficult to believe that the smooth Jesuit would not have found many an opportunity during this fortnight's adventure to suggest the holiest precepts of the duty of hazarding life and fortune "for God's cause." On the 29th of October Garnet moved with Lady Digby and her family to Sir Everard's house at Coughton, near the place of general rendezvous appointed for the 5th of November. Here he received the letter from Digby and Catesby announcing the failure of the great business. In December he was conducted by Oldcorne, otherwise Hall, a Jesuit, to Hendlip House, near Worcester. Here he remained concealed before and after the proclamation against him. On the 20th of January, 1606, Sir Henry Bromley, a magistrate, arrived at Hendlip House, with a commission to search the mansion. That house was full of secret apartments, which had been constructed by Thomas Abington, a devoted recusant. There were staircases concealed in the walls, hiding-places in chimneys, trapdoors, double wainscots. On the fourth day after the arrival of the magistrate two men were forced from their concealment by hunger and cold. They were the servants of the two priests. On the eighth day an opening had been found to the cell where Garnet and Oldcorne were hidden. They had been fed through a reed with broths and warm drinks; the reed being inserted in an aperture in a chimney of a gentlewoman's chamber, that backed another chimney of their secret room. Garnet after being taken was kindly used. He was examined before the Privy Council on the 13th of February, and the examination was often repeated. But no blandishments and no threats could induce him to confess his participation in the plot. He was not subjected to torture, although his unfortunate companion,

* In his Conversations with Drummond, he says that when he was imprisoned for killing his adversary in a duel (which was in 1598), "then took he his religion by trust of a friend who visited him in prison. Thereafter he was twelve years a papist." Drummond's Notes, published by Shakespeare Society, p. 19.

† The letter from Jonson is noticed in Mrs. Green's "Calendar of State Papers;" and in a review of that book, in the "Athenæum" of August 15th, 1857, the document is given in full.

‡ See Jardine's "Criminal Trials," vol. ii. p. 120. Mr. Jardine was the first to publish any satisfactory report of this trial, and of that of Garnet, by giving the original evidence as far as it could be ascertained. We regret that in his excellent "Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot" these reports are not given.

Oldcorne, and the two servants, appear to have been cruelly treated. One of these, Owen, died by his own hand in dread of a second infliction of the accursed instruments which lawyers and statesmen were not ashamed to employ in their blind zeal for the discovery of treason. Evidence of some kind against Garnet was at last obtained, by a pretended kindness of his keeper, who told him that by opening a concealed door in his cell he might confer with his fellow-prisoner, Oldcorne. Two persons were so placed that they could hear the greater part of whatever words were exchanged. There were several of these conferences between the two Jesuits, and their conversations were taken down, and submitted to the council. The facts which they revealed certainly indicated that Garnet had a knowledge of the general scope of the plot, and that in these conferences he made no attempt to deny the truth of the accusation that he had such knowledge. When pressed upon these points he boldly asserted that he had never had any speech or conference with his fellow-prisoner. Oldcorne had admitted the fact; and Garnet at length acknowledged it, justifying his previous untruth upon the principle that no man was bound to criminate himself until the charge against him was otherwise proved. He at length acknowledged that the design of blowing up the House of Parliament on the first day of the session had been revealed to him by Greenway, who had received it in confession from Catesby and Wright. He maintained, however, that he had endeavored to turn Catesby from his purpose. The trial of Garnet took place on the 28th of March. He defended himself with ability and courage; in which, though acknowledging "that he had done more than he could excuse by law in having concealed his privity to the design," he maintained "that he had acted upon a conscientious persuasion that he was bound to disclose nothing that he had heard in sacramental confession." He was found guilty, and received the usual sentence for treason. After his condemnation his examinations were renewed. He was condemned on the 28th of March, and was not executed till the 3d of May. Oldcorne had been tried at Worcester, and was executed on the 7th of April. Dr. Lingard is of opinion that Garnet's defence had made a favorable impression on the mind of the king, and that his avowals on the subject of equivocation, after his trial, led to his execution. His general principles had been thus expressed in a paper written before his trial: "Concerning equivocation, this is my opinion: In moral affairs, and in the common intercourse of life, when the truth is asked among friends, it is not lawful to use equivocation, for that would cause great mischief in society—wherefore in such cases there is no place for equivocation. But in cases where it becomes necessary to an individual for his defence, or for avoiding any injustice or loss, or for obtaining any important advantage, without danger or mischief to any other person, there equivocation is lawful." In an examination after the trial he goes farther, and holds that an oath might be lawfully used to confirm a simple equivocation: "This, I acknowledge to be, according to my opinion and the opinion of the schoolmen: and our reason is, for that in cases of lawful equivocation, the speech by equivocation being saved from a lie, the same speech may be without perjury confirmed by oath, or by any other usual way, though it were by receiving the sacrament, if just necessity so require." Dr. Lingard, with a candor very different from some apologies for Garnet and his doctrines which were put forth in past times, says, "The man who maintained such opinions could not reasonably complain if the king refused credit to his asseverations of innocence, and permitted the law to take its course." Garnet's opinions were not shared by the majority of the Roman Catholics even in his own day; any more than the same body in general approved of the murderous project in which Catesby and his associates were involved. During the struggles between the two churches in the seventeenth century, the Gunpowder Treason was the standing argument for denying liberty of conscience to our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects. Its traditions lingered through the eighteenth century, to support the same oppression in a mitigated form. They now scarcely survive even in popular prejudice; for, combined with the spread of knowledge has grown up a spirit of charity and justice, in the prevalence of which the state, having ceased to persecute or to exclude for religious opinions, has nothing to fear from the fanatic or the casuist.

CHAPTER LXXXII.

Parliament of 1606—Statutes against Papists—Game Laws—Manners of the Court—Lavishness of James upon his favorites—Feudal aid—Impositions upon merchandise—First settlement in Virginia—Progress of the colony—Settlement of the Pilgrim Fathers in Massachusetts—Charter of the East India Company—First factory at Surat—The Mogul rulers of Hindostan—Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe—Dissolution of the Parliament—Murder of Henry IV. of France—Authorized translation of the Bible—Ireland—Plantation of Ulster—Creation of Baronets—The New River—Increase of London.

The parliament which was to have met on the 5th of November, 1605, was necessarily prorogued to a later period. It assembled on the 21st of January, 1606. It was scarcely to be expected that the discovery of a conspiracy so atrocious as that of the Gunpowder project should have induced a parliament, becoming more and more Puritan, to deal with the Papists in a spirit of toleration. To the previous severities of the penal code were added various penalties which touched convicted recusants in their domestic and private relations. All Roman Catholics who had been convicted of recusancy, and all who had not received the sacrament twice in twelve months in a Protestant church, were also required to take an oath of allegiance. In this oath the pretended power of the pope to absolve subjects from their obedience was to be expressly renounced; and the Roman Catholic was further to swear that he, from his heart, abhorred, detested, and abjured, as impious and heretical, "the damnable doctrine and position that princes excommunicated or deprived by the pope may be deposed or murdered by their subjects." Looking at the history of the country from the time of the Reformation, it can scarcely be maintained that such an oath was unreasonable. The secular priests in England recommended their brethren so to declare their allegiance. The papal court issued a breve to forbid such a renunciation of the deposing power. Cardinal Bellarmine wrote a book to prove the unlawfulness of the oath. King James, never more happy than when engaged in a theological controversy, published An Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance; "by which," says Mr. Hallam, "he incurred the contempt of foreign courts and of all judicious men." In spite of the threatenings of the pope and the sophistries of the cardinal, many of the Catholic clergy, and all the Catholic peers with one exception, accepted this test of their obedience to the civil government.

In this session an act was passed "against unlawful hunting and stealing of deer and conies;" which states that, through the insufficiency of previous statutes, "many riots, manslaughters, mischiefs, and other inconveniences have been daily committed, and are like to be committed, if circumspect remedy be not hereunto provided."* There was to be fine and imprisonment for those who took or chased game in any grounds without the consent of the owner; and, what must have been a frequent cause of riots and manslaughters, qualified persons, having lands of the clear annual value of 100*l.*, were empowered to seize all guns and sporting implements from unqualified persons, the qualification being as high as 40*l.* a year. Evils enough have resulted from a harsh administration of the game laws in our own times; but such a distinction as this law of James made between the great proprietor and the substantial yeoman must have been as odious as it was impracticable. England had now got a sporting king, who told his ministers, when they implored him on their knees to attend to the public business, that his health was the health and welfare of all, and that he never would forego his exercise and relaxation. His brother-in-law, Christian IV., king of Denmark, came over to England in July, 1606; and James, having received a liberal subsidy from the parliament, indulged in every species of disgusting excess, in which the royal example was so encouraging that, writes Harrington, "the ladies abandon their sobriety, and are seen to roll about in intoxication."† He adds, "I will now, in good sooth, declare to you, who will not blab, that the gunpowder fright is got out of all our heads, and we are going on hereabouts, as if the devil was contriving every man should blow himself up, by wild riot, excess, and devastation of time and temperance." The next session an act was passed "for repressing the odious vice of drunkenness;" which vice it describes as

* 3 Jac. I. c. 13.

† "Nugæ Antiquæ," vol. i. p. 349.

"the overthrow of many good arts and manual trades, the disabling of divers workmen, and the general impoverishing of many good subjects."* The statute was directed against the sins of the humble. James and his profligate court had to bear a severer penalty than the fine of five shillings to be levied on a convicted drunkard. They had to bear the open exhibition of their follies on the public stage, and the growing contempt of the great body of English gentlemen, such as Harrington, who writes: "I have passed much time in seeing the royal sports of hunting and hawking, where the manners were such as made me devise the beasts were pursuing the sober creation, and not man in quest of exercise or food." Such were the royal sports of Theobalds, where Salisbury was entertaining the two kings; and where King James, according to another authority, got so drunk with King Christian that his Britannic majesty was obliged to be carried to bed. Salisbury, in another year or two, had made a provident exchange with the king, of Theobalds for Hatfield; and Theobalds became the favorite residence of James, where he dissipated his hereditary revenues, aided by occasional taxation; keeping sometimes a decent state with his family, but more frequently listening to the ribaldry of unworthy favorites, beating his servants, and swearing and cursing habitually, in spite of the statute under which common people could not have that diversion without paying twelve pence to the relief of the poor.†

Although King James was intensely devoted to his favorite sports, exhibiting himself in Waltham Forest, and in other royal chases, leading his dogs in a grass-green hunting suit, and blowing his hunting horn with the lungs of a gamekeeper—although he was sometimes lying in bed the whole day, overgorged with the delicacies of the table, and filled with strong wine—he found time for more intellectual pursuits, and among other strange literary performances wrote his famous "Counterblast to Tobacco." He hated the tobacco-smokers as intensely as he hated the Puritans; but nevertheless both the tobacco-consumers and the Puritans went on increasing. His dislike of the Indian weed was probably diminished as he found that it brought a considerable accession to his revenue; for, in addition to his own inordinate expenses, the sums which he bestowed upon his minions would appear incredible if their amount did not rest upon the most trustworthy authority. His early favorites were needy Scotsmen who had followed the court to England. His folly in this costly favoritism provoked the indignation of the House of Commons, and was one of the main causes that his laudable anxiety for a perfect union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland was constantly defeated. In 1607 James delivered a speech to the parliament for hastening the union—sensible in many points—in which he made a sort of apology for these preferences: "For my liberality, I have told you of it heretofore. My three first years were to them [the Scots] as a Christmas. I could not then be miserable. Should I have been oversparing to them, they might have thought Joseph had forgotten his brethren, or that the king had been drunk with his new kingdom."‡ But he also said, "There is none left for whom I mean extraordinary to strain myself." How well he kept his word may be inferred from the riches which were obtained and lavished by Sir James Hay, who was afterward created earl of Carlisle. He was called the Scottish Heliogabalus, and first won the king's favor by giving him "a most strange and costly feast." Clarendon, who was not likely to speak with exaggeration in such a case, has left this character of Hay: "He was surely a man of the greatest expense in his own person of any in the age he lived, and introduced more of that expense in the excess of clothes and diet than any other man; and was indeed the original of all those inventions from which others did but transcribe copies. He had a great universal understanding, and could have taken as much delight in any other way, if he had thought any other as pleasant and worth his care. But he found business was attended with more rivals and vexations, and, he thought, with much less pleasure and not more innocence. He left behind him the reputation of a very fine gentleman and a most accomplished courtier; and, after having spent in a very jovial life above four hundred thousand pounds, which upon a strict computation he received from the crown, he left not a house nor acre of land to be remembered by."§ Robert Carr, afterward earl of Somerset, was another of the brothers of Joseph whom Joseph did not forget. Osborn tells a curious story of the ignorant lavishness of James. He had given Carr an order upon the Lord High Treasurer for twenty thousand pounds; but the treasurer apprehended "that the king was as ignorant of the worth of what was demanded as of the desert of the person who had begged it," and knew "that a pound, upon the Scottish accompt, would not pay for the shoeing of a horse, by which his master might be farther led out of the way of thrift than in his nature he was willing to go." The wise Cecil, according to this story, placed the twenty thousand pounds in specie upon the floor of a room to which the king was coming. "Whose money is this?" said James. "It was your majesty's before you gave it away." The king threw himself upon the heap, and swore that Carr should have no more than a few hundred pounds.

The prodigality of the king was carried to such an extent that the government was precipitated into dangerous courses to find the means of its gratification. According to the practice of the Plantagenets, an aid was asked of the subject when the king's eldest son was knighted. James levied this tax when Prince Henry was created Prince of Wales in 1610. The prince was justly popular; but this tax was paid with great repinings. A custom which belonged to the feudal organization of society was revolting to those who lived under a very different political and social condition. But a more strenuous resistance was made to the imposition of heavy duties on all merchandise, not by authority of parliament, but under the great seal. In the House of Commons the illegality of such impositions was argued with a thorough constitutional knowledge. The king, with his wonted arrogance, commanded the Commons not to enter upon a question which so touched his prerogative. They presented a strong remonstrance, of which the nervous language proclaimed, with a warning voice, that the liberties of England were not to be thus invaded: "The policy and constitution of this your kingdom appropriates unto the kings of this realm, with the assent of the parliament, as well the sovereign power of making laws as that of taxing or imposing upon the subjects' goods or merchandises, as may not, without their consents, be altered or changed. This is the cause that the people of this kingdom, as they ever showed themselves faithful and loving to their kings, and ready to aid them in all their just occasions with voluntary contributions, so have they been ever careful to preserve their own liberties and rights when anything hath been done to prejudice or impeach the same. And therefore, when their princes, occasioned either by their wars or their over-great bounty, or by any other necessity, have without consent of parliament set impositions, either within the land, or upon commodities either exported or imported by the merchants, they have, in open parliament, complained of it, in that it was done without their consents; and thereupon never failed to obtain a speedy and full redress, without any claim made by the kings of any power or prerogative in that point."* The commerce of the country had become an important source of its wealth; and if the king could tax merchandise without the consent of parliament, the one great restraint upon despotic power would soon be swept away. At this period there were two events connected with commerce far more important to the England of the future than in their immediate consequences, which require especial notice—the colonization of North America, and the Charter to the East India Company.

The attempts to colonize North America in the time of Elizabeth had been failures—not from any want of energy or of forethought in the originators and conductors of these great schemes, but as a necessary consequence of the difficulties that must always beset the first settlers in an unknown region. The long voyage by the West Indies and through the Gulf of Florida in vessels of small burden was then attended with real dangers, of which modern navigation has no conception. The adventurers were generally men unaccustomed to labor, and they went to lands where they believed that the fruits of the earth would merely require gathering, as in the golden age, to find that starvation could only be averted by the most incessant toil. Roanoke, the island which Grenville planted under the auspices of Raleigh, had been deserted in 1590; and whether the few colonists had perished, or had been received among the friendly Indian tribes, was always uncertain, although Raleigh had never lost hope of discovering them, while he could reward any mariners for the search. He had spent,

* 4 Jac. I. c. 5. † 3 Jac. I. c. 21.
‡ Cobbett's "Parliamentary History," vol. i. p. 1104.
§ "History of the Rebellion," book i.

* Quoted by Mr. Hallam from the Somers Tracts.

it is said, forty thousand pounds in his noble efforts to plant an English colony on the northern coasts of the New World. He was a state prisoner; he was defrauded of his property by his rapacious sovereign; he was filling his declining years with high contemplation instead of heroic action. But the example of his perseverance survived his misfortunes. The colonization of North America was still the hope of generous statesmen and bold mariners. Voyage after voyage was undertaken. Bartholomew Gosnold, having been the first to cross the Atlantic by a direct course in 1602, discovered the promontory to which he gave no dignified name, Cape Cod; and he laid the foundation of the first New England colony on Elizabeth Island. Martin Pring, in 1603, surveyed the coast of Maine. George Weymouth, in 1605, ascended the western branch of the Penobscot. The undying spirit of enterprise which Raleigh had first fostered received at length some encouragement from the government. In 1606 James granted the first charters for colonizing North America, to a London company, and to a Plymouth company. That same year the London or South Virginia Company sent out three ships, with one hundred and five men who were to remain as settlers. The sagacity of Raleigh had pointed out the Chesapeake Bay as a favorable place of settlement. A storm drove these adventurers into that magnificent anchorage. The two headlands were named Cape Henry and Cape Charles; and having ascended a fine river which they named after their king, they planted their colony in a pleasant spot, and called it James Town.

Newport, the commander of the ships, and John Smith, a man whose name will be ever associated with the colonization of America, ascended the James River, and saw the Indian chieftain, Powhatan. The savages were hostile to the strangers: "the emperor of the country," as Powhatan was styled, protected them. But gradually the colonists, unused to manual labor, perished of want and disease. Newport left for England. Some of the leaders had serious contentions. The evil destiny of Roanoke seemed to be coming on James Town. But Smith, who was endowed with many of the high qualities of the Elizabethan age, rallied the hopes of the dispirited and calmed the jealousies of the quarrelsome. In the winter of 1607 the colonists had secured a supply of food in the abundance of game, and had provided some shelter against the rain and cold. Smith set off upon an expedition to explore the interior. His companions were surprised and butchered by the Indians. He would have perished with them, had not the savages conceived that he was a superior being when he showed them a pocket compass, and told how the wondrous needle always pointed to one quarter. He asked that a letter should be conveyed to James Town; and when it was known that he could so endue a piece of paper with intelligence as to speak to his distant companions from his captivity, he was beheld with superstitious awe. Among the tribes was the daughter of Powhatan, named Pocahontas. This maiden saved the life of the Englishman, who had gained her confidence. She hung upon his neck when the tomahawk was raised to destroy him, and she induced her father to receive him in a strict friendship. When Smith returned to his colony the hundred and five settlers were reduced to forty. Some of these attempted to desert in the pinnace which had been left when Newport sailed to England. The fortitude of Smith never failed. He restored order, and again went forth in the summer of 1608 for new discoveries. In an open boat, with two or three companions, he navigated three thousand miles of the American coasts and rivers. He constructed a map of the country, which is still in existence. He explored the Patapsco and the Potomac. He established a communication with native tribes. He saw the Mohawks, "who dwelt upon a great water, and had many boats and many men." On his return a second body of emigrants came to join the Virginian colony. The London Company required that the ship which brought them should return with gold, or laden with commodities. The settlers had accomplished no accumulations. It had been difficult to preserve their own existence. The company, with the same ignorance of colonial organization which prevailed for two centuries, had thought that the unskilled and the idle, who would starve at home, might prosper in another hemisphere. Smith wrote to the corporation that when they sent again, they should rather send but thirty carpenters, husbandmen, gardeners, fishermen, blacksmiths, masons, and even diggers up of the roots of trees, than a thousand such as had last come out. But still the energy of the man triumphed. He taught the gentlemen the use of the axe and the spade, and industry slowly achieved its rewards. A new charter was granted in 1609. The rage for emigration extended. Other ships arrived, with men of broken fortunes and dissolute gallants. Smith still maintained his authority over the useless members of the community. But he was disabled by an accident, and he returned impoverished and enfeebled to England. When he left there were four hundred and ninety persons in the colony. In six months they were reduced by their idleness and their excesses to sixty. The settlement was about to be abandoned when, in 1610, a new body of emigrants arrived under the leadership of Lord Delaware, who had been appointed governor of Virginia. There was again a glimmering of prosperity; but ill-health compelled the return of the wise governor to England. In 1611 the council at home exerted itself to prevent the great scheme of American colonization from utterly failing; and six ships, with three hundred emigrants and abundant supplies, arrived at James Town, under Sir Thomas Gates. A distribution of land to each emigrant as his private property gave a new stimulus to industry. The colony prospered. Indian tribes submitted to the settlers. Pocahontas, the beautiful girl who had saved the life of Smith, was married to John Rolfe, a young Englishman. After four years the Indian wife and mother sailed with her husband to England; and there she died. It was not in the natural course of God's providence that there should be many such unions. The savage man gradually melted away as the civilized man occupied his forests, and in a few years the race of Powhatan was extinct. The Virginian colony went on to prosper. Its members found more certain riches than mines of gold in the cultivation of tobacco. Their prosperity was confirmed by their free institutions. In 1621 they obtained a representative constitution, in which the object of government was declared to be "the greatest comfort and benefit to the people, and the prevention of injustice grievances, and oppression."

Such were the vicissitudes which attended the first settlement of the Anglo-Saxon race on the North American continent. There was another colony formed fourteen years later, whose planters went to their task in a solemn spirit, which recognized the finger of God pointing the way to a pleasant land where they might enjoy liberty of conscience, and be free from the persecution of the great and the ridicule of the licentious. The congregation of separatists from the Church of England, who, with their pastor John Robinson, had become exiles in Holland in 1608, had thought much of the settlements in North America. They desired to live under the English government, if they could be secure of toleration in the strange land which they desired to colonize. They could obtain no such promise from the government; but they were resolved upon their enterprise. They had obtained a patent from the London Company, and they obtained funds, on very hard terms, from London merchants. They purchased the Speedwell, a vessel of forty tons, and hired the Mayflower, of a hundred and eighty tons. On the 22d of July, 1620, having left some of the brethren at Leyden, they embarked at Delft Haven. Robinson, their pastor, did not accompany them; but he knelt on the shore as the emigrants ascended the decks of the Mayflower, and gave them his blessings and his prayers. This event, so insignificant, as it must have seemed at the time, so all-important in the real history of England, now forms the subject of a fresco in the House of Lords. The Pilgrim Fathers, as they are now affectionately called, reached, after a long and stormy voyage, the northern shores of Virginia in November. Their political constitution was a simple one. Forty-one men, whose families amounted to sixty more persons, formed themselves by deed into a civil body politic, for their better ordering and preservation; and agreed "to enact, constitute, and frame, such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most convenient for the general good of the colony." On the 11th of December an exploring party landed in Massachusetts Bay, at a spot which they afterward determined to call Plymouth. "A grateful posterity has marked the rock which first received their footsteps. The consequences of that day are constantly unfolding themselves as time advances. It was the origin of New England; it was the planting of the New England institutions." *

* Bancroft, "History of the United States," vol. i. p. 313, ed. 1839. In this brief outline of the first colonization of North America, we have followed Mr. Bancroft's lucid narrative.

On the last day of the sixteenth century a charter was granted by Queen Elizabeth to a body of adventurers, styled "The Governor and Company of merchants of London trading to the East Indies." This charter was limited, in its exclusive liberty of trading, to the term of fifteen years; and was to be renewed if the privileges so granted were not found "prejudicial or hurtful to this our realm." A direct commercial intercourse with India had been previously carried on by the Turkey Company; but the maritime trade had been in the possession, first of the Portuguese, and afterward of the Dutch. The English could not compete with these rivals, while the merchandise in which they trafficked was burdened with the heavier cost of an overland route. The trade of England with the East Indies was henceforth to be carried on by sea. During the reign of Elizabeth the success of the new company was very doubtful. Their privileges were invaded by James at the beginning of his reign. But in 1609 their charter was renewed without limitation of time; several voyages were attended with large profits; and in 1612 the Englishman planted his foot in India, having obtained permission from the Great Mogul to establish a factory at Surat. But the prosperity of the company was not generally held to be beneficial to the nation. Camden doubted "whether it be for the real advantage of the kingdom to have such a mass of money exported, and so many men lost yearly in the voyage." The loss of mariners by sickness and the perils of the sea was held to be the main cause of the decay of England's navigation. To the complaint of the heavy money payments for Indian produce it was answered that the country saved in the cost of spices alone, 70,000*l.* a year; and that we exported cloths to the annual value of 14,000*l.* The intercourse with India had its romantic aspects. The power, the magnificence, the unbounded wealth of the Mogul conquerors of Hindostan had long been familiar to the English mind. Thomas Coryat, whom Fuller described, in the household of Prince Henry, as "the courtiers' anvil to try their wits upon," began, in 1608, to satisfy "a very burning desire in him to survey and contemplate some of the choicest parts of this goodly fabric of the world." Having walked over many countries of Europe, and hung up in his parish church as a memorial the one pair of shoes in which he had trudged nine hundred miles, he began a longer march in 1612. He walked from Jerusalem to Agra, the seat of the Great Mogul, having occupied fifteen months in this trip. Being welcomed by the English merchants, he there rode proudly on an elephant, and was represented in his grandeur in his posthumous book. Having obtained an audience of Jehangir, who had succeeded the great Akbar in his mighty sovereignty, the pedestrian, having a competent knowledge of the Persian and other Oriental languages, thus addressed the emperor: "Lord Protector of the world, all hail to you. I am a poor traveller and world-seer, which am come hither from a far country, namely England, which ancient historians thought to have been situated in the farthest bounds of the West, and which is the queen of all the islands in the world. The cause of my coming hither is for four respects. First, to see the blessed face of your majesty, whose wonderful fame hath resounded over all Europe and the Mahometan countries. When I heard of the fame of your majesty, I hastened hither with speed, and travelled very cheerfully to see your glorious court. Secondly, to see your majesty's elephants, which kind of beasts I have not seen in any other country. Thirdly, to see your famous River Ganges, which is the captain of all the rivers of the world. The fourth is this, to entreat your majesty that you would vouchsafe to grant me your gracious pass, that I may travel into the country of Tartaria, to visit the blessed sepulchre of the Lord of the Corners;* whose fame by reason of his wars and victories is published over the whole world: perhaps he is not altogether so famous in his own country of Tartaria as in England." We give this part of the oration of the eccentric traveller to indicate the vague impression which then prevailed in England of the grandeur of the Mogul rulers of India."† "The Lord of the Corners" had become popularly known by Marlowe's famous tragedy of "Tamburlaine the Great." The successors of the shepherd king had achieved a more permanent conquest of Hindostan than the remorseless warrior who, having destroyed Delhi, and carried the terror of his name to the Ganges, was content to recross the Indus in the same year in which he had set out upon his march over the Ghur Mountains from Samarkand. In another century his descendant, Baber, having lost his own inherited dominion, founded a new empire in India. The fourth of that dynasty sat upon the Mogul throne when James granted his charter to the East India Company. In 1615 an English ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe, was sent to the court of Agra; and there he was resident till 1619, a favorite with the Emperor Jehangir, moving about with the jovial ruler, partaking his pleasures, and marvelling at the wealth that presented itself in so many tangible shapes, in the palaces where the disciples of Mohammed ruled as gods over the crouching tribes who lived under the Brahminical law. The ambassador of James came back to tell the story which others had less authoritatively told, of the riches that industry might win in that region of gold and pearls, of silk and ivory. Any project for conquering that region would then have appeared as wild as the scheme of Tamerlane to cut a channel to unite the Mediterranean and the Red Sea,

"That men might quickly sail to India."*

Sir Thomas Roe had looked upon Jehangir riding upon an elephant in the streets of Agra, with a train of "twenty royal elephants for his own ascending, so rich that in precious stones and furniture they braved the sun;" and had marvelled, when "his greatest elephants were brought before him, some of which, being lord elephants, had their chains, bells, and furniture of gold and silver," how "they all bowed down before the king." He had beheld how the emperor's wives, "on their elephants, were carried like parakitoes half a mile behind him;" and he had seen the closed palanquins of the female slaves, borne on men's shoulders, amid crowds of mutes and eunuchs. He had been at the great huntings, where sport assumed the pomp of war—very different from the hunting exercise of James at Royston and Theobalds. He had gazed at the vast cavalcades of armed horsemen, the long files of camels and mules, the thousands of servants, the "numbers numberless" of camp-followers, when the emperor went forth on a progress from one of the imperial cities. More than these barbaric splendors, he had looked upon the old gorgeous palaces of the earlier race of Pathan kings, of whose works it is said, "they built like giants, and finished like goldsmiths."† The palace and mosque of Akbar, near Agra; the mosques and tombs of Delhi; the public buildings in every city where the characteristics of Saracenic and Hindoo architecture were often combined; the tasteful groups of domes and minarets; the open colonnades, the lofty gateways, the terraces—these were works of art rising up amid the rich eastern vegetation which would cause Whitehall and Nonsuch, St. Paul's and the abbey of Westminster, the old wooden houses of Cheapside, and the brick mansions of the Strand, to be remembered as comparatively mean and tasteless. But the contrast must have been almost painful to those who beheld the power and wealth of England represented by a paltry factory at Surat, for the quiet possession even of which her sailors had to fight with the Portuguese. The wildest dream could not have pictured the palaces of the Moguls turned into English arsenals, and their polished marbles and flowered arabesques hidden beneath the whitewash characteristic of English taste.‡ By no prophetic power could it have been imagined by one who, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, had looked upon the glories of the Tartaric emperors, that, before the middle of the eighteenth century, the sovereignty which was to be carried forward under one magnificent ruler to an unequalled height of splendor and prosperity, should then fall to pieces by its own weight, and that many princes of the divided empire should become tributaries to "a company of Christian merchants of a remote island of the Northern sea."§ Even if a partial conquest of the Mogul tyrant and the Hindoo slave had been thought possible by those who had seen how the Spaniard had subdued and exterminated the descendants of the Incas, what enthusiast could have believed that, by the middle of the nineteenth century, the race of the humble settlers of Surat would have obtained a far wider dominion than the greatest of these Moguls;

* The Persian title of Tamerlane—Lord of the Corners of the World.

† Coryat's "Commendations to his friends in England," dated from Agra, 1616, in "The Works of John Taylor, the Water Poet," 1630, p. 81.

* "Tamburlaine," part ii. act v. s. 3.

† Fergusson, "Handbook of Architecture," vol. i. p. 444.

‡ See Mr. Fergusson, book ix. c. 4.

§ Gibbon, chap. lxv.

that not only in their proudest seats, amid the ruined palaces and the deserted mosques of Shah Jehan and Aurungzebe, the native races would have been disciplined in the military arts of Europe, but that they would become the instruments of bringing under one foreign dominion the Afghans and the Sikhs, the Rajpoots and the Mahrattas, who had shaken the foundations of the ancient empire. Who that then had seen how the victim of tyranny had his life trampled out when the despot nodded to his elephant—how the rulers sat under golden canopies and were clothed with jewelled silks, because they had an unlimited command over the property of all the industrious—could have anticipated that a stern justice and a confiding toleration would extinguish the old dominion of robbery and fraud, throughout a region twelve times more extensive than that which the lawgivers inhabited, and six times more populous? If such a dream could have shown how the energy of our race might triumph over disunited barbarism, would not the dreamer wake to ask, Will such a triumph be permanent—will not the Moslem some day reappear in the sanguinary pride of his oppression, and the Hindoo in the blind treachery of his superstition, to proclaim the dangers of an overweening confidence in the might of civilization?

The strong remonstrance of the House of Commons, in 1610, against impositions upon merchandise, was not a solitary act of public spirit. They had stood up, session after session, to protest against the theories of the king that he was absolute; and to make him comprehend that there was a power superior to his arbitrary will. He had issued proclamations which assumed the character of laws; and they told him it was "the indubitable right of the people of this kingdom, not to be made subject to any punishment that shall extend to their lives, lands, bodies, or goods, other than such as are ordained by the common laws of this land, or the statutes made by their common consent in parliament." Whenever the king wanted a subsidy, the Commons immediately preferred a petition for redress of grievances. Cecil had a scheme for making the Crown to a great extent independent of parliament, by proposing that a fixed annual revenue of 200,000*l.* should be granted, on condition that the king should give up the right of purveyance, and the various profits derived from wardships and other branches of ancient prerogative. The session of 1610 was chiefly employed in negotiations for this object, which was termed "the great contract with his majesty;" but nothing had been settled when parliament was prorogued in July. The courtiers thought that the adroitness of Cecil had prevailed over the doubts and suspicions of the Commons. "The little beagle," writes one, "hath run about, and brought the rest of the great hounds to a perfect tune." * When parliament met again in October, the Commons were out of humor. Not a grievance had been redressed, although a temporary subsidy had been granted in the expectation that some of the evils of which they had complained would have been removed or mitigated. In November, James had become tired of the word grievance. He would dissolve parliament. He had been patient, but "he cannot have asinine patience." He was for punishing those members who had uttered offensive speeches, some of which he thought amounted nearly to treason. † The parliament was dissolved on the 9th of February, 1611, after having sat nearly seven years.

In the first session of 1610 the treasurer communicated to the Lords the intelligence of the murder of Henry IV. of France. Cecil said that this king was an assured friend to their sovereign and to this realm; and an especial defence and wall between the reformed religion and its opponents in Christendom. The English minister also told the parliament that Henry, at his death, had a great army in readiness; but Cecil did not divulge what was the intent for which this army was levied. James was not likely to have joined in any martial project against the Spanish power; or even to have seconded Henry's "grand scheme," as it was called, for a great European confederacy that would have put an end to warfare. If money had been wanting for accomplishing that, or any other elevated project, James would have stood aloof. England had now no foreign policy, but that of an almost ignominious neutrality. The cause of Protestantism in Europe, which was at the same time the cause of civil liberty, had lost its great leader when Elizabeth died. The son of Mary Stuart had no opinions but those which resulted from his cowardice or his selfishness. When the reforming ministers lectured him in Scotland, he favored the Papists. While the terrors of the Gunpowder Plot were uppermost in his mind, he was as stanch a Protestant as the sternest Puritan in his parliament. He naturally leaned upon that party in the Church of England which supported his doctrine of absolute power. In his contempt for the opinions of his subjects he thrust episcopacy upon the kirk of Scotland. For the rights of conscience he had not the slightest regard. He exhorted the States of Holland to persecute Vorstius, an Arminian professor at Leyden. In 1612 he signed a writ for the burning in Smithfield of Bartholomew Legate, an Arian, whose errors he had vainly attempted to remove by argument. This writ was not a mere formal instrument, but expressed that, the Church having delivered the offender to the secular power, as a blasphemous heretic, the king, "as a zealot of justice, and a defender of the Catholic faith, and willing to maintain and defend the Holy Church and the rights and liberties of the same," holds that the said Bartholomew Legate "ought to be burned with fire." One other atrocity of the same kind was committed—the last of such barbarities which England witnessed. To the "religious" King James is our present translation of the Bible dedicated. That translation was an excellent work, and it was right to dedicate it to the sovereign who had encouraged the undertaking. But it was in the spirit of that dangerous adulation which hid realities from James, as they were hidden from his successor, that he was told in this dedication that his conduct in going forward "with the confidence and resolution of a man in maintaining the truth of Christ, and propagating it far and near, is that which hath so bound and firmly knit the hearts of all your majesty's loyal and religious people unto you, that your very name is precious among them; their eye doth behold you with comfort, and they bless you in their hearts as that sanctified person, who, under God, is the immediate author of their true happiness." It might be supposed, the king being herein called "the mover and author of this work," that the Bible had not been previously known in England. The translation of 1611 was founded upon the Bishops' Bible of 1568; and that was founded upon Cranmer's Bible; which was founded upon the translations of the Old and New Testament of the earlier reformers—the Tyndale who was burned, and the Wycliffe whose ashes were cast into the Avon. In such a work it was the part of true wisdom to deviate as little as possible from the text with which the people had become familiar, and which their forefathers had devoured when it was dangerous to possess the sacred volume. It does not appear to us an objection to this translation that, "in consequence of the principle of adherence to the original versions which had been kept up ever since the time of Henry VIII., it is not the language of the reign of James I." * Nor is it wholly to be deplored that it abounds "with obsolete phraseology, and with single words long since abandoned, or retained only in familiar use." † It will be a national misfortune if, to get rid of some archaisms in this translation which have ceased to be difficult, the noble simplicity of our Anglo-Saxon tongue—"the tongue which Shakespeare spake"—should yield to the refined Gallicisms of a later period; and if the "obsolete phraseology" of the days of Hooker should be driven out by German idioms and American vulgarities. In this translation, as in every species of contemporary literature, there was no attempt to write down to the understandings of the people. The great preachers at Paul's Cross, in common with the great dramatic poets, employed the most elevated language and the richest imagery, in union with the most homely phrases. If some of their sentences were involved, some of their words unfamiliar, their arguments perplexing in their subtlety, their metaphors beyond the range of ordinary comprehension, the whole tendency of what they uttered was to elevate the minds of their readers. Their doctrine might be abstruse, their illustrations pedantic, but their tone was not cold and passionless. The rudest listener caught something of their excitement; the instructed listener did not retire into his own thoughts, wearied by platitudes and babyisms. The preachers, whether they followed the High-Church archbishop Bancroft, or the Puritan archbishop Abbot, were in earnest. They had great truths to proclaim to all men alike, and they tasked their abilities and their learning to utter them as if they really felt their grandeur and solemnity.

* "Calendar of State Papers." Letter of Sir Roger Aston, p. 625.
† Ibid., p. 646.

* Hallam, "Literature of Europe," vol. iii. p. 134. † Ibid.

Whatever were the differences of opinion in the English Church, and however great the increase of nonconformists, the time for any serious attempt to re-establish Roman Catholicism in England had evidently passed away. It was the same in Scotland. But in Ireland the great bulk of the people still clung to the Roman Catholic worship. At the beginning of the reign of James the people of some cities boldly ejected the Protestant ministers from their churches; and they gave other demonstrations of a general resistance to the statutes of supremacy and uniformity which had been passed in the Irish parliament. They were met by a stricter execution of the laws against recusants and priests, as far as juries could be found to enforce them. In the mean time much had been done to bring the whole of the kingdom under the dominion of one system of law. The king's writ now ran in every part. Old customs which interfered with the administration of justice were abolished. The possession of lands by the chieftains was regulated according to English tenures; and the tenants were relieved from many of the exactions of their lords. The one evil which interfered with the tranquil progress of civilization was the exclusion from civil privileges and offices which the majority had to endure, on account of their faith, at the hands of the minority. The great Irish chieftains, Tyrone and Tyrconnel, had submitted to the government of James, and had been graciously received at the English court. But the alterations in the tenure of lands had interfered with what they considered their territorial rights; and the denial of all toleration to the Roman Catholics had led them to conclude that resistance to the government might once more be attempted. In 1607 they suddenly departed from Ireland, with their families. They had embarked in treasonable schemes which they had no power to carry through. Tyrone became a pensioner of Spain and of the pope, and died in 1616 at Rome. The two earls having been attainted of treason and outlawed, their lands, to the extent of five hundred thousand acres, were forfeited to the crown. It is to the honor of the government of James that this opportunity was judiciously employed in accomplishing what is called "the plantation of Ulster." Extraordinary inducements were held out to English capitalists to settle in the north of Ireland; the corporation of London received large grants of lands in the county of Derry, upon their engagement to spend 20,000*l.* upon the colony, and to build two towns. Hence the cities of Londonderry and Coleraine. The lord deputy, Sir Arthur Chichester, carried through this project with great energy and prudence. The mistake of granting vast tracts to individuals, as in the time of Elizabeth, was not repeated. The allotments were in portions of 2000 acres, 1500 acres, and 1000 acres, the grantees agreeing to build according to their several proportions. The forfeited lands were divided among a hundred and four English and Scots, fifty-six servitors, and two hundred and eighty-six natives. Thus was Ulster to become, but not without its periods of fierce contention and of terrible massacre, the most prosperous and enlightened province of Ireland. Its half a million of acres had offered a precarious existence to a scattered race of half-civilized and marauding natives. It became the seat of agricultural and commercial industry—a model to the rest of Ireland for removing those social evils which were destined for two centuries to press far more heavily upon her than political jealousies or religious disunions.

The plantation of Ulster was a scheme which is attributed to the king and to his able counsellor, Bacon. It soon became mixed up with a manœuvre to put some ready money into the royal treasury, which the sturdy parliament had refused to fill except upon conditions. Sir Antony Shirley, according to the representation of his son to the king, had the merit of inventing a wholesale mode of obtaining supplies by the sale of honors: "My father," he says, "being a man of excellent and working wit, did find out the device of making baronets, which brought to your majesty's coffers well nigh £100,000." A new title of honor, intermediate between a baron and a knight, was to be bestowed upon two hundred gentlemen possessing lands to the yearly value of £1000; and they were each to pay into the treasury for the patent the sum of £1095, being the estimated cost of thirty soldiers to defend the settlers in Ulster for three years. The project took to a certain extent. In ten years ninety-three patents of baronetcy were sold; but the price paid for them was employed in other purposes than the military protection of the new colony.

King James, to award him no more than justice, was favorably disposed to any large enterprise of public improvement; always provided that it offered him a chance of personal gain. We are indebted to him, in some degree, for a benefit which London enjoys to this day—the supply of pure water by the New River. In the third year of the king's reign was passed "An Act for the bringing in of a fresh stream of running water to the North part of the City of London." It was to be brought from the springs of Chadwell and Amwell, in Hertfordshire; and the corporation of London were empowered to execute the work. The corporation in that age—and the character has not absolutely departed from the body—was not very energetic in setting about costly enterprises for the public good. They did not undertake this work themselves; and when a spirited citizen and goldsmith at his own risk engaged in the undertaking—a mighty work in those days and indeed at any time—the corporation refused him any pecuniary aid. James, when Hugh Middleton had spent all his private fortune, covenanted with him to bear half the share of the expense. The work was completed in 1613. Before the opening of the New River, London was supplied with water from the public conduits; and by the water-works at London Bridge, erected in 1582 by Peter Morris, a Dutchman. London in the reign of James was rapidly increasing. Other supplies were needed. The city had become nearly joined to Westminster; which an intelligent writer chiefly attributes to the union with Scotland under the king: "For the Scots, multiplying themselves here mightily, nestled themselves about the court; so that the Strand, from mud walls and thatched houses, came to that perfection of buildings, as now we see."* Yet this metropolis of the seventeenth century was very different from the metropolis of the nineteenth. It was a city whose most crowded thoroughfares were in the neighborhood of pleasant fields. The same writer says, "Go and walk in her fields, you shall see some shooting at long marks, some at butts; some bowling upon dainty pleasant greens." The citizens had only to step out of Moorgate into Finsbury Fields to pursue their archery. The rural occupiers of the "town of St. Giles' in the Fields" were sometimes visited by the urban dwellers of Holborn and the Strand, who went thither to take the air; but the road which led to that village into Holborn, and by Drury Lane, through the growing traffic had become "foul and dangerous to all that pass that way."† The growth of London had been attempted to be repressed by statutory enactments under Elizabeth. James thought to accomplish the same end by proclamations. He said that the new buildings were "but a shelter for those who, when they had spent their estates in coaches, lacqueys, and fine clothes, like Frenchmen, lived miserably in their houses, like Italians." He commanded all noblemen and gentlemen who had mansions in the country, to return to them, and there abide, till the end of the summer season. He commanded them to go home to celebrate the feast of Christmas and to keep hospitality. The great people little heeded these proclamations; and the House of Commons told him they were illegal. London, from the happy circumstances of her position, was sure to increase with the increase of commerce. The presence of the courts of law at Westminster, the circumstance of the capital being the seat of government, favored this increase. But one great natural cause was far more important to its prosperity than these incidental advantages. James, having been refused a benevolence by the city, sent for the corporation; and vowed that he would remove his own court and the courts of Westminster Hall—he would send the Records in the Tower to a more loyal place—he would bring ruin upon the disobedient Londoners. The lord mayor replied, "Your majesty hath power to do what you please, and your city of London will obey accordingly; but she humbly desires that when your majesty shall remove your courts you would please to leave the Thames behind you."‡

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

Arabella Stuart—Death of Salisbury—Robert Carr, king's favorite—Death of Prince Henry—Marriage of the Princess Elizabeth—The addled parliament—George Villiers, the new favorite—Murder of

* Howell, "Londinopolis," 1657, p. 346.
† Statute, Jac. 3, c. 18.
‡ "Londinopolis," p. 19.

Overbury—Trials for the murder—Somerset and his countess convicted—Conduct of the king—Sir Edward Coke dismissed—Proclamation for sports. Note on the secret communications between the king and Sir George More.

One of the overt acts of treason with which Sir Walter Raleigh was charged upon his trial, was that he had conferred with Lord Cobham for the support of Arabella Stuart's claim to the crown of England.* The lady herself was present at this trial. It is not at all clear that this design had been seriously entertained; and certainly Arabella herself had given no sanction to it. She was the cousin of king James, being the only child of Charles, earl of Lennox, the grandson of Margaret Tudor. Her parents died young; and she was brought up by her maternal grandmother, the countess of Shrewsbury. If James had died childless Arabella Stuart would have been the lineal heir to the crown. During the reign of Elizabeth she was occasionally at court; and the queen pointed her out to the wife of the French ambassador, when she was about twelve years old, as a girl of talent, who would one day be a great lady. After the accession of James she appears to have been in much favor. In 1604 she received the grant of an annual pension for life of 1000*l.*† In 1609 she had the profits of a monopoly, in the privilege of nominating the sellers of wines and sprits in Ireland.‡ In that year she appears to have given offence by listening to some overtures for marriage. In 1610 it was discovered that William Seymour, the second son of Lord Beauchamp, was endeavoring to gain the lady Arabella as his wife. They were brought before the council, and protested that they never intended marrying without the king's consent. In a few months they were privately married. The husband was sent to the Tower; the wife was placed in official custody. On the 3d of June, 1611, she escaped from Highgate disguised as a man, having drawn "a pair of great French fashioned hose over her petticoats, putting on a man's doublet, a manlike perruque with long locks over her hair, a black hat, black cloak, russet boots with red tips, and a rapier by her side." Seymour meanwhile had escaped from the Tower, also in disguise. Arabella rode to Blackwall, and then crossed to Lee. A French bark, hired for the occasion, was there lying at anchor, and when she went on board, the captain stood out to sea, without waiting for Seymour, who was expected to join his wife. They never saw each other again. Arabella was captured in the French bark by an English pinnace that had been sent in chase of the fugitives; and she was carried to the Tower. Seymour escaped to Ostend. The jealousy of king James would never permit him to show any mercy to his unhappy cousin. She died in the fourth year of her imprisonment, worn out with a grief which ended in mental derangement. Of the cruelty of the king to his kinswoman there can be no doubt. The illegality of her imprisonment is equally clear. It could not be justified by the very distant possibility that any issue of a marriage between two persons who each were of the blood royal might be dangerous to the succession.§ Arabella was treated by James with far greater harshness than was used to Catherine Grey by Elizabeth; nor was there the apology in James's case, as in that of the queen, that the title of the reigning sovereign was open to dispute. Arabella was the victim of a causeless injustice, "through the oppression of a kinsman whose advocates are always vaunting his good nature." ‖

In May, 1612, died Robert Cecil, earl of Salisbury. "He was a good statesman, and no ill member of the commonwealth," says Sir Simonds D'Ewes; but he died amid "a general hate, almost of all sorts." ¶ Bacon has described him as "a more fit man to keep things from growing worse, but no very fit man to reduce things to be much better." When he was gone things did grow much worse. He had left an empty treasury, which he had vainly attempted to fill by his scheme for a permanent revenue. The constant manifestation of an arbitrary temper on the part of the king, "willing to wound, but yet afraid to strike," made the Commons cling with great tenacity to their undoubted power of refusing supplies. Robert Carr succeeded Cecil, not as prime minister; but he was all powerful as prime favorite. Before the death of Cecil the king's minions had not ostensibly influenced public affairs. James gormandized with Heliogabalus Hay; and when Carr, a raw Scotch lad, had broken his leg in the tilting-yard, the king watched over his recovery, placed him about his person, pinched his cheek, taught him Latin,* bestowed on him forfeited lands, created him Baron Branspath, and then viscount Rochester, and made him a knight of the garter. But neither Hay nor Carr appear to have meddled with the functions of a treasurer or secretary of state while Cecil lived. For four years after that minister's death Carr ruled supreme, till another favorite came to eject him. The history of this period is disgusting to trace in contemporary memoirs and documents, and much of it is unfit to be related in a modern narrative. Justly does Mr. Carlyle say, "Somerset Ker, king's favorite, son of the laird of Fernieherst, he and his extremely unedifying affairs—except as they might transiently affect the nostrils of some Cromwell of importance—do not much belong to the history of England. Carrion ought at length to be buried." † Yet they cannot be wholly passed over. The "extremely unedifying affairs" of the court of James had a great deal to do with the momentous events of the next reign. The disgust of the sober and religious part of the community drove vast numbers into the opposite extreme of religious asceticism. In proportion as the Puritans were hated by the courtiers, denounced in the high-church pulpits, ridiculed upon the stage, they grew in the real strength of their earnest principles; and they gained an enormous accession of strength in town and country, of those who, "out of mere morality and civil honesty, discountenanced the abominations of those days." Their religion "was fenced with the liberty of the people, and so linked together, that it was impossible to make them slaves till they were brought to be idolaters of royalty and glorious lust, and as impossible to make them adore these gods while they continued loyal to the government of Jesus Christ."‡ So writes Lucy Hutchinson, one in whom the beauty of holiness is presented under its noblest aspects of manly courage and feminine tenderness.

In 1606, on Twelfth Night, a masque was performed at court, of which Jonson wrote the verses, and Inigo Jones superintended the decorations and machinery. This "Masque of Hymen" was to celebrate the marriage of the earl of Essex, a boy of fourteen years, with Lady Frances Howard, a girl of thirteen. In 1613 there was another masque in honor of the marriage of this lady with Robert Carr, then created earl of Somerset. The young Essex had gone abroad after his marriage; and his child-bride had lived among the seductions of the court—"incomparably the most disgraceful scene of profligacy which this country has ever witnessed." § The odious circumstances which attended the divorce of lady Essex, that she might be bestowed upon her paramour, Somerset, brought equal disgrace, in the eyes of the people, upon the king, who urged the divorce in the most unkingly manner, and upon the ecclesiastical court which decreed it. The king, in pandering to an adulterous connection, dared to tell Archbishop Abbot, who opposed the disgraceful proceeding, "the best thankfulness that you, that are so far my creature, can use toward me, is to reverence and follow my judgment, and not to contradict it." ‖ This profligate man was now freed from the observation of his two elder children, whose lives and opinions were not in exact agreement with his own. Prince Henry was in his nineteenth year, when, on the 6th of November, 1612, he died, after a short illness. The prince, although there was no public difference between them, had probably as little respect for the king as the king had affection for the prince. Between Henry and Somerset there was decided enmity. The popularity of the prince, who was an especial hope of the strict religious section of the nation, was offensive to the king; so that when the son's court was frequented by a very different class of men from those who thronged round the court of the king, James was heard to exclaim, "Will he bury me alive?" Henry was attached to Raleigh, whom he often visited in prison; and he loved to hear, as he might have heard from him, stories of the martial princes of our Plantagenet race, and of the later period when the support of the Protestantism of Europe was the great policy of England. He has been reported to have said, with regard to the imprisoned Raleigh, that only such a king as his father would keep

* See *ante*, p. 379. † "Calendar of State Papers," p. 173.
‡ Ibid., p. 555.
§ Seymour was grandson of the earl of Hertford, who married Catherine Grey. See *ante*, p. 353.
‖ Hallam, vol. i. p. 351. ¶ "Autobiography," vol. i. p. 50.

* "Nugæ Antiquæ," vol. i. p. 390.
† "Cromwell's Letters," Introduction, p. 32.
‡ "Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson," vol. i. p. 121, ed. 1822.
§ Hallam, i. p. 342.
‖ Amos, "The great Oyer of Poisoning," p. 6.

such a bird in such a cage. When Henry died there was an outcry that he had been poisoned. D'Ewes says, "It is not improbable but that he might overheat and distemper himself in some of those sports and recreations he used in his company; but the strength of his constitution and the vigor of his youth might have overcome that, had he not tasted of some grapes as he played at tennis, supposed to have been poisoned."* Some circumstances which were disclosed a few years later favored this suspicion. But whatever might be the cause of Prince Henry's death, his father exhibited some strange feelings which strongly contrast with the national grief, when "the lamentation made for him was so general as even women and children partook of it."† There had been a negotiation for marrying Henry to a princess of France; and within three days of his death Rochester directed our ambassador, who had the decency not then to propound the matter, to make overtures for the marriage of the same princess to the king's remaining son, Charles. Henry was buried at Westminster on the 7th of December. There was no time lost in grief; for on the 14th of February following the princess Elizabeth was married at Whitehall to Frederick, the elector palatine. The king again demanded a feudal aid on this occasion, as he had demanded one when his eldest son was created Prince of Wales. It defrayed only a portion of the enormous expenses of the marriage festivities. The union was a happy one in the mutual affection of the prince and princess. It was doomed to be unfortunate in the loss which the elector sustained of his hereditary dominions when he consented to be chosen king of Bohemia. The demeanor of a light-hearted girl of sixteen at her bridal ceremony was held to be prophetic of evil: "While the archbishop of Canterbury was solemnizing the marriage, some eruscations and lightnings of joy appeared in her countenance, that expressed more than an ordinary smile, being almost elated to a laughter, which could not clear the air of her fate, but was rather a forerunner of more sad and dire events."‡ From the twelfth child of the Princess Elizabeth the house of Brunswick inherits the crown of this kingdom.

Hume has said, with some truth, "except during sessions of parliament, the history of this reign may more properly be called the history of the court than that of the nation." But the exception is a very considerable one. During sessions of parliament we clearly trace how the nation was growing into a power truly formidable to the abitrary disposition of the king and the selfish indulgences of the court. We see in these sessions of parliament of what materials the English nation was composed. When we open the parliamentary debates of this period, we find abundant evidence that such of the gentlemen of England as remained uncorrupted by court favors, and had not "learned the court fashion,"§ were not only a spirited race, but were highly intelligent. They were perfectly acquainted with the laws of their country and the history of its constitution. They had not only solid arguments, but carefully sought precedents, to shape their resistance to impositions and benevolences, to monopolies and purveyance, to proclamations which claimed to have the force of statutes, but which were only legal if they prescribed obedience to some established principle of constitutional government. They were practically familiar with the laws of property, and with the administration of justice in their several localities. A writer whose learning and industry, if his life had been longer spared, would have no doubt added many more able contributions to our history, says of the country gentlemen, "undoubtedly, in the earlier half of the seventeenth century a great amount of solid and polite learning distinguished them; and to this must be attributed the energetic resistance which the king and his corrupt courtiers met with in their insane crusade against the liberties of England."‖ The parliament which, after an interval of four years, met on the 6th of April, 1614, was called, not for any purpose of general legislation, but in the expectation that by proper management it might relieve the king's necessities. Bacon, then attorney-general, Sir Henry Neville, and some others, undertook to bring the Commons into a gracious frame of mind, by inducing the king to relax some of his claims of prerogative, which were called grievances, and thus to obtain a liberal supply. The scheme could not be concealed; and hence these politicians obtained the name of "undertakers." The king in his opening speech protested that it was as false as it would have been unworthy of himself, that he should employ "private undertakers" who "would do great matters." Bacon laughed at the notion that private men should undertake for all the Commons of England. In 1621 James openly acknowledged what he had before denied. Mr. Hallam points to this circumstance as showing "the rise of a systematic parliamentary influence, which was one day to become the mainspring of government." Hume says, "so ignorant were the Commons, that they knew not this incident to be the first infallible symptom of any regular or established liberty." The Commons knew better than the historian, that, whatever might have been attempted under despotic princes, there was an ancient system of "regular or established liberty," which did not require any symptoms for its manifestation. They did not acknowledge what the historian has constantly inferred, that the notion of liberty was a sudden growth of the seventeenth century; "that the constitution of England was, at that time, an inconsistent fabric, whose jarring and discordant parts would soon destroy each other,"* They opposed the parliamentary influence because they dreaded corruption as much as they hated tyranny. The scheme of the undertakers was entirely unsuccessful. James uttered smooth words and made specious promises; but the Commons, with one voice, passed a vote against the king's right of imposing customs at the outports without the consent of parliament. A supply was demanded, under a threat that if it were not given the parliament should be dissolved. The house passed to the question of impositions. There were various bills in progress. After a session of two months of stormy debate, the parliament was dissolved, without a single bill being passed. It was named "the addled parliament." No other parliament was called till 1621. For eleven years the statute-book is a blank. The king was not satisfied with the perilous measure of attempting to govern without a parliament, but he committed to the Tower five of the members of the House of Commons who had been most strenuous in their opposition. He had to supply his necessities by fines in the Star-Chamber, and by exercises of the prerogative which were galling and oppressive. His first great resource was a Benevolence. Mr. Oliver St. John declined to contribute, and wrote a letter setting forth his reasons for refusal. He was brought into the Star Chamber, and was fined in the sum of £5000. The courtiers would think this a mild punishment for one who had presumed to doubt the right to put his hands into the pockets of his subjects of a king who had just told his disobedient parliament, "My integrity is like the whiteness of my robe, my purity like the metal of gold in my crown, my firmness and clearness like the precious stones I wear, and my affections natural like the redness of my heart."† Such was the gabble of this ridiculous pedant upon solemn occasions. When he sat at table, with a crowd of listeners, he discoursed largely of his divine right to implicit obedience, and of the superiority of his prerogative over the laws and customs of England. There is "a specimen of his usual liberty of talk," as Hume terms a story which Mr. Hallam deems "too trite for repetition," but which we venture to repeat. Waller, the poet, when young, stood among the spectators who were allowed to see the king dine. James, with his loud sputtering voice, asked the opinions of Bishop Neile and Bishop Andrews, whether he might not take his subjects' money when he needed it, without all the fuss of parliament? Neile replied, "God forbid you should not, for you are the breath of our nostrils." Andrews hesitated; but the king insisting upon an answer, he said, "Why, then, I think your majesty may lawfully take my brother Neile's money, for he offers it."

By the death of the earl of Northampton, within a week of the dissolution of parliament, the king and his courtiers had an opportunity for a scramble to recruit their finances. The office of lord privy seal having become vacant, the occasion was embraced to effect what we should now call a partial change of ministry. But this change was accomplished in a way that would be rather startling in modern times. Some of the high offices were sold. Sir Fulk Greville paid £4000 for the chancellorship of the exchequer. Inferior places went to the highest bidder. When Somerset sold the office of cup-bearer

* "Autobiography," vol. i. p. 47.
† Ibid., p. 46.
‡ Wilson, "Life of James I."
§ Mrs. Hutchinson.
‖ J. M. Kemble, Introduction to Twysden on "the Government of England," Camden Society, p. xix.

* "History of England," chap. xlvii.
† "Parliamentary History," vol. i. p. 1150.

to George Villiers, one of the sons of a Leicestershire knight, he appears to have forgotten that another might supplant him in the favor of a king who dwelt on "good looks and handsome accoutrements."* The cup-bearer was a dangerous rival. "His first introduction into favor," says Clarendon, "was purely from the handsomeness of his person." The history of the country, to the end of this reign, is in great part the personal history of George Villiers—the adventurer who had, in his capacity of the king's cup-bearer, been "admitted to that conversation and discourse with which that prince always abounded at his meals." In a few weeks, continues Clarendon, he mounted higher; "and, being knighted, without any other qualification, he was at the same time made gentleman of the bedchamber and knight of the order of the garter; and in a short time (very short for such a prodigious ascent) he was made a baron, a viscount, an earl, a marquis, and became lord high admiral of England, lord warden of the cinque-ports, master of the horse, and entirely disposed of all the graces of the king, in conferring all the honors and all the offices of three kingdoms without a rival."† The marriage of the earl of Somerset with the divorced Lady Essex, on St. Stephen's day, 1613, had been preceded by the death in the Tower of Somerset's friend, Sir Thomas Overbury. The incense that was offered to the royal favorite on the occasion of his marriage is almost as revolting as the marriage itself. Bacon spent £2000 upon "The Masque of Flowers," in which grave lawyers spoke the flattering words which were put into the mouths of hyacinths and jonquils. Donne wrote an eclogue, in which he describes the eyes of the bride as sowing the court with stars. The corporation of London gave the earl and countess a magnificent banquet at Guildhall; and when the lady, to go to the festival, borrowed the four superb horses in which Sir Ralph Winwood, the secretary of state, took pride, he begged her to accept them, as so great a lady should not use anything borrowed. In less than two years the same Sir Ralph Winwood was laboring to discover the suspected murderers of Sir Thomas Overbury. According to one account, an apothecary's boy, falling sick at Flushing, confessed that he had administered a poison to Overbury, who was then a prisoner in the Tower. According to another account, the discovery was as follows: "It came first to light by a strange accident of Sir Ralph Winwood, knt., one of the secretaries of state, his dining with Sir Jervis Elvis, lieutenant of the said Tower, at a great man's table, not far from Whitehall. For that great man, commending the same Sir Jervis to Sir Ralph Winwood as a person in respect of his many good qualities very worthy of his acquaintance, Sir Ralph answered him, that he should willingly embrace his acquaintance, but that he could first wish he had cleared himself of a foul suspicion the world generally conceived of him, touching the death of Sir Thomas Overbury. As soon as Sir Jervis heard that, being very ambitious of the secretary's friendship, he took occasion to enter into private conference with him, and therein to excuse himself to have been enforced to connive at the said murder, with much abhorring of it. He confessed the whole circumstance of the execution of it in general, and the instruments to have been set on work by Robert, earl of Somerset, and his wife."‡

The confession of Elvis, or Helwys, as thus related by D'Ewes, is not very probable. But suspicion being roused, and that suspicion pointing to the once favorite of the king—of whom, according to Clarendon, his majesty begun to be weary"—all the state machinery was put in action to bring the murder home to the instigators and the perpetrators. Coke, the lord chief justice, is stated by Bacon to have taken three hundred examinations. The king, according to the narrative of Roger Coke, the grandson of the great judge, was at Royston, and Somerset with him, when Winwood came to tell him what had been discovered. James immediately sent a messenger to Coke to apprehend the earl. Coke prepared a warrant, and dispatched it to Royston: "The messenger went back post to Royston, and arrived there about ten in the morning. The king had a loathsome way of lolling his arms about his favorites' necks and kissing them; and in this posture the messenger found the king with Somerset, saying, 'When shall I see thee again?' Somerset then designing for London, when he was arrested by Sir Edward's warrant. Somerset exclaimed that never such an affront was offered to a peer of England in presence of the king. 'Nay, man,' said the king, 'if Coke sends for me, I must go;' and when he was gone, 'Now the deel go with thee,' said the king, 'for I will never see thy face any more.'" In the afternoon, according to the same account, the chief justice arrived, and then the king commanded him to search into the bottom of the conspiracy, and to spare no man, however great; concluding with an awful appeal to God to curse Coke if he spared any of them, and invoking the same curse upon himself if he pardoned any.

On the 19th of October, on the 9th of November, and on the 16th of November, 1615, Richard Weston, James Franklin, Anne Turner, and Sir Jervis Elvis were arraigned and condemned at Guildhall, and were executed. The countess of Somerset was committed to the Tower, where she gave birth to a daughter; and her husband was also committed. On the 24th of May, 1616, the countess was arraigned before the peers. She pleaded guilty, and was sentenced to death. The motive which induced her to be accessory to this crime was set forth by the chief justice in a report to the king. The examinations, he said, disclosed that Lady Frances, countess of Essex, had employed sorcery for the double purpose of estranging the affections of her husband and winning those of Rochester; that Overbury, who had exhorted Somerset not to think of a divorce for the wife of Essex, to be followed by his own marriage, was, through the management of the deceased earl of Northampton, committed to the Tower; that Wade, the lieutenant of the Tower, was removed to make room for Elvis; that Weston was recommended as warder of the prisoner; that the countess, by the aid of Mrs. Turner, procured poisons from Franklin; and that by Weston they were administered, with the connivance of Elvis.

The earl of Somerset was put upon his trial on the day after his countess had confessed her guilt. It is one of the disgraces of Bacon that, in managing this trial, he had tampered with the due course of justice, so as to preconcert with the king that Somerset should be convicted, but, as he says under his own hand, "It shall be my care so to moderate the manner of charging him, as it might make him not odious beyond the extent of mercy."* Somerset was convicted, and was sentenced to die. In a few days his wife received a free pardon, which was afterward extended to himself. He obtained a large pension, and only lost his great offices. The mysterious circumstances which led to such a flagrant defiance of public opinion may be explained by a remarkable account given by Sir A. Weldon. His little book, "The Court and Character of King James," was long held to be a libel upon the Stuart family; but in the words of the most temperate of historians, his statement with regard to Somerset has "received the most entire confirmation by some letters from More, lieutenant of the Tower, published in "Archæologia," vol. xviii. Somerset's trial was undoubtedly so managed by Bacon "as to prevent him making any imprudent disclosure, or the judges from getting any insight into that which it was not meant to reveal."† The following is the narrative of Weldon, of which he says, "this is the very relation from More's own mouth:"

"And now for the last act, enters Somerset himself on the stage, who, being told, as the manner is, by the lieutenant, that he must provide to go next day to his trial, did absolutely refuse it, and said they should carry him in his bed; that the king had assured him he should not come to any trial, neither durst the king to bring him to trial; this was in a high strain, and in a language not well understood by George More (lieutenant in Elwaies his room), that made More quiver and shake, and however he was accounted a wise man, yet was he near at his wits' end.

"Yet away goes More to Greenwich, as late as it was (being twelve at night), bounceth at the back stairs, as if mad, to whom came Jo. Leveston, one of the grooms, out of his bed, enquires the reason of that distemper at so late a season; More tells him he must speak with the king; Leveston replies, he is quiet (which in the Scottish dialect is fast asleep); More says, you must awake him; More was called in; the chamber left to the king and More, he tells the king those passages, and desired to be directed by the king, for he was gone beyond his own reason to hear such bold and undutiful

* "Nugæ Antiquæ," p. 392.
† "History of the Rebellion," book i.
‡ D'Ewes, "Autobiography," vol. i. p. 68.

* Amos, "Great Oyer," p. 459.
† "Constitutional History," vol. i. p. 353, note.

expressions, from a faulty subject, against a just sovereign. The king falls into a passion of tears, On my soul, More, I wot not what to do; thou art a wise man, help me in this great strait, and thou shalt find thou dost it for a thankful master; with other sad expressions. More leaves the king in that passion, but assures him he will prove the utmost of his wit, to serve his majesty, and was really rewarded with a suit worth to him £1500 (although Annandale, his great friend, did cheat him of one half), so was there falsehood in friendship.

"Sir George More returns to Somerset about three next morning, of that day he was to come to trial; enters Somerset's chamber, tells him he had been with the king, found him a most affectionate master unto him, and full of grace in his intentions towards him, but (said he) to satisfy justice, you must appear, although return instantly again, without any further proceeding, only you shall know your enemies and their malice, though they shall have no power over you. With this trick of wit, he allayed his fury, and got him quietly, about eight in the morning, to the hall, yet feared his former bold language might revert again, and being brought by this trick into the toil, might have more enraged him to fly out into some strange discovery, that he had two servants placed on each side of him, with a cloak on their arms, giving them a peremptory order, if that Somerset did any way fly out on the king, they should instantly hoodwink him with that cloak, take him violently from the bar, and carry him away; for which, he would secure them from any danger, and they should not want also a bountiful reward. But the earl finding himself overreached, recollected a better temper, and went on calmly in his trial, where he held the company until seven at night. But who had seen the king's restless motion all that day, sending to every boat he see landing at the bridge, cursing all that came without tidings, would have easily judged all was not right, and there had been some grounds for his fears of Somerset's boldness; but at the last one bringing him word he was condemned, and the passages, all was quiet." *

The mysteries which were involved in the death of Overbury, whose murder can scarcely be attributed solely to the revenge of Lady Somerset; the fearful secrets which Somerset might have revealed had he not been assured of the king's pardon, and of the rewards which he afterward received—are conjectured to be of a nature that had better be buried with the "carrion" to which they belong. That Somerset was guilty of being accessory to the murder of Overbury is very little to be doubted. That the murder was for the concealment of some terrible secret can as little be questioned. How far James was implicated in these dark affairs may be better judged from a careful perusal of the great body of evidence collected by Mr. Amos, than by any brief mention in this, or any other historical abstract.

The conduct of Sir Edward Coke upon these Somerset trials was probably not such as won the favor of the king, especially if an expression which he is said to have used during the proceedings be authentically stated. It was: "God knows what became of that sweet babe Prince Henry, but I know somewhat." This has been disputed; but it appears in a sentence from a report of Bacon to the king, that Coke was not so discreet as the courtiers could have wished. "My Lord Coke," he says, "hath filled this part with many frivolous things." The chief justice was not so inclined to sustain the prerogative as some of his brother judges. At an earlier period of his career he had given umbrage to the king, in saying that "his highness was defended by his laws:" James told him "he spake foolishly;" that "he was not defended by his laws, but by God;" and Coke went upon his knees and begged pardon. In 1610 Coke had been consulted by the council, whether the king, by his proclamations, might limit the increase of buildings in London, and forbid the making of starch from wheat. Parliament was then sitting, and the Commons were then expected to remonstrate against this exercise of the prerogative. The chief justice and three judges decided that the king by his proclamations could not create any offence which was not one before; that the king, by his proclamations, may admonish his subjects that they keep the laws, and do not offend against them. The same sound doctrine was held even in the reign of Mary, when the judges laid down, that no proclamation can make a law, but only confirm and ratify an ancient one.* In 1615 Coke opposed his legal knowledge to the preliminary proceedings in a detestable act of tyranny. Edmund Peachum, a clergyman in Somersetshire, had his study broken open; and a manuscript sermon being there found, in which there was strong censure of the extravagances of the king and the oppressions of his officers, the preacher was put to the rack, and interrogated "before torture, in torture, between torture, and after torture." He was suspected of treason; but this horrible severity could wring no confession from him. It was doubted whether the sermon itself could be received as an overt act of treason. Bacon was directed by the king to confer with the judges of the King's Bench separately; to which Coke objected, as "not according to the custom of this realm." The other judges were tampered with. Coke at length gave an opinion, which evaded the question, and did not confirm the king's arguments and that of the other unscrupulous judges, that the sermon itself was treasonable. The unhappy man was, however, tried and condemned; but he died in jail. The chief justice again offended by contending that the equitable jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery ought not to be exercised after a judgment obtained at law. But his greatest offence was in demurring to the authority of a letter, which Bacon had written at the king's desire, to direct that the Court of King's Bench should not proceed to judgment in a case which concerned the validity of the grant of a benefice to a bishop, in connection with his bishopric. Coke said that such a letter should be written to the judges of all the courts; and that being done, he induced them to take the honorable course of certifying to the king that they were bound by their oaths not to regard any such letters, which were contrary to law. The king went into one of his usual fits of rage when his prerogative was questioned, and called the twelve judges before him to answer for their disobedience. They all tamely yielded, with the exception of Coke. He was very shortly after first suspended from his office and then dismissed.

It is not difficult to imagine, while such scandalous revelations and suspicions were rife as those of the Overbury case; while the majority of the judges were slavish; while the Court of High Commission was proceeding in its arbitrary course in matters of religion—a court which, according to an unheeded remonstrance of the Commons, took upon itself to fine and imprison, and passed sentences without appeal; while the Star Chamber was trampling upon every personal right—that the nation was growing universally disgusted with the government under which it lived. The people had no constitutional organ to proclaim their grievances. Parliaments had been laid aside. The great religious body termed Puritans were offended, in 1618, by a proclamation that all lawful recreations, such as dancing, archery, leaping, May-games, might be used on Sundays after divine service. They associated this injudicious measure—which had a tendency to make the disputes between the two parties in the Church more rancorous—with the king's visit to Scotland to enforce episcopacy upon a reluctant people. After that visit a better provision was made for the parochial clergy by the passing of an act in the Scottish parliament, which compelled the impropriators of tithes to allow a stipend to the resident minister. But the ecclesiastical policy of James in Scotland was not successful; and in 1620 the preachers were inveighing against episcopal rule, and that general discontent was growing which, in a few years, broke out in bitter hostility. In neither of the kingdoms could the people be deemed happy, or the government paternal.

NOTE ON THE SECRET COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN THE KING AND SIR GEORGE MORE.

The letters to which Mr. Hallam refers as giving the most entire confirmation to the passage in "Weldon's Memoirs," are in the handwriting of King James; and were published in 1835, the originals being then in the possession of James More Molyneux, Esq., of Loseley. They had been carefully preserved in Sir G. More's family; and were inclosed in an envelope, on which was an inscription in hand-writing of the early part of the seventeenth century. It thus commences: "These four letters were all in King James his own handwriting, sent to Sir George More, lieut. of the Tower (being put into that place by his own appointment, without the privity of any man) concerning my Lord Somerset, who being in the Tower and hearing that he should come to his arraignment, began to speak big words touching on the king's reputation and honor. The king therefore desired, as much as he could, to make him confess the poisoning of

* "The Court of King James," 1650, p. 115. See Yelverton's

* Hallam, vol. ii. p. 225.

Sir Thomas Overbury; and so not to come to his arraign, but to cast himself on his mercy. But being a courtier and beaten to these courses, would not; fully imagining that the king durst not or would not bring him to his trial."

1616. MAY 9TH.

"GOOD SIR GEORGE: As the only confidence I had in your honesty made me, without the knowledge of any, put you in that place of trust, which you now possess, so must I now use your trust and secrecy in a thing greatly concerning my honour and service. You know Somerset's day of trial is at hand, and you know also what fair means I have used to move him by confessing the truth, to honour God and me, and leave some place for my mercy to work upon. I have now at last sent the bearer hereof, an honest gentleman, and who once followed him, with such directions unto him, as, if there be a spunke of grace left in him, I hope they shall work a good effect. My only desire is that you would make his convoy unto him in such secrecy, as none living may know of it, and that, after his speaking with him in private, he may be returned back again as secretly. So, reposing myself upon your faithful and secret handling of this business, I bid you heartily farewell. JAMES R."

1616. MAY 13TH.

"GOOD SIR GEORGE: Although I fear that the last message I sent to your unfortunate prisoner shall not take the effect that I wish it should, yet, I cannot leave off to use all means possible to move him to do that which is both most honorable for me, and his own best. You shall therefore give him assurance in my name, that if he will yet before his trial confess clearly unto the commissioners his guiltiness of this fact, I will not only perform what I promised by my last messenger, both towards him and his wife, but I will enlarge it, according to the phrase of the civil law, quod gratiæ sunt ampliandæ. I mean not that he shall confess if he be innocent, but you know evil likely that is, and of yourself you may dispute with him what should mean his confidence now to endure a trial, when as he remembers, that this last winter he confessed to the chief justice that his cause was so evil likely, as he knew no jury could acquit him. Assure him that I protest upon my honor, my end in this is for his and his wife's good; you will do well, likewise, of yourself to cast out unto him, that you fear his wife shall plead weakly for his innocency, and that you find the commissioners have, you know not how, some secret assurance that in the end she will confess of him; but this must only be as from yourself; and therefore you must not let him know that I have written unto you, but only that I sent you private word to deliver him this message. Let none living know of this, and if it take good effect, move him to send in haste for the commissioners to give them satisfaction, but if he remain obstinate, I desire not that you should trouble me with an answer, for it is to no end, and no news is better than evil news; and so farewell, and God bless your labors. JAMES R."

WITHOUT DATE.

"GOOD SIR GEORGE: I am extremely sorry, that your unfortunate prisoner turns all the great care I have of him, not only against himself, but against me also, as far as he can. I cannot blame you, that you cannot conjecture what this may be, for God knows it is only a trick of his idle brain, hoping thereby to shift his trial; but it is easy to be seen that he would threaten me with laying an aspersion upon me of being in some sort accessory to his crime. I can do no more (since God so abstracts his grace from him), than repeat the substance of that letter which the Lord Hay sent you yesternight, which is this: if he would write or send me any message concerning this poisoning it needs not be private; if it be of any other business, that which I cannot now with honor receive privately, I may do it after his trial, and serve the turn as well; for except either his trial or confession precede, I cannot hear a private message from him, without laying an aspersion upon myself of being accessory to his crime, and I pray you to urge him by reason, that I refuse him no favor which I can grant him, without taking upon me the suspicion of being guilty of that crime whereof he is accused; and so farewell. "JAMES R."

WITHOUT DATE.

"GOOD SIR GEORGE: For answer to your strange news, I am first to tell you, that I expect the Lord Hay and Sir Robert Carr have been with you before this time, which if they have not yet been, do you send for them in haste, that they may first hear him, before you say any thing unto him, and when that is done, if he shall still refuse to go, you must do your office, except he be either apparently sick or distracted of his wits, in any of which cases, you may acquaint the chancellor with it, that he may adjourn the day till Monday next, between and which time, if his sickness or madness be counterfeited, it will manifestly appear. In the mean time, I doubt not but you have acquainted the chancellor with this strange fit of his, and if upon these occasions you bring him a little later than the hour appointed, the chancellor may in the mean time protract the time best he may, whom I pray you to acquaint likewise with this my answer, as well as with the accident. If he have said any thing of moment to the Lord Hay, I expect to hear of it with all speed; if otherways, let me not be troubled with it till the trial be past. Farewell. "JAMES R."

CHAPTER LXXXIV.

Release of Raleigh—Raleigh's expedition to Guiana—Raleigh returns to England—His execution under his former sentence—Affairs of the Palatinate—The elector defeated at Prague—Parliament—Monopolists—Lord Bacon impeached—Conduct of parliament in Floyd's case—The king and the parliament at issue—Parliament dissolved—Prince Charles and Villiers in Spain—The proposed marriage of Charles with the Infanta broken off—Rejoicings in England—Parliament—War declared against Spain—Death of King James.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH had been a prisoner in the Tower somewhat more than twelve years. To a man of such activity of mind even imprisonment would not be unhappiness. His wife was permitted to dwell with him. He had access to the lieutenant's garden; and, says Sir William Wade, one of the lieutenants, "he hath converted a little hen-house to a still-house, where he doth spend his time all the day in distillations." Mrs. Hutchinson, whose father, Sir Allen Apsley, was also lieutenant of the Tower, gives a more intelligible account of these distillations, in relating the virtues of her mother: "Sir Walter Raleigh and Mr. Ruthin being prisoners in the Tower, and addicting themselves to chemistry, she suffered them to make their rare experiments at her cost; partly to comfort and divert the poor prisoners, and partly to gain the knowledge of their experiments, and the medicines to help such poor people as were not able to seek to physicians."* Raleigh was the inventor of a famous cordial which went by his name. In an evil hour the tranquil studies and useful diversions of Raleigh were exchanged for schemes which were to renew the energies of his youth. The dream of a gold mine in Guiana never ceased to haunt his imagination. Indians had interviews with him in the Tower; for he had kept up a correspondence, through his agents, with the natives of the country which he had partially explored in 1595. At length he obtained permission to employ the liberty which was promised to be granted to him, through the mediation of Villiers, in again attempting to work the gold mine in whose existence he firmly believed. He was released from his prison on the 20th of March, 1616. He was now in the sixty-fifth year of his age. But he was one of those who bated no jot of heart or hope, and he sent an expression of his gratitude to Villiers in a letter which smacks of the old enthusiasm: "You have, by your mediation, put me again into the world. I can but acknowledge it; for to pay any part of your favor by any service of mine, as yet, is not in my power. If it succeed well, a good part of the honour shall be yours; and if I do not also make it profitable unto you, I shall show myself exceeding ungrateful." Raleigh risked in this scheme all he possessed in the world. When Lady Raleigh went on her knees to James, to beg that her family might not be robbed of the estate at Sherborne, which had been secured to them before her husband's attainder, he exclaimed, "I maun have the land—I maun have it for Carr." Eight thousand pounds were afterward obtained as the "competent satisfaction" for an estate worth five thousand pounds a year. This sum, with the produce of a small estate which his wife sold, was all invested in the Guiana project. James stipulated for a share of the profits of the enterprise. But the Spanish ambassador, Gondomar, who had at that time obtained great influence over the king, at first remonstrated, and declared that the expedition was for piratical purposes. Raleigh maintained that his sole object was to settle a country which belonged to England by right of discovery, and to work its gold mines; and Gondomar affected to be satisfied. Raleigh got together a squadron of fourteen vessels, and he set sail on the 28th of March, 1617, having received a commission by which he was constituted general and commander of the expedition, and governor of the country. It was imprudent in Raleigh to have gone upon a doubtful adventure without having received a previous pardon, which was to be obtained for money. But it is said that Bacon, who, in 1617, had accomplished the prime object of his ambition, the custody of the great seal, said to Raleigh, "The knee-timber of your voyage is money. Spare your purse in this particular; for upon my life you have a sufficient pardon for all that is past already, the king having under his broad seal made you admiral of your fleet, and given you power of the martial law over your officers and soldiers." The outward voyage was unpropitious.

* "Memoirs of Col. Hutchinson," p. 22.

There was sickness in the ships, of which many of the voyagers died. They landed in Guiana on the 12th of November; and on the 14th Raleigh wrote in a hopeful spirit to his wife: "To tell you that I might be king of the Indians were a vanity. But my name hath still lived among them here. They feed me with fresh meat and all that the country yields. All offer to obey me." In a short time he began to have glimpses of the treacherous nature of the sovereign in whose name he had gone forth to "make new nations." James had obtained from him the most minute details of his plans; and the king had communicated them to Gondomar, who had sent them to his court at Madrid. The king's commander had been promised a free passage through the country. He found it fortified against him. He was himself weak from sickness, and was obliged to be carried in a litter. He sent his faithful follower, Captain Keymis, to sail up the Orinoco with a part of the squadron in the direction of the mine. The instructions which Raleigh had given were not obeyed. If Keymis found the mine of great richness—royal, as the term was—he was to repel any attack of the Spaniards. But if not royal, he was to return with a basket or two of the ore, to satisfy James that there was a foundation of reality in the attempt to find gold. Keymis landed in the night near the Spanish town of Santa Thome, near the mine. The Spaniards attacked his encampment, and a battle ensued. After much slaughter, the English drove back their assailants to the town; and the Spaniards coming out in fresh force, the son of Raleigh was killed. The governor of the town, a kinsman of Gondomar, also fell. The English burned Santa Thome, in which they found refining houses, and two ingots of gold. But the passes to the mine were defended by too strong a force to enable Keymis to accomplish the great object of the expedition. When he returned with his diminished crew, the reproaches of his commander led the unfortunate man to commit suicide. The great spirit of Raleigh was crushed. He saw nothing before him but reproach and danger. In a letter to his wife he says, "I protest before the majesty of God, that as Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins died heartbroken when they failed of their enterprise, I could willingly do the like, did I not contend against sorrow for your sake, in hope to provide somewhat for you to comfort and relieve you. If I live to return, resolve yourself that it is the care for you that hath strengthened my heart. It is true that Keymis might have gone directly to the mine, and meant it. But after my son's death, he made them believe that he knew not the way, and excused himself upon the want of water in the river; and counterfeiting many impediments left it unfound. When he came back I told him that he had undone me, and that my credit was lost for ever. He answered that when my son was lost, and that he left me so weak that he thought not to find me alive, he had no reason to enrich a company of rascals, who, after my son's death, made no account of him." Raleigh conducted his fleet, with mutinous crews, to Newfoundland, and then sailed homeward. On the 18th of March, after his return, Howell wrote, "The world wonders extremely that so great a wise man as Sir Walter Raleigh would return, to cast himself upon so inevitable a rock as I fear he will." * Two friends, the earls of Pembroke and Arundel, had pledged their honor for his return, and he would not be a cause of trouble to them. This Arundel acknowledged when Raleigh, on the scaffold, reminded him of the promise that he had made to the earl that he would return. Gondomar was now supreme at the English court, negotiating a marriage between Prince Charles and the Infanta of Spain. The destiny of Raleigh was in the hands of the malignant Spaniard and the revengeful king. Raleigh was arrested at Plymouth; and after some stratagems to escape to France, and to obtain delay, having feigned madness, he was conducted to his old prison of the Tower. He was examined before commissioners, upon the charge that he fraudulently pretended that he went to discover a mine, when his real object was to make a piratical attack upon the Spanish settlements. He denied these charges with constancy and boldness; but admitted his attempt to escape, and his pretence of mental derangement, which he excused by the desire which every man feels to escape death. In his imprisonment he was no longer under the care of the kind Sir Allen Apsley. That lieutenant of the Tower was removed from the charge of Raleigh, to make way for Sir Thomas Wilson, who wrote constant reports of his conversations with his prisoner. These are in the State Paper Office. "On the perusal of these papers, it is difficult to say whether the preponderating feeling is sympathy for the captive, or disgust and indignation for his unfeeling and treacherous keeper." * It was the king himself who was urging on his creature to worm himself into the confidence of Raleigh for the purpose of betraying him. But all the arts of the betrayer were unavailing. Nothing could be obtained which could furnish a new ground of accusation. The letters which passed between Raleigh and his wife were intercepted, and were read by the king. It was determined at length that the prisoner should be executed under his former sentence, by a writ of privy seal directed to the judges. But they held that their warrant for execution could not be issued, after so long a time had elapsed since the judgment, without bringing up the prisoner to plead. Raleigh, suffering under an ague, was brought on the 24th and again on the 28th of October to the King's Bench at Westminster, and there being asked why execution should not pass against him, he urged that he was discharged of the original judgment by the king's commission for his voyage, which gave him new life and vigor. Execution was granted. Raleigh asked for a little delay, to settle his affairs and his mind. He was brought out of his prison the next morning to die upon the scaffold, in the Old Palace Yard at Westminster. The night before his death he wrote these lines on a blank leaf of his Bible:

"E'en such is time; who takes in trust
Our youth, our joys, and all we have,
And pays us but with age and dust;
Who, in the dark and silent grave,
When we have wander'd all our ways,
Shuts up the story of our days.
But from this earth, this grave, this dust,
The Lord will raise me up, I trust."

The last end of this heroic man was worthy of his great genius. He received the sacrament; he declared his forgiveness of all persons; he manifested the utmost cheerfulness; he gave thanks to the Almighty who had imparted to him the strength of mind never to fear death, and to meet it with courage in the assurance of his love. He breakfasted, and smoked his usual pipe of tobacco. When he came to the scaffold he was very faint; and commenced his speech to the assembled crowd, by saying that during the last two days he had been visited by two ague fits. "If therefore your perceive any weakness in me, I beseech you ascribe it to my sickness rather than to myself." His speech was of a manly tone, defending himself from slanders which had been raised against him. He implored the bystanders to join with him in prayer to that great God whom he had grievously offended; "being a man full of all vanity, and one who hath lived a sinful life in such callings as have been most inducing to it; for I have been a soldier, a sailor, and a courtier, all of them courses of wickedness and vice." He was asked by the dean of Westminster in what religion he meant to die, and he replied in the faith professed by the Church of England, hoping to be saved by the blood and merits of our Saviour. It was a bitter morning; and the sheriff proposed that he should descend from the scaffold and warm himself: "No, good Mr. Sheriff, let us despatch, for within this quarter of an hour my ague will come upon me, and if I be not dead before that, my enemies will say I quake for fear." He took the axe in his hand, kissed the blade, and said to the sheriff, "'Tis a sharp medicine, but a sound cure for all diseases." So died the last of Elizabeth's heroes.

The execution of Raleigh called forth indignation, "not loud but deep," in the English mind. The people felt that he was sacrificed to Spain, against which power, its Jesuits and its inquisitions, he had waged no inglorious warfare. He was sacrificed by a king from whom the bold Protestant spirit was departed, and who remained supine while the two great principles which divided Europe were again preparing for a struggle. Thus thought the majority of the nation, at a time of extraordinary excitement in connection with foreign events. The daughter of James had been married six years to the Elector Palatine. He was a prince of a serious character; by nature proud and reserved; earnest in the discharge of his duties as a ruler; not devoid of ambition to become a leader for a great public object. The Calvinists of Bohemia had been in insurrection upon a question of the possession of some lands of the Church which were held by

* "Letters," p. 8.

* Jardine, "Criminal Trials," vol. i.

Catholics; and the quarrel was under arbitration at the instance of the emperor Mathias when he died. Mathias was also king of Bohemia; and the archduke Ferdinand was chosen emperor. He had been recognized as successor to the throne of Bohemia; but he was a determined zealot of Catholicism; and the Bohemians, who held that their crown was elective, offered it to Frederic, who had been one of the arbitrators to settle the difference which had led to their insurrection. The Elector Palatine, after some hesitation, accepted the dangerous promotion, and was crowned at Prague, in November 1619. The resolve was the signal for a general array of hostile forces throughout Europe. The great battle of Protestantism and Catholicism appeared once more likely to be fought out. Had Elizabeth been alive she would have thrown all her force into the conflict. James at first refused to give any assistance to his son-in-law. The Protestants of England were roused to an enthusiasm which had been repressed for years. They saw the armies of Austria and Spain gathering to snatch the crown from the elective king of Bohemia, and to invade the Palatinate. They saw many of the Protestant princes forming a union for his defence. Volunteers were ready to go forth from England full of zeal for the support of the elector. James was professing an ardent desire to Protestant deputies to assist his son-in-law, and at the same time vowing to the Spanish ambassador that the alliance with his Catholic master, which was to be cemented by the marriage of Prince Charles to the Infanta, was the great desire of his heart. At length the Catholic powers entered the Palatinate; and the cry to arm was so loud among the English and the Scotch that James reluctantly marshalled a force of four thousand volunteers, not to support his son-in-law upon the throne of Bohemia, but to assist in defending his hereditary dominions. The scanty assistance came too late. Frederick was defeated by the Austrians at Prague, on the 7th of November, 1620, which decisive battle entirely destroyed his slight tenure of power in Bohemia. He was very shortly after driven from the Palatinate, which was handed over to the tender mercies of the conquerors. The supporters of the elector in Bohemia, a country which had been the refuge of persecuted reformers, were trodden down by the iron heel of Austria. The Puritan party in England considered this misfortune as "the greatest blow which the Church of God had received, since the first Reformation by Martin Luther in 1517."* The union of the Protestant princes was broken up. "The Catholic principle passed with wonderful rapidity from a moment of the utmost danger, to an omnipotent sway over the south of Germany and the Austrian provinces."†

It was during the excitement of this conflict, and in the month following the victory of the Austrians at Prague, that James adopted one of those arbitrary measures which weak governments resort to in their imbecile desire to control public opinion. On the 27th of December, says D'Ewes, "I saw and perused a proclamation set out by his majesty, inhibiting or forbidding any of his subjects to discourse of state matters, either foreign or domestic; which all men conceived to have been procured by the count of Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador." The autobiographer holds this proclamation to be "unseasonable and harsh," because the triumphs of Romanism "required men's mutual condoling, which might prove a means to stir them up to a more zealous and earnest intercession with God by prayer." This was an innocent delusion of the young Puritan; for that Englishmen should cease to interchange their thoughts at the bidding of an insolent government was as impossible as to prevent them thinking. Their thoughts broke out in signs not to be mistaken. The Spanish ambassador, who dwelt in the bishop of Ely's house in Holborn, was obliged to have a guard of soldiers to protect him; and "when he passed at any time through London in his horse-litter, many were the curses and execrations the people bestowed upon him." The old dread of the supremacy of popery was coming back. Round the Spanish ambassadors a vast following of English and Irish papists had been accustomed to collect. "Their house was the resort of their brethren in the faith, and, as a Venetian said, they were regarded almost in the light of legates of the apostolic see."‡ It was in this excited temper of the nation that the king at length called a parliament, which met on the 30th of January, 1621. In his progress from Whitehall to Westminster "he spake often and lovingly to the people, standing thick and threefold on all sides to behold him, 'God bless ye! God bless ye!' contrary to his former hasty and passionate custom, which often in his sudden distemper would bid a plague on such as flocked to see him."* A little before this time he had in a proclamation directed that those who crowded upon him, in joining the royal hunt without permission, should be sent to jail, calling their curiosity "the bold and barbarous insolency of multitudes of vulgar people."† He is now in a gracious humor. He has something to ask of the parliament: "I have reigned eighteen years, in which time you have had peace, and I have received far less supply than hath been given to any king since the Conquest. The last queen, of famous memory, had, one year with another, above a hundred thousand pounds per annum in subsidies." James does not attempt a comparison between the manner in which the queen of famous memory spent her subsidies in the defence of her country, and in the support of Protestantism in Europe; while he was lavishing thousands upon Hay and Somerset and Villiers, impoverishing the crown and degrading the nation. Clarendon, speaking of the reigning favorite of 1621, and his host of dependants, says that the demesnes and revenues of the crown were sacrificed to the enriching of a private family; "and the expenses of the court so vast and unlimited, that they had a sad prospect of that poverty and necessity which afterwards befell the crown, almost to the ruin of it."‡

The parliament of 1621 was in no complacent mood. James said to them, "I have often piped unto you, but you have not danced." They gave him a small subsidy in return for unusually gracious speeches, and then went boldly about the redress of grievances. They revived the use of the terrible word "impeachment," which had gone out of men's mouths for nearly two centuries. Monopolists were the first attacked with this constitutional weapon. One of the greatest of them, Sir Giles Mompesson, finding that the government which had granted him his patents for gold and silver thread, and for licensing inns and alehouses, would not stand up in his defence, fled beyond sea. In his licensing of alehouses, a justice of the peace, Sir Francis Michell, had been the instrument of Mompesson's oppressions. His patent for gold thread was used for the purposes of fraud. "They found out a new alchymistical way to make gold and silver lace with copper and other sophistical materials."§ The dramatists of the time brought the monopolists into notice upon the public stage:

> "Here's another;
> Observe but what a cozening look he has!
> Hold up thy head, man; if, for drawing gallants
> Into mortgages for commodities, or cheating heirs
> With your new counterfeit gold thread, and gumm'd velvets,
> He does not transcend all that went before him,
> Call in his patent."‖

The Sir Giles Overreach of Massinger's "New Way to Pay Old Debts" was Sir Giles Mompesson, and the Justice Greedy of the same popular play was Justice Michell. The real Overreach and the real Greedy were degraded from knighthood, were fined, and were banished. Higher delinquents began to tremble. Yelverton, the attorney-general, was connected with the prevailing corruption, and when detected denounced Villiers as his enemy. The judge of the Prerogative Court was impeached for venality, and the bishop of Landaff for being accessory to a matter of bribery. It was an age of universal abuses. Local magistrates were influenced by the pettiest gifts, and were called "basket-justices," a name which in the next century was applied to the stipendiary justices of Bow Street. Upon the highest branch of this rotten tree sat Francis Bacon, Viscount St. Alban's, the great lord chancellor. His contemporaries were impressed with his versatile abilities and his majestic eloquence; but they were disgusted by his profusion, and they had little confidence in his honesty. The greatness of his intellect was to be appreciated in other ages; and his faults were then to be slightly regarded while the eyes of all men were to be dazzled by the splendor of his genius. His contemporaries, with one accord, resolved that no excuse should interfere with his degradation, for what he himself called his frailty in

* D'Ewes, "Autobiography," vol. i. p. 162.
† Ranke, "History of the Popes," vol. ii. p. 465.
‡ Ibid., p. 498.

* D'Ewes, vol. i. p. 170.
† "Verney Papers," p. 117.
‡ "History of the Rebellion," book i.
§ Wilson.
‖ Massinger, "The Bondman," act ii., sc. 3.

partaking of "the abuses of the times." He was charged by the Commons, before the Lords, with twenty-two acts of bribery and corruption. He attempted no defence. He saw that the court would not shield him, even if it had the power. He made a distinct confession in writing of the charges brought against him; and when a deputation from the peers asked if that confession was his own voluntary act, he replied, "It is my act, my hand, my heart. Oh, my lords, spare a broken reed." The sentence of the parliament was that the Viscount St. Alban's, late lord chancellor, be fined 40,000*l.*, be imprisoned in the Tower during the king's pleasure, made incapable to bear office in the commonwealth, never to sit in parliament, nor to come within the verge of the court. The king remitted the fine, and released the fallen man after an imprisonment of a few days. It is vain to attribute Bacon's fall to the malevolence of Coke or the intrigues of Villiers. The House of Commons saw that the time had come for striking at the root of some of the most flagrant of official corruptions; and Bacon, though perhaps not more guilty than many others, was struck down as a signal example to lesser offenders. The latest editor of Bacon's Philosophical Works, pointing out that the chancellor admitted the taking of presents, as he himself had taken them, to be indefensible, adds that he always denied he had been an unjust judge; or, to use his own words, "had ever had bribe or reward in his eye or thought when he pronounced any sentence or order." With regard to the degree of moral criminality, these questions are proposed: "1. What was the understanding, open or secret, upon which the present was given or taken? 2. To what extent the practice was prevalent at the time? 3. How far it was tolerated? 4. How it stood with regard to other abuses prevailing at the same time." * If these points could be satisfactorily ascertained, the most merciful conclusion at which we could arrive would be the opinion of Bacon himself, as recorded by Dr. Rawley: "I was the justest judge that was in England these fifty years; but it was the justest censure in parliament that was there these two hundred years."

If the stern severity of the House of Commons, in which the Peers went along with them, toward every order of delinquents, from the griping usurer to the prodigal chancellor, demands our respect, we must regard with equal abhorrence the same popular assembly when carried away by a passionate fanaticism into an act of vindictive cruelty. The house was in a fever about the Palatinate; and when it became known that a Roman Catholic barrister, Edward Floyd, had expressed his joy that "goodman Palsgrave and goodwife Palsgrave" had been driven from Prague, there was no punishment too terrible to be inflicted upon the delinquent—whipping, the pillory, boring of his tongue, nailing of his ears, were small justice for such an offence. The house went beyondi ts powers in passing a heavy sentence upon Floyd without hearing him. He appealed to the king, denying the accusation against him; and the Commons were asked by the council how they took upon them to judge offences which did not interfere with their privileges. The house paused, and Floyd was arraigned before the Lords, who confirmed the sentence, with additional severities. Whipping, which was a part of this sentence, was remitted on the motion of Prince Charles. The unhappy man underwent the other unjust punishment—to pay a fine of 5000*l.* and to be imprisoned for life. "There is surely no instance," says Mr. Hallam "in the annals of our own, and hardly of any civilized country, where a trifling offence, if it were one, has been visited with such outrageous cruelty." Let us not forget, as we proceed, in tracing the history of this nation, that the passions of a parliament have been as marked, if not as frequent, a source of injustice as the despotic tendencies of a king; and let us feel that a due balance of the powers of the respective estates cannot be so happily preserved that prerogative and privilege may be kept equally innoxious, except under the guidance of an enlightened public opinion.

The king and the parliament had been proceeding in apparent harmony, when they were adjourned over the summer. The court had manifested no zeal about the question of the Palatinate; but the Commons made a solemn protestation, which was entered in the journals, that they would spend their lives and fortunes in the defence of their religion, and of the cause of the elector. Their pledge "was sounded forth with the voices of them all, withal lifting up their hats in their hands as high as they could hold them, as a visible testimony of their unanimous consent, in such sort that the like had scarce ever been seen in parliament." The houses met again, after an interval of five months, on the 20th of November. It was announced that troops had been sent for the defence of the Palatinate under Sir Horace Vere. The Commons voted a small subsidy, which was totally inadequate to any vigorous exertions. The clamor for warlike operations was not seconded by any liberality which could rouse James to exertion. The parliament had no confidence in a king who shuddered at a drawn sword. His natural temperament and his policy were in complete accord; and it was perhaps well for the country that they were so. Had his son Henry been on the throne, who proposed the Black Prince and Henry the Fifth as his models, England might have put herself at the head of a great religious war; but she would have wasted that strength which enabled her, in another quarter of a century, to wage a greater battle at home for civil and religious liberty, without losing her power of commanding the respect of every government in Europe.

England had in this year an opportunity to draw the sword in a necessary quarrel—the suppression of the outrages of the Barbary pirates. Spain had agreed to co-operate in an attack upon Algiers but she sent a very insufficient force to join the English flag. James went about this salutary work in his timid and parsimonious way. He directed the commander of his fleet, Sir James Mansell, not to risk his ships. The Algerines, having had only a few boats burned, defended their harbor, and Mansell came home with nothing achieved. The English merchantmen were now the prey of the African pirates and the country bitterly complained of the national losses and the national dishonor. When the parliament reassembled it was in no conciliating humor. Lords Essex and Oxford had returned from the Palatinate, and proclaimed that the country of the elector and the Protestant cause were lost for want of timely aid. As we have seen the two houses were afraid to trust the expenditure of money in unclean hands. They could not understand how James was affecting a desire to contend against the power of Spain and Austria, when he was negotiating, in secret, as he believed, for the marriage of his son to the daughter of the Most Catholic king. During the recess, a leading member of the Commons, Sir Edwin Sandys, had been committed to the Tower; but it was protested that the commitment was unconnected with the privileges of the house. His bold manner of speaking in parliament was undoubtedly his offence. The Commons passed over this matter; but they drew up a petition, prepared by Coke, against the growth of popery, urging that Prince Charles should marry one of his own religion, and that the king should turn his attention toward that power which had first carried on the war in the Palatinate. That power was Spain. James had heard of this motion; and he anticipated the receipt of the petition by sending a violent letter to the speaker, commanding the house not to meddle with any matter which concerned his government, or the mysteries of state. He informed them also that he meant not to spare any man's insolent behavior in parliament. The Commons returned a temperate answer, in which the king was told that their liberty of speech was their ancient and undoubted right. James replied that their privileges were derived from the grace and permission of his ancestors and himself. Some excuses were made for the expressions of the king, which were called a slip of the pen. The Commons deliberately recorded their opinions, in a memorable protestation, on the 18th of December, 1621, in which they solemnly affirmed that the liberties and jurisdictions of parliament are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England; that the affairs of the king and the state, of the defence of the realm, and of the Church of England, the making of laws, the redress of grievances, are proper subjects of debate in parliament; that in handling such business every member of the house hath, and of right ought to have, freedom of speech; and that every member hath like freedom from all impeachment, imprisonment, and molestation, except by the censure of the house itself. There were great men concerned in this protestation—Coke, Pym, Selden. Eminent peers, for almost the first time in the history of the country, took part with the Commons against the crown. The king dissolved the parliament, and imprisoned the earl of Oxford, and the leading members of the Commons. The struggle which was to be fought out in the battle-field, twenty years after

* "Works of Francis Bacon," collected and edited by James Spedding, vol. i. Note to Life by Rawley. 1857.

ward, was already commenced in a most unmistakable manner. It was a contest for first principles. England was to be a constitutional monarchy or a despotism. The parliament being dissolved, James again resorted to a Benevolence—a voluntary contribution of the people, as the courtiers pretended. Its voluntary character may be understood from a little incident: "A merchant of London, who had been a cheesemonger, but now rich, was sent for by the council, and required to give the king 200*l.*, or to go into the Palatinate and serve the army with cheese, being a man of eighty years of age." *

The king, who publicly declared that "he would govern according to the good of the commonweal, but not according to the common will," † went on with his Spanish negotiation in utter defiance of the public feeling. His son-in-law was now a refugee at the Hague, with his queen—a favorite of the English—and their family. Their misfortunes, as well as the defeat of the principle which they represented, excited the warmest sympathy. In no point of policy was there any concord between the government and the people. In February, 1623, London was startled with the extraordinary news that the Prince of Wales and Villiers, now marquis of Buckingham, had gone off privately for Madrid. The negotiation for the marriage with the Spanish princess had been nearly concluded by the earl of Bristol, a special ambassador to the court of the young King Philip IV., the brother of the Infanta. A dispensation from the pope was only waited for; and James had himself written to his holiness to urge the favor. He promised all sorts of toleration; and to give an earnest of his disposition, suddenly released from prison a large number of popish recusants, to the great anger of the Puritans. The motives for the strange proceeding of the prince and the favorite remain a mystery. Clarendon holds that Villiers originated the scheme to gain favor with the prince, who had been long jealous of him. The king was at first greatly opposed to the adventure, which was not without its danger. Smith seems to be a favorite name for disguised princes. Charles was John Smith, and the marquis Thomas Smith. They were accompanied by Sir Richard Graham. They got to Dover, after some awkward inquiries, and there were joined by Sir Francis Cottington and Mr. Endymion Porter. They reached Paris, and in their disguise had a peep at the court, and saw the Princess Henrietta Maria, the lady whose good or evil destiny to be the future queen of England overruled that of the Spanish princess. On the 7th of March the "sweet boys and dear ventrous knights, worthy to be put in a new romanso," as James termed them, arrived at Madrid. Howell, one of the most amusing of letter-writers, was then in the Spanish capital, and he describes how "to the wonderment of all the world, the prince and the marquis of Buckingham arrived at this court." He tells how they alighted at my lord of Bristol's house; how Mr. Thomas Smith came in at first with a portmantle, while Mr. John Smith stayed on the other side of the street in the dark; how Bristol brought in the prince to his bed-chamber; how the marquis the next day had a private audience of the king of Spain; how the king came to visit the prince; how the royal family went out in a coach, the Infanta having a blue ribbon about her arm that the prince might distinguish her as he took the air on the Prado; and how when the lady saw her lover her color rose very high. The prince and his companion were seven months absent from England. To attempt to follow out the course of the intrigues that took place during this period would be far beyond our limits; nor do we conceive that, however amusing may be the relations of court festivities, the bull-fights and the tournaments, the processions and the banquets, with which the heir of England's throne was received, they are necessary to be here detailed. That Charles was conducting himself with that duplicity which belonged to his nature is agreed on all hands. He was ready to promise, not only toleration for the Roman Catholics in England, but that he would never engage in any hostile measure against the Church of Rome; but on the contrary would endeavor to bring about an unity in one faith and one church.‡ In August James made oath to certain articles which had been agreed upon: that the Infanta, with her suite, was to be allowed the exercise of her religion; that the early education of her children should be intrusted to her; that even if they should remain Catholic their right of succession should not be interfered with. The king also promised not to trouble the Catholics in the private exercise of their religion; nor to impose any oath against their faith; and to endeavor to obtain from parliament a repeal of all penal laws against them. If the marriage had taken place, and these conditions had been observed, England would infallibly have been plunged into civil war. As it was, after a long course of deceit, either to the court of Spain or to the people of England, or to both, Charles and Buckingham returned home. The ministers of Spain had interposed many vexatious delays while Charles was at Madrid, and had attempted to take advantage of his presence. He made engagements which he would not have ventured to fulfil, and he sanctioned misrepresentations for his vindication when he returned to England. Buckingham was jealous of the earl of Bristol; and he conceived a dislike of the Spanish court, to which his insolent manners and his gross licentiousness were displeasing. His personal resentments, and perhaps the tastes of the prince, destroyed the web of policy which James had been so long weaving. The king had been quite willing to surrender all the outworks which defended England against a new invasion of papal supremacy, in his desire for a marriage which would give his son a princess with a great dowry, and secure, as he fondly expected, the restoration of his son-in-law to his hereditary dominions. The people would have made no compromise with Spain, and they would have boldly sought to settle the affairs of the Palatinate by the sole argument which the Catholic powers would have regarded, success in arms. When the prince and Buckingham returned home, and the marriage treaty was broken off, there was universal rejoicing. The duke became immediately popular; and in his confidence in the altered tone of public feeling he persuaded the king to summon a parliament. It met on the 19th of February, 1624. The houses confided in Buckingham's artful representations of his conduct in the transactions with Spain; and he was hailed by Coke, in the Commons, as the savior of his country. The king was all graciousness. It was resolved that a grant to the extent of 300,000*l.* should be made, for the specific purpose of recovering the Palatinate; and the war was thus necessarily a war against Spain, united as she was with the other branch of the house of Austria in holding the dominions of the elector, and in endeavoring to destroy Protestantism in Europe. In this session of three months a great good was sought to be accomplished by the passing of a statute which declared all monopolies to be contrary to law, and all such grants to be void.* The struggle to effect this object had been a long one. The promises of the crown had been constantly broken; but now, by a solemn act of parliament, the exclusive privileges to use any trade and to sell any merchandise were declared to be contrary to the ancient and fundamental laws of the realm, and all grants and dispensations for such monopolies to be of none effect. How the statute was respected will be seen in the next reign.

In this last parliament of James there was unquestionably a better understanding between the crown and the representatives of the people—a practical concord that, under a new king, might have been improved into a co-operation for the general good, if the altered condition of society had been understood by both parties. The Commons had now acquired a full confidence in their own strength. They impeached Cranfield, earl of Middlesex, lord treasurer of England, for bribery and other misdemeanors. He was convicted, after a trial before the peers, conducted by managers on the part of the Commons; was fined 50,000*l.*; and was declared incapable of sitting in parliament. Buckingham's jealousy of the lord treasurer's power is held to have contributed to this result. The king warned his son and his favorite that they might live to have their fill of parliamentary impeachments; but he could not resist the united force of public justice and private intrigue. From the time of the failure of the Spanish treaty, the monarch who claimed to be absolute felt that he was powerless. He had lost even the respect of his son; his insolent minion despised him. He was forced into war against his will; and the war brought him no honor, while it absorbed his revenues. An army of twelve thousand men was raised in England for the service of the elector palatine. Half the number were lost from sickness by being embarked in foul and crowded ships; and their commander, Count Mansfeldt, was not strong enough to undertake any offensive operations. England was not in any very glorious attitude. The

* "Letter of Mr. Mead," February, 1622. Ellis, Second Series, vol. iii. p. 240. † Ibid. ‡ See Ranke, vol. ii. p. 500.

* 21 Jac. I. c. 3.

people became discontented; and their discontents were not lightened when another negotiation was set on foot for the marriage of Prince Charles with a princess of France, in which country Catholicism was again becoming intolerant and persecuting.

In March, 1625, King James was taken ill at Theobalds. He died on the 27th of that month, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and in the twenty-third year of his reign.

CHAPTER LXXXV.

Accession of Charles I.—Marriage of the king with Henrietta Maria—The first parliament of Charles—Grievances—Naval failures—The second parliament—Contests of Peers and Commons with the crown—Subsidies illegally levied—Imprisonments for refusals to pay—The queen's foreign attendants dismissed—War with France—Its causes—La Rochelle—Expedition to the Isle of Rhé—The third parliament—Petition of Right—Buckingham denounced in the Commons' House—Prorogation of parliament—Siege of La Rochelle—Buckingham and Richelieu—Assassination of Buckingham—Felton, the assassin—Surrender of La Rochelle—Parliament—Religious differences—Parliament dissolved in anger—Members imprisoned—Peace with Spain and France.

Charles I. was proclaimed king on the day of his father's death. The possessor of the crown was changed. The administration of government was unaltered. Buckingham was still the first in power; with equal influence over the proud and dignified Charles of twenty-five, as over the vain and vulgar James of fifty-nine. We are told that "the face of the court was much changed in the change of the king;" that the grossnesses of the court of James grew out of fashion.* The general change could have been little more than a forced homage to decency, while Buckingham was the presiding genius of the court of Charles; but from the first the king exhibited himself as "temperate, chaste, and serious."† A letter, written within a few weeks of his accession, says, "Our sovereign, whom God preserve, is zealous for God's truth: diligently frequents and attentively hearkens to prayers and sermons; will pay all his father's, mother's, and brother's debts, and that by disparking most of his remote parks and chases; will reform the court as of unnecessary charges, so of recusant papists."‡ The personal demeanor of the king compelled a corresponding outward show in the courtiers. At the beginning of this reign the people must have had a reasonable expectation of being religiously and quietly governed.

The marriage of Charles with the Princess Henrietta Maria of France was the result of the treaty made in the previous reign; and it was concluded by proxy even before James was laid in the tomb at Westminster. There were bonfires in London for the marriage on the 3d of May. On the 7th Charles was the chief mourner at the funeral of his father. The young queen arrived at Dover on the 12th of June. She came at a gloomy time, for London was visited with pestilence. On the 18th the parliament was opened by the king. Although the bonfires had been lighted in London for the king's marriage, the union with a Roman Catholic princess was in itself offensive; and Charles had given indications of concessions to the papists which were distinctly opposed to the existing laws. Although he vailed his crown to the Lords and the Commons when he first spoke from the throne, he had roused the suspicions of the sturdy band who had resisted the despotic attempts of his father. He defied public opinion by granting special pardons to Romish priests, without the intervention of the law. There was a restrictive code, harsh and unjust no doubt, but not to be dispensed with by an exercise of the prerogative. Buckingham had led the parliament into the sanction of a war; but his popularity was fast passing away. Time had revealed the concessions which had been made to Rome in the negotiations for the Spanish marriage; and the people were not all in raptures about "a most noble new queen of England who in true beauty is beyond the long-wooed Infanta;"§ for they had learned that concessions as strong had been made that Charles might wed this "most absolute delicate lady" of France.‖ Henrietta's "radiant and sparkling black eye" enchanted those who gazed as she dined in public at Whitehall,¶ but there was many a country gentleman in the House of Commons who thought the daughters of England as fair and far less dangerous. Henrietta brought twenty-nine priests in her train; and mass was celebrated at the palace on Sundays and saints' days. She showed temper too; and one who was driven with the crowd out of the public dining-room, because it was too hot, said, "I suppose none but a queen could cast such a scowl."* In the House of Commons were the old opponents of the absolute kingship of James, who were far from the mood which the lord-keeper Coventry thought befitting—he who in opening the next session talked of the "incomparable distance between the supreme height and majesty of a mighty monarch and the submissive awe and lowliness of loyal subjects." When they were told by the courtly Sir Dudley Carleton that in all Christian kingdoms there were once parliaments, till the monarchs overthrew these turbulent assemblies, and stood upon their prerogatives, they the more resolved that the example should not be followed in England; and when he illogically compared the misery of the people in foreign countries with the happy state of the English, who had store of flesh on their backs, they became more assured that the prosperity of the people mainly depended upon their own resolution to maintain their freedom. Hence, when a supply was asked, they came to the old question of unredressed grievances. They granted a very limited subsidy; and would only vote tonnage and poundage for one year. The plague was raging in London. "While we are now speaking," said a member, "the bell is tolling every minute." The parliament was adjourned to Oxford. A disgraceful transaction had taken place, which was well calculated to make the Commons very cautious of granting further supplies. Seven ships had been lent to the king of France, which had been engaged under pretence of serving against Austria. They were employed against the French Protestants who were defending themselves at La Rochelle. When Frenchmen were taken on board the English sailors deserted. The king grew importunate for more supplies; the Commons complained of the mismanagement of public affairs. An abrupt dissolution took place on the 12th of August.

To counteract the influence of parliament, and to show the injustice of its want of confidence in the government, some bold and showy enterprise was to be undertaken. A great fleet was to be fitted out against Spain. The cost of the expedition was to be provided for without asking supplies from a parsimonious and suspicious House of Commons. Writs were issued under the Privy Seal, demanding loans from private persons; and chiefly from those who had presumed to think that grants of money and redress of grievances should go together. If a loan was refused by a person of station and local authority, he was struck out of the commission of the peace. By these and other arbitrary means a fleet of eighty sail was dispatched from the Downs in October, under vague instructions to intercept the Spanish treasure ships, and to land an army on the coast of Spain. The command of this armament was given to a landsman, Lord Wimbledon. The ten thousand English troops, who had been set on shore near Cadiz, accomplished no greater feat than plundering the "cellars of sweet wines, where many hundreds of them being surprised, and found dead drunk, the Spaniards came and tore off their ears, and plucked out their eyes."† The gallant commander now led his disorderly men back to their ships, to look after the rich fleet that was coming from the Indies. While he was thus master of those seas, the rich fleet got safe into Lisbon. A contagious disease broke out in one ship; and the sick men being distributed among all the other ships, some thousands died before an English port was again made. Parliament was not to be propitiated by Buckingham's great scheme for raising money by the same process that was so successful in the hands of the Drakes and Frobishers. During twenty years of weak and corrupt government the race of naval heroes had died out.

A new parliament met on the 6th of February, 1626. The proceeds of the forced loans were gone, and sums that had been raised by pawning the crown jewels to the Dutch had also disappeared. The constitutional mode of raising money must again be resorted to, however unwillingly. The parliament now assembled has been called a "great, warm, and ruffling parliament."‡ It saw that the

* Mrs. Hutchinson. † Ibid.
‡ Letter of Mr. Mead. Ellis, First Series, vol. iii. p. 187.
§ Howell, section iv., letter 34. ‖ D'Ewes, vol. i. p. 272. ¶ Ibid.

* "Mordant to Mead," Ellis, First Series, vol. iii. p. 206.
† Howell, vol. i. sect. 4, p. 184.
‡ Whitelocke's "Memorials."

government of England by a rash and presumptuous minion, whose continued influence was not obtained by his talents or his honesty, was incompatible with the honor and safety of the country. Committees were appointed in both houses; and they traced the disgrace of the national flag, and the corruptions of the time to Buckingham. When supplies were demanded, the Commons again demanded redress of wrongs. The king assumed a tone that irritated the representatives of the people without alarming them: "I must let you know," said Charles in a message, "that I will not allow any of my servants to be questioned amongst you, much less such as are of eminent place, and near unto me." He threatened that if they did not hasten for his supply it would be worse for themselves. There were men in that house who were unmoved by this "representation of great fear." The Commons locked their doors; and after a long deliberation resolved upon the impeachment of Buckingham. The business was committed to eight managers. The most eloquent man in the house, Sir John Eliot, discharged his duty of summing up the charges, with a boldness that must have been appalling. He complained of Buckingham's oppressions and his extortions; his engrossing of all offices for himself and his kindred; his pride and his covetousness, his boundless ambition. Finally, he compared the duke to Sejanus: and exclaimed to the assembled peers, "My lords, you see the man." Charles was transported with rage. If Buckingham was Sejanus, he, the king, must be Tiberius. Eliot was instantly arrested, as well as Sir Dudley Digges, who had opened the charges. The house refused to proceed to any business while their privileges were thus violated. Digges made some submission and was speedily released. Eliot refused any compromise. After eight days' confinement in the Tower the king saw it was not a time for the continuance of this ominous contest; and Eliot again took his place in the house. Subsidies had been agreed to be voted; but while these quarrels were going on no formal act had been passed for their levy. The king, with the impeachment hanging over the head of Buckingham, commanded the University of Cambridge to elect the obnoxious minister to its chancellorship, then vacant. There was a spirited resistance to this ill-timed act of power; but the election of the duke was carried by a small majority. Buckingham had replied to the articles of impeachment; and had expressed his wish for a regular trial. The king interposed, and sent a peremptory message to the Commons demanding a supply without condition. They drew up a remonstrance; and being suddenly summoned to the House of Peers, they found commissioners of the crown assembled to dissolve the parliament. The remonstrance was useless; but the spirit which had called it forth became permanent—a principle which no violent measures could weaken or destroy. At this crisis the sovereign had not, as in previous times, a subservient House of Peers to support any outbreak of despotic power. He had caused the earl of Arundel to be arrested, during the sitting of parliament, for some private offence. The Lords asserted their privilege that no peer should be arrested, the parliament being sitting, except for treason or felony, or for refusing "to give surety for the peace." Arundel was discharged. The earl of Bristol was obnoxious to the court; for he was the person best acquainted with the proceedings regarding the Spanish marriage. He was not summoned to this parliament. The Peers insisted that the earl should receive his summons. He was ordered by a royal letter not to take his place. But he did take his place, and laid the secretary's letter before the house. Bristol was then suddenly charged at the bar of the Lords as a traitor. The Peers insisted that Bristol should be allowed to make his accusation against Buckingham before the charge against himself was heard. He brought forward his allegations against the duke for his conduct in Spain, and exhibited the falsehood of his representations upon his return to England. The earl was then accused by the attorney-general for his conduct as ambassador, the facts alleged against him being dependent on the king's own testimony. The Peers sent to the judges for their opinion, whether such testimony was to be admitted. The judges were commanded by the king not to return an answer. Bristol made a satisfactory reply to the charges against him. The king and his minister were alone damaged by these impolitic proceedings.

Thus, then, had Charles dismissed two parliaments within fifteen months of his accession to the throne. The Commons had declared their intention to grant five subsidies—"a proportion," says Clarendon, "scarce ever before heard of in parliament." But they were required to grant them without their complaints being listened to; and the king, by his passionate resolution to dissolve, was again left to unconstitutional devices. "That meeting," continues Clarendon, "being upon very unpopular and unplausible reasons dissolved, these five subsidies were exacted, throughout the whole kingdom, with the same rigor as if, in truth, an act had passed to that purpose. Divers gentlemen of prime quality, in several counties of England, were, for refusing to pay the same, committed to prison, with great rigor and extraordinary circumstances."* But it was not the "divers gentlemen of prime quality" only who resisted these arbitrary exactions. "On Monday," says a contemporary, "the judges sat in Westminster Hall to persuade the people to pay subsidies, but there arose a great tumultuous shout amongst them, 'A parliament, a parliament, else no subsidies.'"† There were five thousand whose voices shook that roof with their protest against tyranny. The name of subsidy being found so likely to conjure up a spirit that could not readily be laid, commissioners were sent out to accomplish the same result by a general loan from every subject, according to the proportion at which he was rated in the last subsidy that had been granted by parliament. The pretensions of the crown were advocated from the pulpit, and the disobedient were threatened with more than temporal penalties. But the denunciations of the servile portion of the clergy were probably less efficacious than the examples of men of station and influence being committed to the Fleet and the Gate-house, for their steady refusal of an illegal demand; of tradesmen and artificers being dragged from their homes for imprisonment or for forced service in the army or navy; of licentious soldiers, who had returned from the miserable expedition to Spain, being quartered in the houses of those who knew their rights and dared to maintain them. Some of the more distinguished of the gentlemen who had been committed to prison sued the King's Bench for a writ of habeas corpus. The writ was granted; but the warden of the Fleet made a return that they were committed by a warrant of the privy council, by the special command of the king, but which warrant specified no cause of imprisonment. The argument upon this return was of the highest importance to establish "the fundamental immunity of English subjects from arbitrary detention."‡ It was not that the judges decided against the crown, but that the discussion of the question eventually led to the establishment of the principle by the statute of Charles II. The arguments of Selden and Noy for the liberty of the subject were heard in the Court of King's Bench with shouting and clapping of hands; but they had a far higher influence. They sank into the hearts of the people, and sent them to ponder the words of Selden, "If Magna Charta were fully executed, as it ought to be, every man would enjoy his liberty better than he doth."

In the orders that were issued to the deputy-lieutenants and justices to enforce these exactions, the king affirmed that he was threatened with invasion. This was in July, 1626. The alarm of invasion was probably only a pretext "in order to shelter the king's illegal proceedings."§ Another fleet was sent to sea, under the earl of Denbigh; and there was another series of neglects and disasters. But there was a growing cause of quarrel with France as well as with Spain, which would very speedily render the prospect of invasion not so improbable. In the early days of their union the king and queen did not live without serious disagreements. In November, 1625, Charles wrote to Buckingham, who was in Paris, desiring that the duke would communicate to the queen-mother the king's intention "to put away the monsieurs"—the numerous priests and other attendants of Henrietta. There is another letter in which he complains that the queen does not treat him with due respect. At length Charles made up his mind to get rid of these enemies of his happiness, as disagreeable to his people as to himself. On the 7th of August, 1626, he writes to Buckingham, "I command you to send all the French away to-morrow out of the town. If you can, by fair means; but stick not long in disputing. Otherwise force them away, driving them away like so many wild beasts, until you have shipped them."‖ They refused to go; but when the captain of the guard with his yeomen and heralds appeared at Somerset House, where

* "History of the Rebellion," vol. i. p. 9. Oxford edit. 1826.
† "Mead's Letters." ‡ Hallam. § Ibid.
‖ Ellis, First Series, vol. iii. p. 244.

the French were established, they went on board the barges prepared for them, and afterward travelled from Gravesend to Dover in forty coaches. In four days they were landed in France. The queen, according to the gossiping Howell, "broke the glass-windows and tore her hair." He adds, "I fear this will breed ill-blood 'twixt us and France;" and he was right. In October came over marshal Bassompierre, as a special ambassador, to remedy these misunderstandings. His account of his embassy is full of curious details of the English court. He saw Buckingham at his state palace at York House (Jorchaux, the Frenchman, writes), which James had given to the favorite, having acquired it by exchange with the archbishopric of York. Here Buckingham had displayed his wonted extravagance. It was "more richly fitted up than any other I saw," says Bassompierre. When the ambassador went to see the king at Hampton Court, Buckingham was exceedingly anxious that the audience should be private. "He swore to me," writes Bassompierre, "that the only reason which obliged the king to this was, that he could not help putting himself into a passion, in treating the matters about which I had to speak to him, which would not be decent on the high dais, in sight of the chief persons of the kingdom, both men and women; that the queen, his wife, was close to him, who, incensed at the dismissal of her servants, might commit some extravagance, and cry in spite of everybody." Bassompierre at last consented to say nothing but ceremonial words at this public audience. He had afterward a private interview, at which the king did "put himself into a great passion;" and he "witnessed, there, an instance of great boldness, not to say impudence, of the duke of Buckingham, which was, that when he saw us the most warmed, he ran up suddenly and threw himself between the king and me, saying, 'I am come to keep the peace between you two.'" In a letter to the king of France describing this interview, Bassompierre relates the spirited speech which he made to Charles when asked by him why he did not execute his commission to declare war: "I told him that I did not hold the office of herald to declare war, but that of marshal of France to conduct it whenever your majesty should resolve upon it." In a very short time there was war with France. It has been usual to ascribe this outbreak of hostility between two courts connected by marriage solely to the presumption and licentiousness of Buckingham. "He had the ambition," says Clarendon, "to fix his eyes upon, and to dedicate his most violent affection to, a lady of a very sublime quality, and to pursue it with most importunate addresses." This lady was Anne of Austria, the queen of Louis XIII. She was a neglected wife, and heard with too much levity the flatteries of the handsome duke. These familiarities took place when Buckingham went to France to bring over Henrietta. It was intimated to him that he had better decline such attempts if he would escape assassination; but he swore, adds Clarendon, "that he would see and speak to that lady in spite of the strength and power of France." The historian of "the rebellion" does not exhibit the court of England in a very favorable light when he ascribes the origin of a great war to the profligacy of so unworthy a person as George Villiers. But such an assumption is calculated to hide the real cause of this war—the broken faith of England to France upon the most important points of the marriage treaty. In defiance of public opinion James and Charles had solemnly agreed that the French princess should have the education of her children till they were twelve years old. Henrietta wrote to the pope to protest that if her marriage were blessed with lineage she would "make no choice of any but Catholic persons to nurse and bring up the children that may be born of it." It is clear that the court of France expected from this secret treaty not only toleration for Roman Catholics, but an open encouragement, which the king, however bound by his promise, could not venture to grant. The explanation which the able historian of the popes offers of the origin of this war is far more satisfactory than the ordinary solution. Pope Urban VIII., says Ranke, represented to the French ambassador how offensive it was to France that the English by no means adhered to the promises made at the marriage. Either Louis XIII. ought to compel the fulfilment of these engagements, or wrest the crown from a heretic prince who was a violator of his word. To the Spanish ambassador the pope said that Philip IV. was bound to succor his kinswoman, the queen of England, who was suffering oppression on account of her religion. On the 20th of April, 1627, a treaty was signed between the French minister, Richelieu, and the Spanish minister, Olivarez, by which it was agreed that the two powers should unite in an invasion of England. It was also agreed that in the event of conquest the pope should have Ireland, and govern it by a viceroy. "While the Catholic powers were devising this vast plan of an attack on England, it fell out that they were themselves surprised by an attack from England." * This solution of an historical problem, the cause of the French war, is far more consistent with probability than Charles's "alliance with the Huguenot party in consequence merely of Buckingham's unwarrantable hostility to France, founded on the most extraordinary motives." † The treaty between France and Spain had become known to the Venetian ambassador at Paris, and it was not likely that the knowledge would not have been communicated to the English government, with which the Venetians held friendly relations. It is creditable to the statesmanship of Buckingham that he resolved to anticipate the projected attack upon England by a strenuous aid to the French Protestants, who were asserting their religious freedom in the ancient stronghold of the reformers, La Rochelle. The policy of the war was calculated to redeem the odium into which Buckingham had fallen. The conduct of the war, under his own generalship only brought on him a deeper public indignation.

On the 27th of June, 1627, while Cardinal Richelieu was preparing to besiege La Rochelle, Buckingham set sail from Portsmouth with a fleet of a hundred ships, carrying six or seven thousand land forces. At the latter end of July he appeared before La Rochelle, and proffered his assistance in the defence of the town. The inhabitants, perhaps remembering that English ships had been lent to France to be employed against them, had a natural distrust of the proffered friendship, and declined to open their gates to the duke. It was then determined to occupy the adjacent island of Rhé. Buckingham and his forces landed, having driven back the troops which opposed him. But he wanted the skill of a general, though his personal courage cannot reasonably be doubted. His plans were unformed. He remained inactive while the French threw reinforcements and provisions into their forts. He besieged the principal fort of St. Martin without success, and at the time when further aid from England was expected, raised the siege and retreated toward his ships. "The retreat," says Clarendon, "had been a rout without an enemy, and the French had their revenge by the disorder and confusion of the English themselves, in which great numbers of noble and ignoble were crowded to death or drowned." The people had their joke upon this disastrous expedition, for they called the isle of Rhé "the isle of Rue;" but there was something more enduring than popular sarcasm. There were mutinies after Buckingham's return in the autumn, in the fleet and army. The people refused to suffer the soldiers to be billeted on them, and opposed an impress of free forces. Martial law was proclaimed, and many were executed "which," says Clarendon, "raised an asperity in the minds of more than of the common people." The general discontent was increased by an inland army being retained during the winter. Sir Robert Cotton represented to the king that this was an unexampled course that Elizabeth, even in 1588, adopted no such measure; and that the people considered that this army was kept on foot to "subject their fortunes to the will of power rather than of law, and to make good some further breach upon their liberties at home rather than defend them from any force abroad." There was a general disaffection throughout the country. "This distemper," says Clarendon, "was so universal that the least spark still meeting with combustible matter enough to make a flame, all wise men looked upon it as the prediction of the destruction and dissolution that would follow. Nor was there a serenity in the countenance of any man who had age and experience enough to consider things to come." In this temper of the people resort was once more had to a parliament to supply the urgent necessities created by this ill-conducted war.

In summoning his third parliament the king evinced some faint indication of a desire for a better understanding with his people, by releasing those who had been imprisoned for refusing to contribute to the forced loan of the previous year. From seventy-seven persons thus released no submission was required, and no concession was offered to them for the wrong. Many of them were men of fortune

* See the curious relation in Ranke, vol. ii. book vii. chap. 3.
† Hallam.

and the sense of the injustice which had been done to them was shown by their being returned to the parliament which met on the 17th of March. No House of Commons more powerful from the station, the wealth, and the talent of its members was ever before assembled in England. In the letter of a contemporary it is said, "I heard a lord intimate they were able to buy the Upper House over, notwithstanding there be of lords temporal to the number of a hundred and eighteen; and what lord in England would be followed by so many freeholders as some of these are?"* The ardor of their debates, the energy of their resolves, were tempered by a patience and gravity which is the more remarkable considering the personal indignities which some of their body had received. Clarendon acknowledges that he does not know any formed act of either house that was not agreeable to the wisdom and justice of great courts; and that "whoever considers the acts of power and injustice of some of the ministers in the intervals of parliament will not be much scandalized at the warmth and vivacity of those meetings." The king opened this parliament with words which the house of Stuart seemed to think essential to its dignity. He asked for a supply; if denied a speedy relief to his necessities he would resort to other means. "Take not this as threatening," he added; "I scorn to threaten any but my equals." The menace passed unnoticed. The Commons knew that commissioners had been appointed to levy impositions, if there was an inevitable necessity, and that a contract had been entered into for sending over troops and arms from Flanders, under pretence to defend the country from invasion. They resolved to grant a large supply—five subsidies—to be paid within a year. Put your excellent resolution in the form of a bill, said the courtiers. Wait a little, was the answer. We must have securities that his money shall be no longer exacted from the subject in the form of loans; that no person shall be imprisoned or molested for refusing such loans; that soldiers shall not be billeted on private persons; that commissions for martial law shall be revoked or annulled. Upon these demands was founded the "Petition of Right," which became one of the statutes of the realm. It were long to tell how hard was the struggle before this memorable petition became a law. Coke, in a conference between the Lords and Commons, exclaimed, "It lies not under Mr. Attorney's cap to answer one of our arguments." Selden stated that he had written out with his own hand all the precedents which existed in the records, and that Mr. Attorney would not find one omitted. Wentworth (afterward Strafford) said, "We vindicate—what? new things? No; our ancient, legal, and vital liberties—by re-enforcing the laws enacted by our ancestors; by setting such a seal upon them as no licentious spirit shall dare hereafter to enter upon them." The king was extremely unwilling to give up what he thought his right of arbitrary imprisonment, and he secretly submitted certain questions to the judges, the most material of which was whether, in assenting to the Commons' petition, he should not exclude himself from committing a subject without showing cause. The judges held out an indirect promise that this apprehended limitation should not be the effect of the petition if it should become law. The lord-keeper had declared that the king held Magna Charta and the other statutes which protected the liberty of the subject to be in force, and that they would find as much security in his royal word as in any law that they could make. The secretary, Cook, when he asked, in the name of the king, whether the House would rest on the royal word, was answered thus by Pym: "We have his majesty's coronation oath to maintain the laws of England: what need we then to take his word?" After many attempts to shake the resolution of the Commons, the bill was passed; and the houses were assembled to hear the royal assent. It was given in these words: "The king willeth that right be done according to the laws and customs of the realm, and that the statutes be put in due execution, that the subjects may have no cause to complain of any wrong or oppression contrary to their just rights and liberties; to the preservation whereof he holds himself in conscience as well obliged, as of his prerogative." Smooth words, but not such as would content the Commons, who had been accustomed to hear a much more explicit answer from the throne when a petition was to become a law. The Commons returned to their deliberations. "Sir John Eliot," writes a member of the house, Thomas Alured, "moved that as we intended to furnish his majesty with money, we should also supply him with counsel." His speech—"wherein," says Rushworth, "he gave forth so full and lively a representation of grievances, both general and particular, as if they had never before been mentioned"—was a masterpiece of argument and invective. The king's evasive words formed no topic of this harangue; but "there wanted not some who said that speech was made out of distrust of his majesty's answer to the petition."* On the day after Eliot had spoken, the Commons had a message from the king to dispatch their old business without entertaining new; and the day following another message, requiring them "not to cast or lay any aspersion upon any minister of his majesty." Then was presented a scene such as the tame patriotism of modern times may have difficulty in comprehending. Mr. Alured thus describes it in his letter: "Sir Robert Philips of Somersetshire spake, and mingled his words with weeping. Mr. Pym did the like. Sir Edward Coke, overcome with passion, seeing the desolation likely to ensue, was forced to sit down when he began to speak, by the abundance of tears."† The Speaker begged to retire, and the house went into committee. Then Coke rose, and with a solemnity befitting his advanced age, denounced the duke of Buckingham as the author and cause of all the miseries of the country. There was something in that passion of tears against which the habitual obstinacy of Charles could not contend. The Petition of Right was assented to by the king in the usual manner after the two houses had requested him to give a satisfactory answer. It now stands in the statute-book as "The Petition exhibited to his Majesty by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, concerning divers rights and liberties of the subjects: with the King's Majesty's royal answer thereto in full parliament." That answer is, "*Soit droit fait come est desire.*"‡ The Commons passed their bill of subsidies; and there were bonfires and bell-ringing throughout the land, for there was hope that the old days of oppression were passed. But the Commons were unwilling to leave their work imperfectly finished, and they proceeded to prepare a bill to grant the king tonnage and poundage, but delayed passing it till they had delivered a remonstrance against the levy of dues upon merchandise without consent of parliament. The king stopped the remonstrance by a prorogation, and told the Commons that he drew this branch of his revenue by his prerogative, and would not submit to have his right questioned.

The war with France had assumed the aspect of a trial of strength between Buckingham and Richelieu. Without admitting the very questionable theory that they were rivals for the favor of Anne of Austria, there can be no doubt that on either side there was more than ordinary political hostility. The war has been called a duel between these two ministers. Never was duel fought with greater inequality. Buckingham's highest praise was that of having such "endowments as made him very capable of being a great favorite to a great king." This opinion which Clarendon formed of him indicates very different qualities than those which are required in a minister to a great nation. This proud, insolent, voluptuous young man, whose "inordinate appetite and passion," according to the same authority, were the main cause of the national calamities, was to be matched against the most calculating and at the same time the boldest statesman of that age. It was the battle of a pigmy and a giant. While Buckingham was wasting his soldiers by his gross mismanagement in the Isle of Rhé, Richelieu was taking a comprehensive view of the position and resources of La Rochelle, and forming a plan for its reduction eminently characteristic of his genius. After Buckingham's inglorious return, a second expedition had gone forth from Plymouth in the spring of 1628, under the duke's brother-in-law, the earl of Denbigh. Having looked at the French fleet in the harbor, he speedily came back to report what he had seen, after the exchange of a few harmless shots. On the 28th of May Charles wrote to the authorities of La Rochelle, urging them to hold out to the last, and using these solemn words of assurance to fifteen thousand people, who saw famine slowly but surely approaching: "Be assured that I

* Quoted from Sloane's MSS. in Mr. Forster's "Life of Sir John Eliot," p. 57, note.

* Rushworth. Eliot's speech is imperfectly given by that collector, and is reprinted, with connecting observations, in Mr. Forster's "Life of Eliot."

† This interesting letter is to be found in Rushworth, and in "Acta Regia," p. 666.

‡ 3 Car. I. c. 1.

will never abandon you, and that I will employ all the force of my kingdom for your deliverance." A third fleet was equipped, after parliament had granted the subsidies; and in spite of a remonstrance of the Commons against the power of Buckingham and his abuse of that power, the duke was again to take the command. Had he sailed, the triumph of Richelieu over the man who had aspired to be his rival would have been complete. La Rochelle was wholly blockaded on the land side, but the port was open. An English fleet might come to the relief of the town, under better commanders than the rash Buckingham or the timid Denbigh. Richelieu had read in Quintus Curtius how Alexander the Great had subdued Tyre by carrying out a mole to interrupt the entrance to the harbor. He caused a great mound to be made fourteen hundred yards across, with a small tide-way, and it was nearly completed when a storm destroyed it. He was a man not to be discouraged by one failure, and he caused the work to be begun anew. The tacticians of the army laughed at the extravagant schemes of the priest whom the king had appointed their lieutenant-general. The cardinal persevered; the mole was formed; the fate of La Rochelle was certain. The English fleet might now come. It was getting in readiness to sail from Portsmouth. The great duke had arrived to take the command. That he would have fought to the death for the relief of the beleaguered Huguenots there can be no doubt. Not only was his pride engaged in the quarrel, but his future political existence depended upon the issue of this his last venture. He was not destined to fall before the superior genius of Richelieu. He perished by the tenpenny knife of an assassin.

At the beginning of June Charles sent to his minister these orders: "Buckingham, I command you to draw my army together to Portsmouth, to the end I may send them speedily to Rochelle. I shall send after you directions how and where to billet them, until the time that you will be able to ship them." * The duke had been at Portsmouth and its neighborhood for several weeks. On the 23d of August he was sitting at breakfast in a lower room of the house which he occupied in the town, and his coach was waiting at the door to convey him to the king, who was staying at a mansion at Southwick. The breakfast-room and the antechamber were filled with a crowd of attendants and officers; and among them passed in, unobserved, a short dark man, who, having looked upon the company, went back to the dimly-lighted lobby through which the duke would pass to the street. Buckingham stopped to speak to Sir Thomas Fryer; and the short man being behind stabbed the duke in his left side, leaving the knife in the body. The duke, exclaiming "The villain hath killed me," drew out the knife, and reeling against a chimney fell down dead. The villain was John Felton, a younger brother of a Suffolk family. He had served as lieutenant in the expedition to Rhé; had been disappointed of some promotion; was "of a deep melancholy, silent, and gloomy constitution;" † and, according to his own dying declaration, was moved to assassinate the duke as "an enemy to the public." "In a bye-cutler's shop on Tower Hill he bought a tenpenny knife, and the sheath thereof he sewed to the lining of his pocket, that he might at any moment draw forth the blade alone with one hand, for he had maimed the other." ‡ Felton, full of his dark design, made his way to Portsmouth, partly on foot and partly on horseback, and he there struck down, in one instant, the man whom the shrewd Bassompierre regarded as he who governed absolutely in England. "Within the space of not many minutes before the fall of the body and removal thereof into the first room there was not a living creature in either of the chambers." § Felton might have escaped, but in endeavoring to pass through the crowd in the antechamber he lost his hat. In that hat was found a paper with the following writing: "That man in my opinion is cowardly and base, and deserveth neither the name of a gentleman nor a soldier, that is unwilling to sacrifice his life for the honor of God and the good of his king and country. Let no man commend for doing it, but rather discommend themselves; for if God had not taken away their hearts for their sins, he had not gone so long unpunished. John Felton." ‖ The assassin went quietly unpursued into the kitchen of the same house, while the people an the soldiers were wildly rushing about, and the gates of the tow were closed. The search was in vain for the murderer; but whe the multitude returned to the house a hatless man, standing in th kitchen, exclaimed, "Here I am," and boldly confessed the dee When it was pretended that the duke was not dead he declared th he knew he was dispatched, for that it was the hand of Heaven tha gave the stroke, and if the duke's whole body had been covered wit armor of proof he could not have avoided it." * Felton was remove to the Tower of London; was brought to trial on the 27th of No vember; was sentenced upon his voluntary confession; and wa executed on the 29th, acknowledging that he had been guilty of great crime. While in the Tower "he was at one time there threa ened by Sir Edward Sackville, earl of Dorset, that he should b forced upon the rack to confess who were privy with him and con senting to the duke's death. 'I have,' said he, 'already told th truth on that point, upon my salvation; and if I be further que tioned by torture, I will accuse you, and you only, my lord of Dorse to be of conspiracy with me." †

The deportment of Charles, on receiving the news of his favorit minister's untimely death, was more composed than some writer have held to be compatible with a sincere grief. It is as frivolous a unjust to make any such inference. The king did what is the bes thing to be done under any calamity—he tasked his faculties in activ exertion. He applied himself to complete the equipment of the flee that Buckingham was to have led to La Rochelle. In twelve day seventy vessels sailed from Portsmouth, and thirty more quickl followed. On the 15th of September the fleet was off the Isle of Rhé The earl of Lindsey was the admiral. In the town of La Rochell there was the most intense suffering from famine. The French arm surrounded it. The great mole prevented any supply of necessarie from the sea. The English fleet coasted up and down without an fixed purpose. The spirit of national enterprise was gone. Lindse looked upon the mole, and had no thought of breaking it down. H looked upon the French camp, and had no inclination to land hi men for an attack. He sent a fire-ship or two into the port, and h discharged a few cannon. On the 18th of October La Rochelle wa surrendered, in despair of receiving any help from the lukewarm c treacherous allies that had stimulated the Protestants to a desperat resistance to their persecutors. The horrors of this siege of fourtee months exceed most of the miseries recorded of beleaguered towns Fifteen thousand persons died of hunger and disease. There wa not a horse left alive in the town, for they had all been eaten. Cow hides were a delicacy; and when these were gone, and the supply o dogs and cats was exhausted, leather was in request, so that th household of the duchess of Rohan gladly devoured the animal cove ing of her coach. Lindsey took his fleet back to Portsmouth; an probably even the courtiers might think that the Commons woul have some justice on their side if they repeated the words of thei remonstrance of the last session, that the conduct of the war ha "extremely wasted that stock of honor that was left unto this king dom, sometime terrible to all other nations, and now declining t contempt beneath the meanest."

On the 20th of January, 1629, the parliament was assembled During the recess of six months there had been causes of disconten and irritation, besides the calamities of La Rochelle. Tonnage an poundage had been collected, as the king had threatened to do, with out consent of parliament, and goods had been seized when mer chants resisted the demand. The king now adopted a less lofty tone He had enforced these dues, but he was willing to receive them i future by the gift of his people. The judges had decided agains the merchants who had refused payment; and the Commons were not content to let the matter rest without some marked condemnatio of the past violation not only of the ancient statutes, but of the re cent Petition of Right. The House was soon again in a controversia attitude; and the questions of civil liberty then became embittered b religious differences. There were now two distinct parties in th Church, the Calvinistic and the Arminian—each taking differen views of the doctrines of free-will and necessity. The Arminian, o High Church party, the more powerful with the king, was propor tionately weak in parliament. The great body of the Commons were

* Harleian MS., in the king's hand.
† Sir H. Wotton.
‡ Ibid.
§ Ibid.
‖ This document was found among the Evelyn papers at Wotton, and came into the possession of the late Mr. Upcott.

* Howell, p. 204.
† D'Ewes, vol. i. p. 887.

Puritans—the holders of opinions that had been gradually strengthening from the time when King James insulted their professors. These opinions had become allied with the cause of constitutional freedom; for it was among the High Church party that the intemperate assertors of the divine right of kings were to be found. Laud, translated from the bishopric of Bath and Wells, had become bishop of London in 1628, and was in effect the primate, for archbishop Abbot, whose principles were not in accordance with those of the court, had been suspended. Under Laud there had been ceremonial observances introduced into the performance of divine worship, which were offensive to those who dreaded a revival of popery in copes and candlesticks, prayers toward the east, and bowings to the altar. We know a little in the present day of the somewhat unchristian spirit engendered by differences about ceremonies, but we cannot adequately comprehend the strong feelings of the Englishmen of the seventeenth century upon these points, unless we bring to the proper understanding of their struggles a candid and tolerant admission that they were men in earnest. It is an odious blemish upon the narrative of Hume, our most popular historian, that whenever he encounters a strong instance of religious zeal in the Puritans he exclaims "hypocrisy." It is an almost equal fault of other writers that they regard the desire, however ill-regulated, to invest the performance of religious rites with some of the decent order and even pomp of the earlier churches, as mere superstition and idol-worship. There was a man who made his first speech in the session of 1629, who it was once the fashion to regard as the arch-hypocrite of his times. Hume calls him "fanatical hypocrite." He was described, as he appeared in the same house eleven years afterward, as "a gentleman very ordinarily apparelled, for it was a plain cloth suit, which seemed to have been made by an ill country-tailor;" * but this plain gentleman, with "his countenance swollen and reddish, his voice sharp and untunable," had, according to the same observer, an "eloquence full of fervor." It was Oliver Cromwell that attracted the attention of the "courtly young gentleman," as Sir Philip Warwick terms himself, in 1640; and in 1629 he was disturbing the complacency of other courtly gentlemen by a speech thus briefly reported: "That he had heard by relation from one Dr. Beard that Dr. Alablaster had preached flat Popery at Paul's Cross, and that the bishop of Winchester had commanded him, as his diocesan, he should preach nothing to the contrary. Mainwaring, so justly censured in this house for his sermons, was by the same bishop's means preferred to a rich living. If these are the steps to church preferment, what are we to expect?" At present we need not further enter into these theological complaints of the Commons than to indicate their nature by this speech. It was a declaration of opinion by one who, though new to public life in 1629, was connected with some of the great parliamentary leaders by family ties and private friendships, and was sent to parliament from Huntingdon, the town in which he dwelt, with the reputation of sagacity and energy in his local relations. The complaints thus briefly reported to be uttered by Cromwell at this time are to be found at much greater length in the speeches of more conspicuous members. Brief but ominous was the session. There was a committee formed on religion, and charges against Bishop Laud were to be presented to the king. Eliot prepared a form of three protestations—that whoever should bring in innovations in religion, extend or introduce Popery or Arminianism; whoever should advise the levying or taking tonnage and poundage not granted by parliament; whoever should voluntarily pay the same, should be reputed a capital enemy to the kingdom and commonwealth. On the 2d of March Eliot brought forward these matters in the shape of a remonstrance. The Speaker refused to read the paper; the clerk at the table refused to read it. Eliot then read it himself, and demanded that it should be put to the vote. The Speaker refused; for "he had been commanded otherwise by the king." He rose to quit the chair, but two members dragged him back, and there forcibly held him. Eliot threw his remonstrance on the floor, and placed his protestations in the hand of Denzil Hollis, who put them to the vote. They were carried by acclamation. The Commons then adjourned to the 10th of March. Three days after, Eliot, Selden, and other members, were summoned before the Privy Council, and four were committed to the Tower. They refused to answer out of parliament for what they had done as members. The subsequent proceedings against them belong to the unhappy period when England was under absolute government for eleven years. On the 10th of March Charles dissolved the parliament, denouncing some members of the Lower House as "vipers;" and he issued a proclamation which, says Clarendon, "was commonly understood to interdict all men to speak of another parliament."

Before entering upon the course which was now before him of governing without parliaments, the king and his advisers saw that it would be dangerous to have the responsibility of conducting a foreign war amid national discontents. Peace was concluded with France and Spain in the course of the next year. One public effort was made for the cause of Protestant liberty in Europe by sending a small force to the aid of Gustavus Adolphus. But this aid was not given in an open and manly way, or for the assertion of a great principle. It was pretended that the force was raised in Scotland as a private undertaking of the marquis of Hamilton. It was ill equipped, insufficiently provided with provisions, and "mouldered away in a short time," without rendering any service to the Protestant cause in Germany.* In truth there was no real affection for the Protestant cause. The majority of the foreign Protestants were regarded by the government, now closely allied with the dominant party in the Church, with dislike and distrust. The doctrines of Geneva had become more offensive than the doctrines of Rome. In England the religious principles of the Puritans were identified with a sturdy assertion of civil rights, while the arbitrary tendencies of the king were encouraged by many of the higher clergy who held the tenets from which the Puritans wholly dissented. To the great body of the people the innovations in religion, as they were termed, not unnaturally seemed an approach to Romanism. To the king and the prelates the resistance to these innovations seemed a dangerous opposition to the courtly doctrine that to disobey any of the commands of sovereigns was a heinous sin. The parliament impeached the preachers who maintained in their printed sermons that kings had an absolute power over the property of their subjects. Charles gave them preferments. The foreign Protestants were fighting, for the most part, for civil as well as religious liberty, and thus they found no real support among the rulers of England. Gustavus Adolphus went his own way to uphold the Reformation. Charles entered into a secret treaty with Spain for the subjugation of the Seven United Provinces, which, after better consideration, he declined to ratify.

* "Warwick's Memoirs," 1701, p. 247.

CHAPTER LXXXVI.

Absolute government—Condition of England from 1629 to 1637—Contrasts of France and England—Imprisoned Members—Sir John Eliot—His death in prison—Wentworth—Lord president of the North—Lord deputy of Ireland—His principles of government—Prynne's Histrio-Mastix—His punishment—Masques and Plays—Character of the drama—Book of sports—*Thorough*, in Church and State—Monopolies—Proclamations against building in London—Other arbitrary proclamations—First project of ship-money—The writ of ship-money extended—The judges sanction the writs—John Hampden—Solemn trial of the validity of the writ of ship-money—Hampden adjudged to pay—Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick—The despotism of Charles not effective of any public improvements—His alleged patronage of the fine arts.—*Note*, on the portraits of Charles.

Lord Clarendon, in a passage that has been more than once quoted to show how happy a people may be under an absolute government, says that after the dissolution of Charles's third parliament "there quickly followed so excellent a composure through the whole kingdom that the like peace, and plenty, and universal tranquillity for ten years was never enjoyed by any nation." The great historian, with something like impartiality, then proceeds to detail the exactions and abuses of these ten years. The imposition of duties which the parliament refused to grant; vast sums extorted from "all persons of reasonable condition upon the law of knighthood"—that is fines for refusing knighthood; monopolies which had been abolished renewed; new projects of the same sort, "many scandalous, all very grievous," set on foot; the old forest-laws revived, under which great fines were imposed; the writ of ship-money framed, "for an ever-

* Whitelocke.

lasting supply on all occasions;" the jurisdictions of the council-table and the Star Chamber enlarged to a vast extent, "and being the same persons in several rooms, grew both courts of law to determine right, and courts of revenue to bring money into the treasury;" proclamations enjoining what was not enjoined by law, and prohibiting that which was not prohibited, "so that any disrespect to any acts of state or to the persons of statesmen was in no time more penal;" and lastly, the abuse of justice at its fountain-head in the enforcement of arbitrary acts of power by the corruption of the judges. This is the catalogue of grievances presented by the eulogist of King Charles—a strange commentary upon his representation of "the excellent composure through the whole kingdom" during these years of unmitigated despotism. There is, however, a far more unscrupulous defender of arbitrary power than Clarendon. It required something beyond common effrontery in Hume, after he had noticed the oppressive levies of money, the monopolies, the heavy fines and brutal punishments of the Star Chamber, the iniquities of the courts of law, to write thus: "The grievances under which the English labored, when considered in themselves without regard to the constitution, scarcely deserve the name; nor were they either burdensome on the people's properties, or any way shocking to the natural humanity of mankind."* Had this been true instead of being distinctly opposed to truth, it would have been perfectly impossible for any amount of prosperity among the people—which prosperity really depended upon their own industrious energies—to have made "the so excellent a composure" a real symptom that they had agreed to renounce "those foundations of right by which men valued their security"†—to accept slavery in the place of freedom. Wisely has it been said, "in the long run freedom ever brings, to those who know how to keep it, ease, comfort, and often wealth; but there are times in which it disturbs for a season the possession of these blessings; there are other times when despotism alone can confer the ephemeral enjoyment of them. The men who prize freedom only for such things as these, are not men who ever long preserved it."‡ The men who lived in England in that fourth decade of the seventeenth century were not seduced from their allegiance to freedom by the vaunted "peace and plenty" of arbitrary power. Nor did their subsequent awful manifestation of their love of freedom suddenly arise out of their impatience of evil government. "They were native and to the manner born." They did not prize freedom solely because, having from very early times enjoyed a larger share of it than other nations, they had found in its enjoyment a larger share than other nations of material blessings. They clung to freedom—to borrow the words of M. de Tocqueville—for "its native charms independent of its gifts—the pleasure of speaking, acting, and breathing without restraint, under no master but God and the Law."

In briefly presenting the few striking incidents that vary the monotonous prospect over the dead level of ten years, we shall endeavor to exhibit them in connection with some of the general aspects of society.

There has been a battle between the crown and the parliament, and the crown keeps the field. There is not the slightest indication of any other collective resistance. The camp of the people is broken up, and there will be no irregular warfare. The timid among the Puritans are in despair. The day of the dissolution, with them, "was the most gloomy, sad, and dismal day for England that happened in five hundred years last past."§ A great branch had indeed been lopped off the tree of liberty; but there stood the old gnarled trunk, and "the splitting wind" could not bend it or disturb its roots. "Be a king," said Henrietta Maria to Charles, "like the king of France." There were some barriers to be removed, besides that of a parliament, before that wish could be accomplished. France and England were essentially unlike in the whole construction of the machine of government. Let us point out some of these differences, without entering upon minute comparisons.

The absolute monarchy of France was upheld by a most numerous aristocracy; standing apart from the people, and despising the people in their pride of birth; exempt from taxation; possessing many exclusive privileges; abhorring any industrious occupation; intermarrying with their own caste alone. The limited monarchy of England had strengthened its power by the destruction of the military organization of the feudal chiefs; but the aristocracy, being absorbed among the people, became identified with the interests of the people, formed family alliances with the rich middle classes; were united with them in various administrative functions; above all, were equally taxed with the very humblest yeomen and burghers. The illegal imposts of Charles were not exclusively levied upon the tradesman. They touched the nobleman and the squire; and some of the heaviest "lighted most upon persons of quality and honor who thought themselves above ordinary oppressions."* The union of classes in England for great public objects is not a thing of yesterday. It was never more complete than in the period which we are now regarding. Richard Chambers, the London merchant who refused to pay the duties illegally levied upon a bale of silk, and was imprisoned and fined £2000 for his insolence in comparing the injustice to the practices of the government of Turkey; and John Hampden, the Buckinghamshire squire, who roused the heart of England to a quicker pulsation, in his contest with the whole power of the crown upon a question of twenty shillings levied upon his lands at Stoke Mandeville—these were each fighting the same battle, with the most perfect accord, and with equal sympathy among all ranks. "If the English had, from the period of the Middle Ages, altogether lost, like the French, political freedom and all those local franchises which cannot long exist without it, it is highly probable that each of the different classes of which the English aristocracy is composed would have seceded from the rest, as was the case in France, and more or less all over the continent, and that all those classes would have separated themselves from the people. But freedom compelled them always to remain within reach of each other, so as to combine their strength in time of need."†

The "local franchises" dependent upon "general political freedom" constituted another powerful barrier against the disposition of an English king to govern like a king of France. The English had been trained, from the very earliest times, to manage their own affairs. The principle of local association was the familiar condition of an Englishman's existence. Parochial vestries, trade guilds, municipal corporations, were the life of the whole social body. Though parliaments had been suspended by Charles, these remained in their original vigor, and perhaps in a more intense activity. The existence of administrative bodies throughout the kingdom rendered it impossible for any amount of absolute power to effect more than a very partial suppression of liberty of speech and action. The proceedings of the guilds and corporations were conducted with the strict order of the highest deliberative assemblies. The entire machinery of representative administration called them together and regulated their debates. There is no parliament at Westminster from 1629 to 1640; but there is a parliament in Guildhall. There is the elective principle in full force. There the lower house discusses every matter of its franchises with perfect freedom. There is an upper house, to which the lower house presents its bills, and with the mutual concurrence they pass into acts. Could this vital representation of two or three hundred thousand inhabitants of London be in daily use, and the higher representation of all England be ultimately put down by the will of the king? To be as a king of France Charles must have swept away every local franchise, and have governed by one wide-embracing centralization. That was simply impossible in England.

But if there was one cause more than another why, at that period a king of England could not govern like a king of France, it was the state of religious feeling among a rapidly increasing number of the most influential portion of the community. It was not the outwardly devout formalism, veiling indifference, which prevailed among Roman Catholic populations, who had rarely been stirred to serious thought upon the great doctrinal questions that had agitated Europe for more than a century. It was an active principle that was constantly seeking to grapple with lukewarmness in the assertion of what it held to be true, as much as with the positive tenets which it pronounced to be false. The earlier professors of the doctrine and discipline called Puritan had been discountenanced by Elizabeth. But they clung with unquestionable loyalty to her government, because the hatred of

* History, chap. liii. † Clarendon.
‡ De Tocqueville, "Society in France," p. 308.
§ D'Ewes, vol. i. p. 402.

* Clarendon. † De Tocqueville, p. 178.

popery was as much the passion of the people as it was the policy of the crown. The Puritans of the time of James suffered in their worldly interests and their rights of conscience. They were visited with penaltes as nonconformists, and they were hunted as schismatics if they formed independent congregations. But they were as yet without the character of a political party. When Charles had been four years on the throne, the religious dissatisfaction with church-government became essentially political. The opinions which forty years before had been heard in remote pulpits, or had crept forth in secretly-printed tracts, were now loudly proclaimed in parliament, and boldly assailed the government of the Church in the same votes and remonstrances that protested against the violations of civil liberty by the crown. By this union, which gave a new vitality to the struggle for constitutional freedom, was it rendered more and more impossible that a king of England, however transiently paramount, could govern like a king of France.

It is related that when Charles put off his robes on the day of the dissolution of parliament he vowed that he would never again put them on. The purpled dignity of the king was to be henceforth displayed only beneath the canopy of the presence-chamber, where every face was to be dressed in smiles, and no bold men who talked of rights should dare to intrude. There was now one in that presence-chamber whose voice had been of the loudest among the Commons in opposing the misgovernment of Buckingham. The death of that favorite opened a career to Sir Thomas Wentworth far more congenial to his nature than that of a patriot. He was essentially different in character from the minions who had governed James, and one of whom had bowed Charles to his will. Highly descended, abundantly wealthy, intellectually great, proud and despotic, he saw that the time was come when England would be ruled either by a king or by a parliament, and not by a well-balanced union of the monarchical and the democratic power. He chose the part most congenial to his nature, and became the ablest servant of the crown, the most dangerous enemy of public liberty. Pym and Wentworth had long "kept together in their chivalry." Wentworth displayed to his friend a glimpse of the sunny prospect that was opening to him. "You are going to be undone," said Pym; "but remember that though you leave us now, I will never leave you while your head is on your shoulders."* There were other companions of Wentworth in the great battle against prerogative, who were not in a condition to utter any such prophetic threat. The members of the Commons who were committed to the Tower on the 5th of March were still imprisoned. The judges had declared in the autumn that they were entitled to be bailed; but that they must give securities for their good behavior. They refused to accept their liberty upon such terms. Three were then indicted in the King's Bench; Eliot for words uttered in the house, and Hollis and Valentine for a tumult in forcibly detaining the Speaker in the chair. They pleaded that the jurisdiction of the court did not extend to offences said to be committed in parliament. The great constitutional question of privilege was thus raised. Steadily refusing to put in any other plea, judgment was given against them, to the effect that they should be imprisoned during the king's pleasure; that Eliot should be fined two thousand pounds, and the others fined in a smaller amount. After eighteen months the two who were considered the lighter offenders were released. Eliot, one of the noblest of a noble band, was sacrificed to the vengeance of the crown. He was committed to the Tower on the 5th of March, 1629. He died there, of a lingering disease brought on by confinement, on the 27th of November, 1632. In his dangerous illness his friends urged him to petition the king for his release. The county of Cornwall had in vain petitioned that their old member might be discharged. Eliot, in addressing Charles, simply stated his bodily ailment, and said, "I humbly beseech your majesty you will command your judges to set me at liberty, that for recovery of my health I may take some fresh air." The answer was that the petition was "not humble enough."† Eliot, like Raleigh, employed his prison hours in literary occupation. His treatise, "The Monarchie of Man," which remains unpublished, has been analyzed by his best biographer;‡ and it presents in this form many passages which show that his ardor for constitutional liberty was built upon the noblest philosophy, and that while dealing with questions that were then called "The Politicks," in a free and unsubdued spirit, he sets forth the highest views of man's duty and happiness in his expositions of The Monarchy of Mind. Such was the martyr in that contest for the liberty of speech by the representatives of the people. He perished; but the judgment against him was solemnly reversed, after the Restoration, as an illegal judgment and against the freedom and privileges of parliament.

The rise of Wentworth to power was rapid. Created a viscount, he was first placed in the great office of lord president of the North. The authority of this functionary was almost absolute. In the reign of Henry VIII. a commission had been granted to the council of York, for preserving the peace in the counties of York, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, during the insurrections caused by the dissolution of the monasteries. The council had gradually fallen into disuse as a court of law, after the occasion had passed away for its jurisdiction. But under James a new commission was issued, by which authority the commissioners were not to determine causes by juries and according to the laws of the land, but according to secret instructions. The judges of the Common Pleas had the honesty in James's time to resist this encroachment upon the liberty of the subject, by issuing prohibitions to the president and council. But when Wentworth became president he declared he would lay any one by the heels who dared to sue out prohibitions in the courts of Westminster. During his presidency the inhabitants of this great portion of the kingdom—not indeed so populous as the south or so wealthy, but occupied by an energetic race, whose descendants, numbered by hundreds of thousands, are now among the foremost in grand industries and high intelligence—the people of this great division of the north, "were disfranchised of all their privileges by Magna Charta and the Petition of Right." These are the words of Mr. Hyde, afterward Lord Clarendon. The "discretion," he maintained, given under the various commissions of Charles, "hath been the quicksand which hath swallowed up their property, their liberty." When Lord Wentworth removed from this theatre of arbitrary power to be lord-deputy of Ireland, he still held the appointment of president of the North. His particular doings in the vice-regal office may be more conveniently mentioned at a later point of his career. It may be sufficient to say that the lord deputy Wentworth and archbishop Laud had a perfect concord as to the principles upon which both England and Ireland were to be governed; as may be perceived from the following passage of a letter from Wentworth to Laud: "I know no reason, then, but you may as well rule the common lawyers in England, as I, poor beagle, do here; and yet that I do, and will do, in all that concerns my master's service, upon the peril of my head. I am confident that the king, being pleased to set himself in the business, is able by his wisdom and ministers, to carry any just and honorable action *thorough* all imaginable opposition." *Thorough* became the watchword of these two politicians. With *thorough* everything was to be accomplished—"You may govern as you please."* During the lord deputy's long residence in Dublin he had a very indefatigable correspondent in one Reverend Mr. Garrard, a sort of court newsman to the great minister and an occasional reporter of many curious matters of general interest, beyond the scope of mere fashionable chroniclers. By way of finding a few texts upon which to enlarge a little, we may as well turn to this reverend gossip's authority as to more serious records. We begin with an extract of no small significance. "Mr. Prynne's cause in the Star Chamber held the Lords three days, and the day of censure they rose not till three in the afternoon. He is fined five thousand pounds; adjudged perpetual imprisonment; to lose his ears, the one in the Palace Yard, the other in Cheapside; and his books to be burnt by the hands of the hangman."† It is extremely difficult to conceive in our days how the publication in 1633 of "Histrio-Mastix, the Player's Scourge," by "William Prynne, an Utter-barrister of Lincolns' Inn," should have involved the loss of his two ears and five thousand pounds. Learned and ardent men in those times had another mode of maintaining their opinions than by the power of "articles" and "leaders." We take up this book of 1006 closely-printed quarto pages, and our wonder is who would ever read its

* Welwood's Memorials.
† Harleian MS., quoted in Mr. Forster's "Life of Eliot."
‡ Ibid. Appendix, pp. 125 to 177.

* "Strafford's Letters," vol. i. p. 173. † Ibid., p. 207.

arguments against "Stage Plays, the very pomps of the devil which we renounce in baptism," drawn from "the concurring authorities of sundry texts of Scripture, of the whole primitive Church, of 55 Synods and Councils, of 71 Fathers and Christian writers, of above 150 foreign and domestic Protestant and Popish authors, of 40 Heathen philosophers," etc. etc. To burn the books by the hangman, under the nose of the author, "which had almost suffocated him," and thus to keep enthusiasts from losing their senses in the perusal, was indeed a public mercy in the government. Unquestionably no member of the Star Chamber ever read the book; but it is said that Laud and others read the index, and finding therein a very strong phrase against "Women-Actors," so "impudent as to act, to speak publicly on a stage (perchance in man's apparel, and cut hair, here proved sinful and abominable) in the presence of sundry men and women," they determined that this was a libel upon the queen.* This marvellous book had been seven years in preparation. Her majesty had enacted a part in a pastoral at Somerset House, and the day after appeared this ponderous volume. Laud and others, according to Whitelocke, "had been angered by some of Prynne's books against Arminianism," and the king allowed them to revenge themselves upon what he was told was a libel upon his lively consort. It is clear that the affair had, in a great degree, become a personal quarrel between the archbishop and the learned barrister; for in Laud's diary we have an entry that Mr. Prynne sent him "a very libellous letter about his censure in the Star Chamber for his Histrio-Mastix." This memorandum is dated June 11, 1634. On the previous 7th of May Prynne had lost one ear in Palace Yard, and on the 10th another ear in Cheapside. That he wrote bitterly enough we may well believe. Laud showed the letter to the king, who gave it to Mr. Attorney Noy, who had changed his party. When Noy showed it to Mr. Prynne, the mutilated barrister was not so bewildered by his sufferings as not to have presence of mind to tear the letter in pieces, and throw it out of the window, as the archbishop records, under date of June 17th, 1634.† This was not the last of Prynne's misfortunes, as we shall have to relate. Nor had he been the first who had provoked the vengeance of those who were rushing upon a mad career of church government. On the 26th of November, 1630, Laud records that "part of his sentence was executed upon Leighton." Dr. Alexander Leighton, a Scotch divine, had written a book—"Zion's Plea against Prelacy." He owned the writing of the book, when brought into the Star Chamber. It will perhaps be thought that even the "part of his sentence" was not altogether consistent with the mercy of Christianity. Leighton was whipped; put in the pillory; had one of his ears cut off; had one side of his nose slit; and was branded on one cheek. But the whole process was repeated, with the necessary variations of ear, nose, and cheek, a week afterward.‡ Within five weeks the archbishop was consecrating the church of St. Catherine Cree, with processions, and bowings, and other ceremonies "as prescribed in the Roman pontificale." It was the matador throwing down the red rag to enrage the bull. And yet England was not apparently moved from its "so excellent a composure."

From the time of the offensive attack of William Prynne upon stage-plays, in whose condemnation he included "academical interludes," there was a more than usual performance of masques at Whitehall, and of popular dramas. The four Inns of Court, also, "to manifest the difference of their opinion from Mr. Prynne's new learning, and to confute his "Histrio-Mastix" against interludes," § got up a masque written by Shirley, which cost them £20,000. In his "Epistle Dedicatory," Prynne says that there were above "forty thousand play-books printed within these two years;" that "they are more vendible than the choicest sermons;" "the multitude of our London play-haunters being so augmented now, all the ancient devils' chapels (for so the Fathers style all play-houses) being five in number, are not sufficient to contain their troops, when we see a sixth new added." He especially notes of "the inns-of-court men," that "one of the first things they learn as soon as they are admitted, is to see stage-plays and take smoke at a play-house," and to this cause he ascribes that "they prove altogether lawless instead of lawyers, and to forget that little learning, grace, and virtue which they had before." It must indeed be admitted that, notwithstanding the learning of Jonson, the grace and vivacity of Beaumont and Fletcher, the dignity of Massinger, and the infinite variety of the pictures of real life which these and a host of inferior dramatists present, there is a taint more or less among them all, which has prevented many of these most remarkable productions of any age or country coming down with a sweet savor to posterity. It is not merely that we find in them loose and profane expressions, as we sometimes find in Shakespeare, but that, wholly different from the general character of his works, there is such an interweaving of licentiousness with the entire dramatic structure of many of the pieces that were once the most popular, that, as has been especially said of Fletcher, "very few of them can be so altered as to become tolerable at present on the stage."* And yet Beaumont and Fletcher's plays were those most frequently acted before the king and his court. The most serious part of the community had evidently turned with disgust from all dramatic exhibitions; and though Charles was personally careful that all profane expressions should be removed from new plays, we may believe that if the play-books indiscriminately found admission to decent families, there were many besides the stricter Puritans who would think that Prynne was a sacrifice to the cause of public morals. There was a more marked distinction than had before existed, growing up to separate society into two great classes of the pious and the profane. This general division was as imperfect a test of real religion and sound morality as any such sweeping separation can be at any period. There were many among those who were first pointed at as Puritans, and afterward as Roundheads, who had no that bigoted dislike of innocent amusements, that tasteless indifference to elegant literature and the arts, which were unjustly attributed to their religious earnestness. In the same way there was undoubtedly an equal proportion of those who tolerated what others held to be immoral, who were themselves of pure lives, and sincere in their devotional observances, though they did not call the Lord's day the Sabbath, and thought the republication of King James' Book of Sports was a wise measure to prevent the hard-worked peasantry being molested in their reasonable recreations. There was no act of the government which more distinctly than this publication indicated a temper which set at nought the opinions of a class too powerful because too zealous, to be crushed. Ministers might be deprived for refusing to read this Book of Sports in their churches; the citizen who kept his apprentices at home after evening service, instead of leading them to the archery and leaping of Finsbury fields, might be disliked by the young men of his ward; the yeoman who was never seen on the village-green to sanction the commands of his king might be suspected as a nonconformist. But the great party that was growing daily into a visible power only acquired solidity from this external pressure. Garrard tells his patron how the Book of Sports was received in some churches in London: "One Dr. Dawson read it, and presently after read the Ten Commandments; then said 'Dearly beloved, you have heard now the commandments of God and man, obey which you please.'"† The very first statute of the reign of Charles expressed the growing feeling upon this subject, when it forbade all people to go out of their own parishes for any sports or pastimes whatsoever "on the Lord's day;" and enacted that in their own parishes there should be no bear-baitings or bull-baitings, common plays, or other unlawful exercises. The Book of Sports defined certain amusements as lawful. The Puritans regarded them as unlawful. It was a judicial blindness in the rulers to intermeddle in such a delicate a question.

The more important parts of the dispatches of Laud and Wentworth are in cipher; but there are occasional expressions in the published correspondence which sufficiently show for what object they were both striving. Laud, immediately after his translation to Canterbury, apologizes for his want of power to accomplish what they both desired. "As for the Church, it is so bound up in the forms of the Common Law, that it is not possible for me, or for any man, to do that good which he would or is bound to do. . . . And for the state, indeed, my lord, I am for *Thorough*, but I see that both

* Whitelocke.

† Diary of Laud, "A History of the Troubles, etc., of William Laud," 1695, p. 56.

‡ Dr. Leighton was imprisoned till released by the parliament in 1640.

§ Whitelocke.

* Hallam, "Literature of Europe," vol. iii. p. 289.

† "Strafford Letters," vol. i. p. 166.

thick and thin stays Somebody, where I conceive it should not." The common law was indeed some shield of the nation against the attempt which Lord Falkland, who saw the errors of the Church, but was honestly averse to its destruction, thus described: "Some have evidently labored to bring in an English though not a Roman popery; I mean not only the outside dress of it, but equally absolute—a blind dependence of the people upon the clergy and of the clergy upon themselves."* This was the *Thorough* which Laud contemplated. The "Somebody" who opposed the Thorough for the state was no doubt the king. Charles had the sense to see that he could not do much more than he was doing, unless he had an army to compel an obedience far beyond what the Star Chamber could enforce. But he did contrive to dash through "thick and thin," to the accomplishment of many illegal acts, without drawing the sword. The partnership in *Thorough* between the Church and the State was so complete that it is sometimes difficult to separate the theological from the political principle of action; and precisely in the same manner the resistance to the united movement of power became a compound of civil and religious enthusiasm. Whether the partners in power were outwardly acting in their conjoined or several capacities the result was pretty much the same.

During this anomalous period, when proclamations had the force of statutes, the general statements of historians give us little notion of the heart-burnings which were produced by these displays of authority. When Clarendon tells us of "projects of all kinds, many ridiculous, many scandalous, all very grievous," the "reproach of which came to the king, the profit to other men," he points at the barefaced introduction of monopolies, in defiance or evasion of positive laws. Let us take one or two of these grievances, to see how they were borne. The whole trade of soap-boiling throughout the kingdom was to be extinguished or limited, that a company of soap-makers might be the sole manufacturers. These gentlemen, who were to produce better soap, and no doubt cheaper than all the rest of the world, had given the king £10,000 for the patent, and agreed to pay him £8 per ton upon all the soap produced. Clarendon admits that the government obtained £200,000 by this and similar devices, but he says that "scarce £1500 came to the king's use;" from which we infer that the king's officers pocketed the balance. Garrard tells us how the new soap was received in London. "There is much ado about the soap business. . . . I hear a proclamation shall come forth to stop all mouths that speak against it." Commissioners of rank, with the lord mayor and aldermen, were to report upon the soap. "They have had two general washing days at Guildhall; most of them have given their verdict for the new soap to be the better, yet continual complaints rise up, that it burns linen, scalds the laundress's fingers, wastes infinitely in keeping, being full of lime and tallow." The king is indignant at the opposition; commands the lord-mayor to be reprimanded for his "pusillanimity, in this business, being afraid of a troop of women that clamourously petitioned him against the new soap."† Truly, the government is in a dignified attitude. One of the lord deputy's own schemes for keeping Ireland in dependence was to make the people "to take their salt from the king." He sets forth "the easiness of making his majesty sole merchant" of salt—an article of "so absolute necessity as it cannot possibly stay upon his hand, but must be had whether they will or no, and may at all times be raised in price." To show the easiness and profit he says, "Witness the Gabelle of salt in France." Witness, indeed. Those who have read of the extremity of suffering to which the unhappy peasantry of France were reduced by the Gabelle, may form some notion of the condition to which these islands were fast drifting under the rule of *Thorough*. There was scarcely an industrious occupation, from the sale of coals to the collection of rags, that was not made the subject of a monopoly.

But many other ingenious devices were resorted to for the supply of the wants of the crown beyond its large hereditary revenues. There had been proclamations by James and Charles against the increase of buildings in London. The chaplain of the Venetian ambassador, in 1617, thought that the proclamation of James was for the intent of extorting fines, rather than with the hope of preventing the extension of the capital when there was abundant space for its enlargement.* There could be no doubt of the intention of Charles, when in 1633 a commission was harassing every owner of a new house from St. Martin's in the Fields to Blackwall, by levying enormous fines, or commanding the houses to be pulled down. Garrard is very minute in his relation of these proceedings. Refusal to the arbitrary command was dangerous. "Writs are gone forth from the Star Chamber to the sheriff to pull down the houses of Mr. Moor, and to levy £2000 fine for not having pulled them down by Easter." These were forty-two houses near St. Martin's Church; and they were "pulled down to the ground." The interference with the supply of house room was not more arbitrary than the interference with the supply of food. "The taverns," writes Garrard, "begin to victual again; some have got leave. 'Tis said that the vintners within the city will give £6000 to the king to dress meat as they did before."† Proclamations were issued minutely regulating the price of all provisions. There were examples enough of such folly in former times which are held to be necessarily unenlightened; but in the days when the intellect of England was in the fullest activity, the rating of all eatables appears the merest freak of individual idiocy. "The proclamations," says Garrard, "have done little good. They will not bring them [the provisions] in; so that housekeeping in London is grown much more chargeable than it was before these proclamations were published." Some of the proclamations of Charles appear to have had no other object than that of a wanton interference with the convenience of the people. It was the age of hackney-coaches. Garrard says that there were one thousand nine hundred in London and Westminster. At the beginning of 1635 he writes: "There is a proclamation coming forth to prohibit all hackney-coaches to pass up and down in London streets; out of town they may go at pleasure as heretofore." It is true that the narrow streets were somewhat overcrowded with the coaches. The great enemy of these vehicles, John Taylor the water-poet, who saw the demand for the Thames wherries grievously reduced, tells us that "butchers cannot pass with their cattle for them; market-folks, which bring provision of victuals to the city, are stopped, stayed, and hindered." The streets were kept narrow by the absurd proclamations through which the natural extension of the town was impeded. It is clear enough that no interference of the government could put down the coaches; but the limitation of their use had the effect of encouraging the system which was introduced in 1634, by a speculating traveller, of "carrying people up and down in close chairs," called sedans.

While the Star Chamber was pulling down houses in London, those who pulled down cottages in the country, called depopulators, were equally fined. "Much noise is here of the depopulators that are come into the Star Chamber; it will bring in great sums of money." Such means of filling the treasury were, however, small affairs. Six years of irresponsible government have made the administration bolder. In the spring of 1635 Garrard writes that it was resolved in full council, "to take double rates, just as much more as was taken before, of all goods imported into the kingdom." Double rates upon imports were nothing, however, compared to an universal tax. There is gone out a special writ to the lord keeper of the great seal, requiring him, for the safeguard of the sea and defence of the realm, to issue forth writs to the several counties, cities, and towns therein mentioned, to provide ships, men, ammunition, provision, and wages. The lord mayor of London demurred to the writ; but being threatened, the corporation yielded, "and instantly fell to seizing in all the wards." The courtly Mr. Garrard, who rejoiced in all the monopolies because they brought money to the king, is rather discomposed about a tax which at last touches himself. "I had rather give," he says, "and pay ten subsidies in parliament, than ten shillings this new-old way of dead Noy's." Dead Noy, the old attorney-general, who plagued all mankind with his writs, has in this, the last of his performances, left a terrible bequest to the government that bought his desertion of the popular party, as it had bought Wentworth's, by the offer of great place. He had always a precedent ready for an injustice, and thus Garrard calls his writ of ship-money a "new-old way." Yet Noy's scheme

* Speech, Feb. 9th, 1641, in Nalson's "Historical Collections." It is quoted in Dr. Arnold's "Lectures on Modern History."

† "Strafford Letters," p. 176.

* See article in "Quarterly Review," October, 1857, on Mr. Rawdon Brown's "Diaries and Dispatches of the Venetian Embassy; unpublished."

† "Strafford Letters," vol. i. p. 262.

was a very limited one compared with that which was afterward adopted: on the suggestion it is said of Finch, chief justice of the Common Pleas—the courtly speaker whom Eliot and Hollis held in the chair when he refused to put a remonstrance to the vote. The original writs were only sent to London and to the seaport towns; and there was some reason in the demand, for the English navy had fallen into such a miserable condition that Algerine pirates boldly seized upon merchant vessels in the Channel, and the whole commerce of England had become insecure. These first writs required that certain maritime places should furnish one or more ships, or their equipments or pay, as London had paid. In 1635 a fleet was sent to sea for the protection of trade. In 1636 the real writs of ship-money were issued, under which the sheriffs were directed to make a general assessment in all counties and towns specified, according to the means of the inhabitants, to produce the proportions at which the several places were rated. The schedules appended to these writs enable us to form some notion of the comparative opulence of particular districts. Of the counties, Yorkshire, Devonshire, Essex, Kent, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Somersetshire, Suffolk, Wiltshire, are assessed at the highest rate; 12,000*l.* for York, 8000*l.* or 6000*l.* others. Durham, Northumberland, and Monmouth are put at the lowest rate, 2000*l.* or 1500*l.* The inland agricultural counties are at an intermediate scale, about 4000*l.* Next to London, Bristol and Newcastle are the most heavily assessed. The difference of two centuries ago and the present time in local population can scarcely be more strikingly shown than by these schedules; in which Liverpool is only rated at twenty-five pounds, while Bristol is set at eight hundred pounds; Birmingham is not rated at all, nor Sheffield, nor Bradford, nor Sunderland, nor Manchester. Preston and Banbury are at the same humble scale of forty pounds each; Boston and Buckingham are equal; and among the more flourishing towns Nottingham is not held as wealthy as Reading. But we must not jump to the conclusion that such places as Manchester, Sheffield and Birmingham, were too small and unimportant to have a special levy apart from their counties. Birmingham in the time of Henry VIII. was described by Leland as "a town of smiths and cutlers," and Camden, in 1607, mentions it as "swarming with inhabitants and echoing with the noise of anvils." Sheffield was always famous for its cutlery, but Camden mentions it as "remarkable among other little towns hereabouts for blacksmiths." Manchester was undoubtedly of importance at a much earlier period than the 17th century. Leland calls it "the fairest, best builded, quickest, and most populous town of Lancashire." The statistics of the past are not more to be implicitly trusted than the statistics of the present.

When these writs were issued by the sheriffs in their respective districts there was a general consternation. The people, who had been formerly accustomed to the regular collection of subsidies by commissioners, doubted the legality of this new system. But the greater number submitted, with the full knowledge that individual resistance to oppression was more dangerous under King Charles than at any previous time. The whole country was under the pressure of tyranny. The judges, by the royal command, put forth an opinion, not arising out of any question before the courts, that the king might command, for the safety of the kingdom, all his subjects to provide such number of ships as he might think fit; that he might compel obedience to this command; and that he was the sole judge of the danger of the country, and the means of preventing it. Richard Chambers, who had bravely resisted the illegal levy upon his merchandise, was again imprisoned because he declined to pay his assessment of ship-money. When the case was taken into the courts at Westminster, one of the judges refused to hear counsel, and said there was a rule of law and a rule of government, and that many things which could not be done by the first rule might be done by the other. It is to such that Clarendon alludes when he says, "the damage and mischief cannot be expressed, that the crown and state sustained by the deserved reproach and infamy that attended the judges, by being made use of in this and like acts of power; there being no possibility to preserve the dignity, reverence, and estimation of the laws themselves, but by the integrity and innocency of the judges." But if Clarendon, writing in after years, saw the damage that the state sustained by such servility, Wentworth, at the date of the extra-judicial opinion upon ship-money, was in raptures. He declares it to be the greatest service the profession has done the crown in his time, and then gives this significant opinion: "But, unless his majesty hath the like power declared to raise a land army upon the same exigent of state, the crown seems to me to stand but upon one leg at home, and to be considerable but by halves to foreign princes abroad." Hume, in noticing the conduct of Charles in dissolving his second parliament, observes, that if the king had possessed "any military force on which he could rely, it is not improbable that he would at once have taken off the mask, and governed without any regard to parliamentary privileges." Wentworth, now that the mask had been taken off, desired a land army to effect many things that were not wholly to be accomplished by fine and imprisonment, administered by a merciless Star Chamber and a corrupt bench.

England lies in a dead sleep; except that the high-sheriffs "bestir themselves apace in their several counties: moneys they bring in daily, and I do not hear of any numbers that are refusers, so that it will prove a good business." So writes hopeful Mr. Garrard, in December, 1635. On the 11th of January, 1636, there is a public assembly at which all the persons attending, the entire body of landowners and housekeepers of the parish, are "refusers." The very assessors and constables are refusers. Of what was said in the vestry of "Kimbell Magna," to make the two esquires in the list of defaulters, and the twenty-nine yeomen, so resolute not to pay the 21*l.* 15*s.* 6¼*d.* assessed upon that humble village amid the Chiltern hills, there is no record. But the document which sets forth the sums assessed upon each, from 31*s.* 6*d.* to 6*d.*, is in existence, and it records the names of those bold men as "refusing to pay." At the head of that list is the name of "John Hampden, Esquire."* Great Kimble is not far distant from the manor-house where John Hampden dwelt, in the parish called by his name. There his forefathers had dwelt even in the Saxon days, and had continued for six or more centuries to be lords of Great and Little Hampden, Stoke Mandeville, and other Buckinghamshire manors. John Hampden, who refused to pay thirty-one shillings and sixpence to King Charles, abode under the same roof where his grandfather entertained Queen Elizabeth, in 1585—a mansion whose front is now modernized and vulgarized, but of which enough is left to interest many more than the mere local antiquary. In this pleasant woodland country, whose surrounding hills were covered with beech; close by an ancient well-preserved church standing in a parklike inclosure, dwelt John Hampden. When he sent to his dear friend Eliot, a prisoner in the Tower, a buck out of his "paddock," he writes that it "must be a small one to hold proportion with the place and soil it was bred in."† Clearly not a very wealthy man was this esquire—a man in worldly importance not to be named with Wentworth and his hereditary six thousand a year; a man of whom the lord deputy of Ireland, hearing of his very irregular proceedings at Kimble Magna and other parishes—and all for some trumpery thirty-one shillings and sixpence, or twenty shillings—said in his grand way, "In truth, I shall wish Mr. Hampden, and others to his likeness, were well whipped into their right senses." A more cumbrous instrument than the "rod" for the mendicant was necessary to bring Mr. Hampden to submit to "all that ever authority ordains"—the test of a good subject in Wentworth's view. There were six weeks of solemn pleading in the exchequer chamber before all the judges—the greatest cause that ever was tried in Westminster Hall—followed by many months of judicial deliberation before the king's right to enforce the tax of ship-money was adjudged to be lawful; "which judgment," says Clarendon, "proved of more advantage and credit to the gentleman condemned than to the king's service." Hampden was singled out to be proceeded against by the crown upon his refusal to pay twenty shillings assessed upon his lands at Stoke Mandeville; and the formal pleadings upon the writ of Scire Facias had occupied five months before the question came to be argued. The speeches of the crown lawyers and of Hampden's counsel occupy one hundred and seventeen pages in Rushworth's folio volume. After these protracted arguments before the judges these twelve sages of the law occupied three terms in delivering their opinions. They were not agreed in their judgment. Two of the number had from the first decided that judgment should be given for the defendant. Two others in the next term followed their example. One other held that the tax was lawful, but that no por-

* A fac-simile is given in Lord Nugent's "Memorials of Hampden," vol. i.

† "Nugent's Memorials," vol. i. p. 171.

tion of it ought to go into the privy-purse. But on the 9th of June, 1637, the chief justices decided against Hampden; and the sentence was for the king, upon the opinion of the majority. Of Sir John Finch, one of the chief justices, Clarendon says, "He took up ship-money, where Mr. Noy left it; and being a judge, carried it up to that pinnacle from whence he almost broke his own neck; having, in his journey thither, had too much influence upon his brethren to induce them to concur in a judgment they had all cause to repent." Hampden at once became "the most famous man in England"—"the pilot who must steer the vessel through the tempests and rocks that threatened it."* After the judgment the resistance to ship-money was much more general. Some refusers were punished; many were threatened; but in town and country the opposition became a very resolved manifestation of the temper of the people. It was not such "a good business" as Mr. Garrard had predicted.

Thorough for the state has not altogether succeeded. Archbishop Laud and the Star Chamber have meanwhile been seeing what they can accomplish by *Thorough* for the Church. Ship-money judgment for the crown was given on the 12th of June, 1637. Two days after, William Prynne, who was brought up from his prison, but with his ears sewed on; Henry Burton, who had been clerk of the closet to Prince Charles, and was incumbent of a London parish; and Robert Bastwick, a physician of Colchester, were sentenced by the Star Chamber to be fined 5000*l.* each, to be degraded from their professions, to be placed in the pillory, to have their ears cut off, and their cheeks and foreheads branded, and to be confined for life in distant prisons. Their offences were these. Prynne had published a book against Sabbath-breaking, in which the clergy who had read the Book of Sports were bitterly stigmatized; Burton had offended in a sermon, and in tract had accused the bishop of Norwich of being guilty of Romish innovation; Bastwick had in a book called "Elenchus Papismi," identified prelacy and popery. Garrard has a somewhat merry statement of an exhibition in Palace Yard, on the 30th of June, in fulfilment of the sentence of the 14th. "They stood two hours in the pillory, Burton by himself. . . . The place was full of people, who cried and howled terribly, especially when Burton was cropped. Dr. Bastwick was very merry; his wife, Dr. Poe's daughter, got a stool, kissed him; his ears being cut off she called for them, and put them in a clean handkerchief, and carried them away with her. Bastwick told the people, the lords had collar-days at court, but this was his "collar day."† A more serious account mentions the solemn defiance of Prynne to Lambeth, calling upon the primate to show that these practices were according to the laws of England. There are some awkward symptoms of indignation at these barbarities besides the howling in Palace Yard. The sheriff of Chester is sent for by a pursuivant to answer a charge of having been kind to Mr. Prynne as he passed on his way to prison at Caernarvon. "Strange flocking of the people after Burton, when he removed from the Fleet toward Lancaster Castle. Mr. Ingram, subwarden of the Fleet, told the king that there was not less than one hundred thousand people gathered together to see him pass by, between Smithfield and Brown's well, which is two miles beyond Highgate. His wife went along in a coach, having much money thrown to her as she passed along."‡ Very strange flocking indeed.

Before we enter upon the stormy period which succeeded the nine or ten years of enforced tranquillity from 1629, let us inquire whether the possession of arbitrary power enabled the king and his advisers to assist the people in the development of their industry, the enlargement of the conveniences of life, or the cultivation of arts and letters. The industry of the people was in every way oppressed—not only by irregular taxation, but by interferences totally at variance with the advancing intelligence of the time. The merchants were unprotected from pirates; the landowners were harassed by inquiries into their titles, and by obsolete demands under forest-laws. The plague was always in London, and no exercise of authority was employed for its prevention; indeed its ravages were increased by the excessive crowding of inhabitants caused by the proclamations against new buildings. When despotism manifests itself to the world in erecting gorgeous palaces; in sweeping away miserable dwellings from narrow streets, and substituting buildings that astonish by their magnificence or delight by their commodiousness; in turning barren wastes into beauteous gardens, which the humblest may enjoy in common with the greatest; in delighting the pleasure-loving multitude with displays of military pomp, with illuminations and fire-works—the world is somewhat too ready to believe that despotism is a magician that can perform wonders far beyond the reach of limited authority or combined popular action. To Charles the First cannot be assigned either the praise or the blame of having expended his revenues in any such efforts to throw a factitious splendor over the decay of public liberty. He was to some extent, indeed, a patron of the fine arts. He is looked upon by many as the English monarch from whom the fine arts received the highest encouragement. Charles was a large purchaser of paintings, and his galleries were adorned with several glorious works of Raffaelle and Titian, of Corregio and Guido. He brought Raffaelle's cartoons into England, as Cromwell saved them from going away. Vandyck was invited by him to his court; and his encouragement has been amply repaid by the ideal of the king which this great painter has handed down to us. Mytens, also the court portrait-painter, was scarcely so favored. The one had 200*l.* a year, the other 40*l.* as pension.* Rubens painted for Charles the ceiling of the banqueting-house. Dobson was encouraged by him, and received from him the name of "The English Tintoret." All this is highly creditable to the monarch; but it must not be forgotten that no consideration of public benefit influenced this elegant expenditure of revenue. Individual gratification was its sole end and aim. Individual vanity was abundantly satisfied by flattering portraits; but great original compositions were not produced for this court. Nor was there wanting among the nobility and richer commoners a desire to cultivate those arts which England had in some measure neglected. The earl of Arundel had begun the formation of his noble collection of sculpture when Charles was a boy. To his "liberal charges and magnificence," says a writer about 1634, "this angle of the world oweth the first sight of Greek and Roman statues, with whose admired presence he began to honor the gardens and gallery of Arundel House, and hath ever since continued to transplant old Greece into England."† The Arundel collection was formed by a costly and judicious private expenditure. The royal collection might have been increased by influences not strictly honorable to the head of an independent kingdom. Charles was most anxious to obtain a statue of Adonis from a private collection at Rome. The queen's confessor urged his desire for that and other rare works of ancient art. Cardinal Barberini seconded these efforts; and he wrote to Mazarine, "The statues go on prosperously; nor shall I hesitate to rob Rome of her most valuable ornaments, if in exchange we might be so happy as to have the king of England's name amongst those princes who submit to the apostolic see."‡ It is to be hoped that Charles resisted such temptations.

During this reign there were invasions enough of the subjects' liberty by proclamations against the extension of London; but they were for no purpose of regulating that extension upon any systematic plan of convenience or beauty. There were still more direct violations of the rights of property, in ordering the sheriff to pull down shops and houses in the vicinity of St. Paul's, compelling the owners to accept any compensation that was offered to them. Here was the vigor of despotism, but not such a vigor as England was formed to endure. All shops also in Cheapside and Lombard Street, except those of the goldsmiths, were commanded to be shut up, that the great avenue to the cathedral might not exhibit any trace of vulgar industries; and that when foreigners went to the city to see the lord mayor's procession they might not be offended by butchers' stalls and "fripperies." This was to enforce arbitrarily the custom, which partially prevailed, that those of the same trade should occupy the same street. The greatest thoroughfare was to display the most striking wealth. What Cheapside then was on gala-days may be seen in a print of the entry of Mary de Medicis, who came to England, very much against the wishes of the king, in 1638. This print accompanies a description, in French, by the Sieur de la Serre, historiographer of France,§ of the ceremonies that attended this visit

* Clarendon. † "Strafford Letters," vol. ii. p. 85.
‡ Ibid., vol. ii. p. 114.

* See note at end of this chapter.
† Peacham, "Compleat Gentleman."
‡ Quoted by Mr. D'Israeli from Panzani's Memoirs.
§ "Histoire de l'Entrée Royale de la Reyne Mère," London, 1639. Reprinted in 1775.

of the queen-mother—a visit of which Laud, in his "Diary," says, "great apprehensions of this business." She came, however, and Cheapside—"la grande rue"—had its houses, which a previous visitor had described as "all windows," crowded with fair city dames and portly liverymen; and the city companies sat on elevated platforms covered with blue cloth; and the lord mayor and the recorder were there, and twenty-four aldermen, in their robes of scarlet; and, above all, a sight that in a few years was not so agreeable—six thousand soldiers of the city separated in divers companies. These were trained bands, whose number does not seem to have varied from that of 1617, when the chaplain of the Venetian ambassador could not eat his dinner in peace from the noise of "musket and artillery exercise" in the fields near Bishopsgate Street Without. * London was accustomed to processions and pageants, and especially to its lord mayor's shows, in which all the dignitaries of the land followed the civic magistrate to his dinner in Guildhall, amid a very merry and boisterous crowd, that scarcely gave way to the "twenty savages or green-men, walking with squibs or fireworks to sweep the streets." Though the times were evil when Mary de Medicis came to London, the love of sight-seeing and sight-performing kept the crowd of idlers pleased, and even the discontented of the city quiet, though the corporation had been fined £70,000 by the Star Chamber upon a complaint that the conditions by which they held lands in Ulster had been infringed. The city offered, by way of compensation, to build the king a palace in St. James's Park. The courtiers wanted the money to squander in masques and banquets, and the offer was refused. Charles had employed Inigo Jones to prepare plans for a magnificent Whitehall. The banqueting-house is the only architectural monument of the taste of the two first Stuarts.

NOTE ON THE PORTRAITS OF CHARLES I.

In the Manchester exhibition of art treasures an opportunity was afforded of comparing the portrait of Charles by each of the painters, Vandyck and Mytens, almost in juxtaposition. There was a family group by Mytens, and a family group by Vandyck. In that of Mytens the king and queen are preparing to ride; and there is Jeffrey Hudson, the dwarf, holding a small dog in a leash, the favorite spaniels, and a larger dog with a monkey. In the group by Vandyck the king is sitting by the side of his queen, with an infant on her lap. The Charles of Mytens' group is younger than in that of Vandyck. There are no decided markings of character in his face. The expression is gentle, almost feeble. The Charles of Vandyck's group has the almost invariable countenance which this painter gives to him—the well-known composed and reflective character, with a tinge of foreboding melancholy, as some imagine. Near these groups hung a whole length of the king by Mytens. The technical art of Mytens was little inferior to that of Vandyck; and he was more faithful in portraiture, if among the requirements of fidelity we ask that portraits of the same person at different periods of life, and in different situations, should have some variety. The portraits of Charles by Mytens show how much of the general expression of the character of the king is due to the ideal of Vandyck. The features are the same in both artists, but the contemplative and tender expression is wholly due to Vandyck. Mytens gives us a sober and apathetic face, more remarkable for the want of sentiment than for its excess—a face not wholly pleasant. The grace also belongs to the more poetical painter. In Mytens we can see how Charles would have grown into a likeness of his father. In the head of the king by Vandyck, in the same collection, painted in 1637, there is more animation than in his other portraits. But in all of them, not to yield too much to the historical evidences of character, there are the indications, however faint, of suspicion and mental reservation, and an especial want of those physiognomical traits which indicate self-reliance. Compare the Charles of Vandyck with the Strafford of Vandyck. Strafford has the care-worn expression, and the imagined presentiment of evil, to a far greater extent than his master. But it is the weight of responsibility pressing upon a powerful mind. What decision, what keenness of observation, what inflexibility, wholly wanting in the portraits of Charles.

CHAPTER LXXXVII.

Scotland—Visit of the king in 1633—A service-book commanded to be used in 1637—The National Covenant—Progress of the troubles in Scotland—The General Assembly—The king and the Scots levy forces—The king at Berwick—Camp of the Covenanters—An English parliament—Suddenly dissolved—Convocation continues to sit—The Scottish war resumed—Rout of Newburn—Council of Peers—Cessation of arms—An English parliament summoned—Character of the House of Commons—Strafford—Laud.

In the summer of 1633 Charles had paid a visit to Scotland, and w
there crowned. Not only were the two nations as distinct in th
civil and ecclesiastical systems of government as if they had be
still ruled by two sovereigns, but the Scottish affairs were separat
managed by Charles himself, without any reference to the Engli
council. One English adviser he however had, whose notio
upon church government wholly overrode the prudential conside
tions of civil polity. Laud, then bishop of London, accompanied t
king on this Scottish journey. Although the bishop enters in
"Diary," "King Charles crowned at Holyrood Church in Ed
burgh—I never saw more expressions of joy than after it"—La
himself gave great offence by the introduction of rites at the coron
tion which the people considered as part of the system which t
Reformation had overthrown. His temper was violent; and t
Scottish historians say that he thrust the archbishop of Glasgow fr
the king's side because he refused to officiate in embroidered rob
Some of the Scottish prelates were not imbued with this love of si
plicity; and they united with the powerful English bishop in t
promotion of a plan for introducing a service-book in Scotlan
which should supersede the extemporaneous prayers of the Presby
rian form of worship. The design was not then carried into effe
But in 1637, when Laud had become archbishop, and all moder
measures for producing conformity in England had been laid asi
the Scottish Church was suddenly called upon to receive a book
canons approved at Lambeth; and a service-book was directed to
used in all places of divine worship. This prayer-book varied fr
the English liturgy in points which indicated a nearer approach
the Romish ritual. The consequences of this most ignorant rashn
—ignorant because of its utter blindness to the course of Scotti
history during the previous hundred years, and to the character
the Scottish people—were wholly unforeseen. All political pruden
was swallowed up in the one dominant passion of the king and of
prime adviser for an unvarying ecclesiastical uniformity, in a
through which the minutest ceremonial observances should be rigid
enforced, as the test of orthodoxy, and therefore of loyalty. Fr
the date of this violent defiance of the principles and habits of t
Scottish people, the reign of Charles becomes the turning-point
English history. Perhaps no great public event has been without
ultimate effects upon the fortunes of a nation, although centuries m
have passed away. The stirring action that commenced in Scotla
in 1637 not only influenced all her own after-destinies—"it preserv
the liberties and overthrew the monarchy of England." *

Robert Baillie, principal of the University of Glasgow, has, in h
"Letters and Journals," left some of the most interesting memoria
of these times.† We find in the good man's narrative the omino
beginning of these Scottish disturbances. By sound of trumpet it
proclaimed that all subjects, ecclesiastical and civil, conform the
selves to the liturgy by the next Pasch [Easter]. The books we
not ready till May, and then every minister was commanded to bu
two copies. The book is lent about from hand to hand; its "popi
points" are shown; it is imposed without any meeting of Church
State, say the dissatisfied. A letter comes down from the king co
manding its use without further delay. "The whole body of t
town murmurs and grudges all the week exceedingly; and, who c
marvel, discourses, declamations, pamphlets, everywhere." Sunda
the 23d of June, arrives; and thus Principal Baillie tells us wh
happened: "When the bishop and his dean, in the great churc
and the bishop of Argyle, in the Greyfriars, began to officiate,
they speak, incontinent the serving-maids began such a tumult
was never heard of since the Reformation in our nation." Histo
has preserved the name of one turbulent heroine, who may have
for the "Trulla" of Hudibras: "Jane or Janet Geddes (yet livings s
the writing of this relation) flung a little folding-stool, whereon s
sat, at the dean's head, saying, 'Out, thou false thief! dost thou s
the mass at my lug?'" ‡ A threatening outburst of popular fu
followed this exhibition, but no wounds were given. The chancell
writes to the king, and there is "great fear for the king's wrath.
The country is getting hot, as well as Edinburgh. Preachers wh

* *Quarterly Review*, October, 1857, p. 411.

* Hallam, chap. xvii.

† "Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie, A.M., edited by Davi
Laing, Esq." 3 vols.

‡ "Continuation of Baker's Chronicle," edit. of 1670; quoted b
Mr. Carlyle.

defend the liturgy are maltreated, and mostly by "enraged women of all qualities." Gradually the nobles, the gentry, and the "burrows" [members for boroughs] take up the supplications against the service-book. By December, some of the most influential agree together to oppose its use, and resist the further intrusion of prelacy. They become organized. The king, who at first had threatened the Scottish authorities, now endeavors to moderate the people by proclamations that declare his abhorrence of popery, and his resolution to maintain the religion then professed. But there are symptoms that these professions are delusive. The idea of submission to the authority of the Scottish prelates is utterly rejected. The whole community enters into a national covenant to abjure the doctrines, rites, and ceremonies of the Romish Church, and to resist the innovations which the prelates had introduced. In the High Church of Edinburgh, on the 1st of March, 1638, this covenant was read, and the whole congregation rose and swore to maintain what it set forth. Copies of the deed were sent throughout the land, and with tears and protestations the covenant was sworn to and signed by hundreds of thousands.

The ecclesiastical government was an anomaly, which Clarendon describes in few words: "Though there were bishops in name, the whole jurisdiction, and they themselves were, upon the matter, subject to an assembly which was purely Presbyterian." But when Clarendon adds, "no form of religion in practice, no liturgy, nor the least appearance of the beauty of holiness," he speaks with a very imperfect knowledge of the Scottish earnestness in religion, in which the strength as well as the beauty of holiness was manifest. The 'enraged women" of Edinburgh were not very favorable specimens of the national spirit. But in the history of nations there is no grander spectacle than a whole people, for the assertion of a principle, assembled in separate congregations, large or small, in the crowded city and in the mountain solitude, to defend the doctrine and discipline which their fathers had established; and to declare, 'before God, his angels, and the world," their resolution to adhere to the same all the days of their life. During this wonderful movement in Scotland, the council of England, and indeed the people, were as men in their midnight sleep while their neighbor's house is on fire. "The truth is," says Clarendon, "there was so little curiosity, either in the court or the country, to know anything of Scotland, or what was done there, that when the whole nation was solicitous to know what passed weekly in Germany and Poland, and all other parts of Europe, no man ever inquired what was doing in Scotland, nor had that kingdom a place or mention in one page of any gazette." * There were gazettes in that day. *The Weekly News*, and *The Weekly Account*, and little sheets called "Currantoes," were the staple of the half-yearly *Intelligencer*. Few, indeed, and very meagre, were these peep-holes out of the prison in which public opinion was then locked up. For the Star Chamber was in full activity for the regulation of the press; and by its decree at this very period master printers were limited to twenty who found sureties; and "printing in corners without a license" was punishable by the orthodox process of whipping and the pillory. It was seven years later when Milton raised his eloquent voice for the "liberty of unlicensed printing," and spoke the words which tyranny has always most dreaded to hear, "Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties." If the petty newspapers of 1637 and 1638 had told of Janet Geddes and her doings, they would soon have been silenced. The people had no curiosity about Scotland, because they knew nothing about Scotland. The king suffered no transaction of his native kingdom to be debated or communicated to his privy council, "but handled all these affairs himself with two or three Scotsmen." † Gradually the knowledge of the riots of Edinburgh creeps out: "Horrible ado against the bishops in Scotland, for seeking to bring in among them our church service." (October, 1637). "Small hope yet in Scotland to bring our church-service into use there; they still oppose it with great violence." (November, 1637.) "Messengers come weekly thence." (March, 1638.) So writes Garrard to his great patron, but intimates that there is one who informs the lord deputy much better than himself of the proceedings there. The weekly messengers have told something of the truth in the court purlieus; for even the king's fool has been moved to speak his mind, poor fellow: "Archy is fallen into a great misfortune. A fool he would be, but a foul-mouthed knave he hath proved himself. Being in a tavern in Westminster, drunk he saith himself, he was speaking of the Scottish business; he fell a railing on my lord of Canterbury; said he was a monk, a rogue, and a traitor. Of this his grace complained at council, the king being present. It was ordered he should be carried to the porter's lodge, his coat pulled over his ears, and kicked out of the court, never to enter within the gates, and to be called into the Star Chamber. The first part is done; but my lord of Canterbury hath interceded to the king that there it should end." * Opinions are getting troublesome in England in higher places than taverns in Westminster. They grow foolish at Oxford, for they had a question about the legality of ship-money; as also, whether the *Addita* and *Alterata* in the Scottish liturgy did give just cause of scandal; but my lord's grace of Canterbury, hearing of it, forbad them such question." (July, 1638.) In another year the very courtiers are taking the Scottish matters to heart: "Most certain it is, that the Scots are grown a most obstinate rebellious people. God turn their hearts. Daily they fall more and more from their obedience." (May, 1639.)

The steps by which the Scots arrived at this "obstinate rebellious" condition were those of the steady march of an irritated population under experienced leaders. The first resistance to the service-book was a sudden outburst. The national covenant was a deliberate act which was to be sustained on the battle-field. Charles and his one fatal adviser chose to regard it as the affair of a rabble; and the king commissioned the marquis of Hamilton to reduce "the rascally people" to obedience. The commissioner was to allow the Scots six weeks to renounce the covenant. If not renounced, power was to be sent from England; and the king himself would hazard his life rather than suffer authority to be contemned. In June, 1638, the marquis of Hamilton arrived at Edinburgh. He had written to nobles and gentlemen, the most of note, to attend him at Haddington, previous to his entry into the capital. Two or three only met him, and they carried him an excuse in the name of all. Baillie records that huge multitudes received him at Leith—nobles, gentry, women, the town magistrates. But, says the good minister, "we were most conspicuous in our black cloaks, above five hundred on a brae-side in the links." These Geneva cloaks must have suggested some serious considerations to the commissioners. The discussions between Hamilton and the Covenanters only showed how earnest and resolute they were. Nothing but a general assembly and a parliament would induce them to renounce their league. The commissioner was directed to temporize, and not to take any extreme measures till an armed force was ready to support them. He went to England for further instructions; but he returned with powers to announce a general assembly and a parliament, and to propose that the Confession of Faith, of 1589, should be signed instead of the Covenant. A proclamation was issued, setting forth that the liturgy and the canons should be given up, on condition that this Confession should be adopted. The Covenanters protested against this, as an attempt to make them, under cover of a new oath, recant what they had been doing. "We thought this subscription," says Baillie, "a very deep and dangerous plot, and so opposed it everywhere, what we could." In November a general assembly was convened at Glasgow. "The town did expect and provide for multitudes of people." On the 17th the commissioner arrived. On the 20th there was a solemn fast. The assembly was opened on the 21st. Seven days did this great meeting debate and protest. The chief grounds of difference were the introduction of lay members into the assembly, and the general determination to remove the bishops. On the 28th the marquis dissolved the assembly and left Glasgow. It continued its sittings till the 20th of December; and, against the opinions of a few of the moderate, declared the total abolition of episcopacy in the kirk of Scotland. The determined opposition of the Scottish nobility to episcopacy may be attributed to some motives, not unjust ones, besides a desire for the safety of the Reformed Church. The prelates had engrossed some of the high civil offices; they formed a large proportion of the privy council; they had courts with very obnoxious powers, like those of the High Commission Court in Eng-

* "History of the Rebellion," temp. 1637. † Clarendon.

* "Strafford Letters."

land. The whole system of episcopacy seemed to the people and to their leaders full of danger to their consciences and their liberties. "The Canterburian faction," says Baillie, "was hayling us all away to Rome for our religion, to Constantinople for our policy." *

At the beginning of 1639 it became clear that these contests would end in an appeal to arms. Charles was ill-prepared for a war. In November, 1638, Lord Cottington writes to the lord deputy, "Our business of Scotland grows every day worse, so as we are almost certain it will come to a war, and that a defensive one on our side, and how we shall defend ourselves without money is not under my cap. . . . The king will not hear of a parliament." † On the following 26th of January Charles sent out a letter, "commanding all the nobles and gentry of England to attend his royal standard at York against the 1st of April, where he was to go to the border to oppose the Scots there." ‡ But the Scots, instead of having a discontented commonalty to impede the exertions of the nobles and gentry, were all firmly banded together, peer and peasant, merchant and mechanic, to maintain a cause which they held to be the cause of God and their country. The whole land was full of military preparation. The nobles headed their forces in every shire. In every great town there were frequent drillings; "every one, man and woman, encouraged their neighbors." The castle of Edinburgh was surprised by Leslie, one who had gained a large experience in the great Protestant war in Germany, and in whom all confided; for, says Baillie, "such was the wisdom and authority of that old little, crooked soldier, that all, with ane incredible submission, from the beginning to the end, gave over themselves to be guided by him." Dumbarton Castle was seized by the earl of Argyle. Stirling was held by a Covenanter. Onward marched the king toward York. His army, under the Lords Arundel, Holland, and Essex, was very insufficient for attack or defence, though formidable enough for the plunder of their countrymen. "As for the forces of England, they failed like the summer brooks; the country was filled with their own grievances." § In the same spirit Mrs. Hutchinson writes, "the commonalty of the nation, being themselves under grievous bondage, were loath to oppose a people that came only to claim their just liberties." Wentworth made prodigious exertions to keep down the Scottish settlers in Ulster, and he sent some Irish to the king's army—"a matter of fifteen hundred ragged Arabians," says Baillie. The marquis of Hamilton sailed into the Frith of Forth; but his forces were quite unequal to subdue or even to awe an armed population; and the Scots appear to have despised his "five thousand land-sojours, taken up in a violent press." The marquis made war upon his countrymen in a merciful way. He fired no shot, and was content with intercepting supplies. His men, closely packed in their small ships, could obtain neither fresh meat nor water, for the shores were closely watched; and the old fortune of the miserable naval enterprises of this reign attended them. Leslie marched toward the border. The king had advanced to Berwick, and from his camp at the English side of the Tweed saw "through a prospect" [telescope] twelve thousand Scots encamped on Dunse Law, the hilltop crowded with cannon, the gentle hillsides stirring with experienced musketeers and "stout young ploughmen and highlanders with their plaids, targes, and dorlachs." ‖ Before the tent of every captain was a color bearing the Scottish arms, and a legend, in golden letters, "For Christ's crown and covenant." The camp was full of the kirk-ministers; and the soldiers were encouraged, not only by the presence of their nobles, but by "the good sermons and prayers, morning and even, under the roof of heaven, to which their drums did call them for bells." ¶ The armies had looked upon each other, and certainly the English commanders had very substantial reasons for not risking a battle. A small body of the royal cavalry had fled before a smaller body of Scots. Some advances to pacification were made from the Scottish side. On the 6th of June the earl of Dunfermline was sent to the royal camp with a petition that a meeting might be held between a few worthy men of each kingdom to settle the points of dispute. Charles returned an answer signed by his secretary. The Covenanters required an answer under his own hand; and the signature was given, assenting to the proposal. On the 11th of June the Scottish deputies, consisting of four nobles, with Alexander Henderson, moderator of the general assembly, and the clerk-register of that body, arrived in the camp. The king appointed his commissioners; but during the proceedings he suddenly appeared among the negotiators. His lofty tone, however, did not prevent a pacification being concluded on the 18th of June. The articles were very loosely expressed; and it soon became clear that the peace was a hollow one. Charles returned to London on the 1st of August. The Scottish army was disbanded. The fortresses were restored to the officers appointed by the crown. But the conditions of the covenant were inflexibly maintained in the general assembly and in the parliament which met in August. Moreover, that parliament demanded privileges which appeared to weaken the royal authority; and the king's commissioners decided upon its prorogation. The members held that such prorogation was illegal without their own consent. On either side of the border the note of preparation for war was again heard.

Lowered in the eyes of his English subjects by the pacification of Berwick; the prestige of eleven years' pretensions to absolute power dissipated; without financial resources for military purposes, unless new exactions had been attempted, besides the old demands—Charles at length summoned an English parliament. It met in the 13th of April, 1640; it was dissolved on the 5th of May. In this session of three weeks the great question of grievances preceding supplies was renewed with a vigor proportionate to the invasions of public liberty since 1629. But there was a moderation in the language of the Commons which was perhaps the best evidence of the steadiness of their resolves. The king demanded twelve subsidies in three years—a sum equivalent to about 840,000*l.*; and he offered to relinquish ship-money, which was estimated to produce 200,000*l.* a year. The Commons would hear of no compromise of such a nature. Ship-money was the opprobrium of the government; the crown had claimed the right of taxation independent of the Commons; the people had been unconstitutionally taxed; the judgment of the courts must be annulled and the judges punished. The Commons would then enter upon the business of supplies. The table of the house was covered with petitions against the abuses of the State and of the Church. The clouds were gathering all around, and the king thought to avert the tempest by dissolving the parliament. The convocation of the clergy continued to sit, and large assistance was voted to the king. In that assembly canons were framed which were well calculated to render the government of the Church more and more odious. No Englishman of sense, and especially no honest Puritan, would sanction the attack upon Laud's palace at Lambeth on the 11th of May. But they would regard his canons—which preached passive obedience to the divine right of kings, and subjected Protestant dissentients to the same penalties as Popish recusants—as an offence against the ancient liberties of Englishmen. Many of the clergy would look forward to the time when this new yoke should be shaken off, by which the tenure of their livings was made to depend upon taking an oath offensive to their consciences—the *et cætera* oath as it was called. Meanwhile members of the Commons were again imprisoned. Ship-money was more rigorously enforced. Citizens were punished for refusing a loan. The counties were subjected to novel charges for the troops that were levied for another Scottish campaign. On the 4th of June, a month after the dissolution of parliament, the earl of Northumberland, a courtier, said in a letter, "It is impossible that things can long continue in the condition they are now in; such general a defection in this kingdom hath not been known in the memory of any." *

The contest between the king and Scotland—we cannot call it a contest between England and Scotland—had for some time assumed the character of a war. Trade with Scotland had been prohibited. The English cruisers seized Scottish merchant-ships. In March and April levies had been called out by the Covenanters. On the 2d of June the parliament met in Edinburgh, and put forth manifestoes which were of more effect than the royal proclamations denouncing the Scots as rebels and traitors. The parliament imposed levies which were not, however, very promptly paid. They formed a committee of estates which held the executive power of the realm. It was resolved to march to England with a petition, supported by an

* Letters, etc., vol. i. p. 185.
† "Strafford Letters," vol. ii. p. 246.
‡ Baillie.
§ Ibid.
‖ Ibid., p. 212, 13.
¶ Ibid.

* "Sidney Papers," quoted by Mr. Hallam.

army of twenty five thousand men. On the 20th of August they crossed the Tweed at Coldstream, wading through the river. Montrose, afterward so prominent in another cause, was the first to pass the river on foot. They marched at leisure through Northumberland. Lord Conway, the English general of the horse, had been in cantonments between the Tweed and the Tyne since the end of July. On the day that Leslie crossed the Tweed, Charles, having received news of the advance of this great army, hastily left London for York. He called all the tenants of the crown to his standard. He offered by proclamation to forgive the Scots if they would crave pardon for the past as penitent delinquents. Strafford had raised troops in Ireland that had joined the king's forces. Altogether twenty thousand men were in arms under the royal standard. There was no zeal in this army. There was little discipline. The courtiers, "merry lads," as Sir Philip Warwick names some of them, with a ready loyalty made no inquiry as to the principle of the war. The common soldiers "questioned in a mutinous manner whether their captains were papists or not," and uttered "in bold speeches their distaste of the cause, to the astonishment of many, that common soldiers should be sensible of public interest and religion when lords and gentlemen seemed not to be."* The queen had recommended the Roman Catholics to make contributions to carry on the war against the Scottish Covenanters, and "with more noise and vanity than prudence admitted, they had made public collections of money to a considerable sum."† To oppose the old campaigner, Leslie, a man of many battles, was selected Lord Conway—one who had seen some service, such as it was, but who is described by Clarendon as "a voluptuous man in eating and drinking, and of great license in all other excesses;" and who was said by Sir P. Warwick to "lay under some reflection since the action of the Isle of Rhé." Strafford (Wentworth was now earl of Strafford) was to have taken the command; but sickness prevented him from joining the army till after it had sustained a perilous defeat, in what Clarendon terms "that infamous irreparable rout at Newburn." On the 27th of August the Scots had reached the left bank of the Tyne about five miles above Newcastle, and on that night their camp fires blazed with the coal of the adjacent pits. The next day they occupied the town of Newburn. There appears to have been little disposition to come to an engagement; and the Scots had made some English welcome who visited their camp. But one of their officers having been killed by a shot from the opposite bank of the river, the artillery on both sides opened their fire. At low water two Scottish regiments crossed the Tyne. The English horse fled, and the whole army moved in great disorder to Newcastle. There was only one effort made by a gallant few to oppose the passage of the Scots across the river. Newcastle was itself abandoned at midnight. On the morrow, writes Baillie, "Newcastle was rendered to us; the soldiers and chief citizens had fled out of it in great haste." There they found stores of provisions and of arms. In Scotland the Covenanters were equally successful; and Dumbarton, "questionless the strongest place in Britain," capitulated. The castle of Edinburgh also surrendered to Argyle. The king was coming on, and had reached Allerton when he heard of the rout of Newburn, and he returned to York. Newcastle was put by the Scots under contribution; and there they quietly sat down while some attempts were made for a pacification.

After these occurrences, the king, having adopted what Clarendon calls "a new invention," or rather "so old that it had not been practised in some hundreds of years," called a great council of peers to attend him at York on the 24th of September. The first decision of the council was to appoint a commission of sixteen peers to treat with the Scots at Ripon. After various vain attempts to come to a final understanding, a cessation of arms, for two months, was agreed to, on the 26th of October, that the demands of the Covenanters might be discussed in London by the commissioners. It had become known that the king had proposed to the peers again to summon a parliament. During this cessation of arms the Scottish army was to be maintained by a payment of 850*l.* per day. The parliament was to meet at Westminster on the 3d of November.

For the fifth time during the reign of Charles the people are looking to a parliament that should establish the just distinctions between an absolute monarchy and a free monarchy. The barriers between liberty and despotism had been rudely thrown down. It is no vain difference about a theory. It is a vital question which has come home to every man. There is no falling off in the popular sentiment as to the character of those who have contended in former parliaments against the insolent claims of prerogative. These men are returned for county and borough, without a doubt that they have pursued the right course. A very short time had been given between the issue of the writs and the elections—an advantage to the court party. Yet the elections had so completely gone against that party that Clarendon says the house was packed by decisions upon controverted returns. This is one of the loose assertions of that historian, for there were only eight returns that were contested. He says also, "There was observed a marvellous elated countenance in many of the members of parliament before they met together in the house; the same men, who, six months before, were observed to be of very moderate tempers, and to wish that gentle remedies might be applied." Thus, in this dreary November season, have the peers, and five hundred and six members of the House of Commons, come up from every shire and borough, to take their sides in the great battle for constitutional rights and liberty of conscience. Travelling in those wintry days to parliament was costly and not very agreeable. Principal Baillie, who was to go to Westminster from Newcastle on the covenant business, with a safe conduct under the great seal, was eight days on the road; and on the eighth day he came from Ware to London, "all well, horse and men, as we could wish; divers merchants and their servants with us, on little nags." The whole journey was perilous in his eyes: "The way extremely foul and deep, the journeys long and continued; sundry of us unaccustomed with travel, we took it for God's singular goodness that all of us were so preserved. . . . We were by the way at great expenses; their inns are all like palaces; no marvel they extort their guests."*

The complexion of the House of Commons was such as to alarm some of those who had been concerned in the proceedings of the absolute government of eleven years. Sir John Bramston, a devoted royalist, the son of one of the ship-money judges, writes thus of the composition of the house: "Those gentlemen who had been imprisoned about the loans, benevolences, or any other the like matters; such citizens as had been sued, imprisoned, or molested about tonnage or poundage, or the customs; all that had any ways appeared obstinate and refractory to the government and the king's commands about ship-money, coat-and-conduct money, or the commission, were chosen either for counties or boroughs."† There were members of the government, the chief advisers of the king, to whom the presence in parliament of "those gentlemen who had been imprisoned," etc., was not a promise of halcyon days. The Scots, before the treaty of Ripon, had demanded "the removal of three or four persons from about the king." Strafford and Laud were especially pointed at. Of Laud, they distinctly said that his removal was necessary for the preservation of the Protestant religion, "which every honest man thought at present in great danger, by the exorbitant power of the archbishop of Canterbury." The enemy of Strafford, "more terrible than all the others," was "the whole Scottish nation, provoked by the declaration he had procured of Ireland, and some high carriage and expressions of his against them in that kingdom."‡ Strafford, though of undaunted courage, saw his danger in this parliament, which had been called at the moment when he would have fought in the north. He wished to retire to his government of Ireland. Charles pledged himself that not a hair of Strafford's head should be touched by the parliament. Laud was suffering an agony of superstitious fear in his Lambeth palace. There was real cause for alarm in the temper of the people. On the 22d of October the High Commission Court, so tyrannical and so odious, was sitting at St. Paul's. "Very near two thousand Brownists made a tumult at the end of the court, tore down all the benches in the consistory, and cried out they would have no bishop, nor no high commission."§ The unhappy state of Laud's own mind, credulous as ever about dreams and prognostications, may be judged by the following entry

* May. † Clarendon.

* "Letters and Journals," vol. i. p. 271.

† "Autobiography of Sir John Bramston," Camden Society. "Coat-and-conduct money," the name of a particular tax for the equipment of soldiers, is misprinted "Coal, and conduct-money," p. 73.

‡ Clarendon. § Laud's Diary.

of his Diary: "October 27th, Tuesday, Simon and Jude's Eve. I went into my upper study, to see some manuscripts, which I was sending to Oxford. In that study hung my picture, taken by the life; and coming in, I found it fallen down upon the face, and lying on the floor, the string being broken by which it was hanged against the wall. I am almost every day threatened with my ruin in parliament. God grant this be no omen."

The real character of revolutions is as rarely understood as their possible range is foreseen, by those first affected by them—princes and their ministers. Laud, and to a less extent Strafford, could see nothing in the events which disturbed their power but the malignity of personal enemies, or the influence of ambitious and irreligious despisers of lawful authority. Laud himself writes, with an amusing simplicity, and no doubt with a sincere expression of his belief, that "the adverse party in the late parliament, or by and by after before they parted, ordered things so, and filled men's minds with such strange jealousies, that the king's good people were almost generally possessed that his majesty had a purpose to alter the ancient laws and liberties of the kingdom, and to bring in slavery upon his people—a thing which, for aught I know, his majesty never intended."* Purblind and almost stone-blind must that minister have been who did not see that the systematic action of the government during the whole reign, and more especially from 1629 to 1640, had been to drive such an opinion into the heads of the whole community; and that nothing but their loyalty, which was as strong a principle as the love of freedom, could have long before averted some fearful outbreak of popular indignation, in the absence of the legitimate parliamentary mode of expressing the public voice. According to Laud's view of the matter, the Scots did not come to England with a covenant in their hands, subscribed by an indignant nation, but because "some lords and others, who had by this time made an underhand solemn confederacy with a strong faction of the Scots, brought an army of them into the kingdom." Some may believe, as we do not, that Charles "never intended to bring in slavery upon his people;" but the people who saw the tyranny of his actions had no great reason to rely upon his intentions. The king and the archbishop, both weak men, were self-deceivers; and of the nature of the self-deceptions of both we may form an opinion from an entry in Laud's Diary, recording that he had been fined 500*l.* by the parliament (December 21st, 1640), for the illegal imprisonment of Sir Robert Howard: "In such a case, say the imprisonment were more than the law allow; what may be done for honor and religion sake?" When authority rides over law in the name of honor and religion, it becomes more dangerous even than the brute force which knows no law but its own passionate will.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

The Long Parliament—Difficulty of narrating its history in a limited space—Of what manner of men composed on its first meeting—Opening of the parliament—Election of speaker—Petitions from the prisoners under sentence of the Star Chamber—Their triumphal entry into London—Arrival of the earl of Strafford—The House of Commons resolve to impeach him—His arrest—Arrest of Archbishop Laud—Impeached of high treason, and committed to the Tower—Finch, the Lord-Keeper, and Windebank, Secretary of State, fly the country—The judges in the case of ship-money proceeded against—Destruction of crosses and images—Charges against Strafford—His trial—Arrangements of Westminster Hall—Daily course of proceedings—Bill of attainder proposed in the House of Commons—Disclosure of Henry Vane—Strafford's last speech in his defence—Pym's reply—Close of the trial—The bill of attainder passed by both houses—Army plots and popular clamors—Protestation—Efforts of the king to save Strafford—He finally abandons him—His execution.

The Long Parliament—the most memorable parliament that England ever saw—the parliament which, for two centuries, has been the theme of the most extravagant hatred and the most exaggerated praise—the parliament, whatever be its merits or its faults, which has the one glory of having renderd it impossible that the monarchy of England could endure except in alliance with representative freedom—this parliament of thirteen years' duration now claims our anxious regard. Those who are bewildered by the crowd of persons, the rush of events, the contrariety of opinions, as they read the history of this parliament in the more important contemporary historians and memoir-writers, will comprehend the impossibility of adequately relating the great story in a hundred or so of pages. We must necessarily go over the old track, without lingering by the wayside, if we would arrive at the end of our journey in any reasonable time. Though this old track has been often trodden, it is still very dark and devious; and it has been rendered more difficult by some of its professed guides, and by one especially who has made very treacherous stepping-stones over parts of the road now known to be foul and dangerous. We shall endeavor to pursue our way warily but not fearfully. What should we fear? The time is past when it was thought necessary for a loyal subject of the British crown to deify Charles or diabolify Cromwell. In the truer and nobler spirit of our own day the statues of Hampden and of Falkland now claim our united reverence as we tread the vestibule of our Houses of Lords and Commons.*

In the rude woodcut which heads a newspaper of 1642 we have a representation, almost ludicrous, of that great assemblage to which it was given to "rough-hew" the destinies of England. In a far more elaborate engraving of the lower house, in 1623, we see the five hundred members placed in five rows, tier above tier, in that old chapel of St. Stephen's, famous for generations.† On the 3d of November, 1640, there were sitting on those benches men whose names will endure as long as England is a nation; men whose memories are now venerated in lands then undiscovered or chiefly occupied by barbarous tribes, where the principles of representative government are sustaining the Anglo-Saxon race in their career of liberty, while they fill new continents with their language and their arts. But it is not only from the more illustrious of that parliament that we have derived our great inheritance of civil rights. There were men there of many varieties of opinion, as to the extent to which reforms of the Church and of the State should be carried. But there were very few indeed who did not see that the time was come when a stand was to be made against the arbitrary power which, whether embodied in Strafford or Laud, in Finch or Windebank, had so long and so successfully carried on a warfare "against our fundamental laws—against the excellent constitution of this kingdom, which hath made it appear to strangers rather an idea than a real commonwealth, and produced the honor and happiness of this, as the wonder of every other nation."‡ Those who opposed the despotic pretensions of Charles and of his father were not the innovators, as some would pretend. When Clarendon tells us of the House of Commons, that "the major part of that body consisted of men who had no mind to break the peace of the kingdom, or to make any considerable alteration in the government of Church or State," he correctly represents the general temper of the Long Parliament in its first year. But when he adds that "all *inventions* were set on foot from the beginning to work on them and corrupt them, by suggestions of the dangers that threatened all that was precious to the subject in their liberty and their property," he uses the term "inventions" in the place of the *facts* which no one has set forth more distinctly than himself in the earlier portion of his history. There was, indeed, many a country gentleman and citizen who went up to this parliament with a hatred of ship-money and of all other illegal imposts, with a horror of the Court of High Commission and the Star Chamber, and with a determination to prosecute, even to the death, the unjust judge and the tyrannical minister, who yet had the most unshaken loyalty to the king. Charles did not understand the character of this parliament. He conceded much, but in the very act of concession he showed his weakness rather than his sense of right; and there was reasonable fear enough, however exaggerated by popular mistrust, that at the first favorable moment the parliament would be dissolved, and the old arbitrary power resumed with new force. Treacherous schemes on one side and extravagant demands on the other rendered almost hopeless any other issue than civil war. Then, necessarily, men chose their sides. Those "who had no mind to break the peace of the kingdom" were compelled to draw their swords, friend against

* Laud's "History of the Troubles," etc.

* "In our days the history of the English Revolution has changed its face. . . . The narrative and opinions of Hume have ceased to satisfy the imagination and reason of the public."—Guizot.

† Engraved in Lord Nugent's "Hampden," vol. i.

‡ Falkland's charge against Finch.

friend, and brother against brother; and those who had no original design "to make any considerable alteration in the government of Church or State," had all to witness, and many to promote, the downfall of the ecclesiastical system which Augustin had founded, and the ruin of the monarchy which Alfred had built up.

On the memorable 3d of November Charles opened this parliament. He met his people with no cheerful display of royal splendor. "The king himself did not ride with his accustomed equipage, nor in his usual majesty, to Westminster, but went privately in his barge to the Parliament Stairs."* Very few members were absent from their places. Charles addressed the houses in a tone of conciliation: "One thing I desire of you, as one of the greatest means to make this a happy parliament, that you on your parts, as I on mine, lay aside all suspicion, one of another." It was scarcely in the power of the representatives of the people to have hastily accepted the renewal of a broken confidence, even if they had been so willing. The fatal dissolution of parliament, six months before, had spread a spirit of resistance to the court which was not confined to idle complainings. Sir Thomas Gardiner, the recorder of London, had been designed by the king to fill the office of speaker in the coming parliament. Contrary to all precedent he was rejected by the city; and no influence could procure his election in any other place. On the morning of the meeting of parliament the king was told that his choice was useless. Lenthall was chosen speaker. In a few days there was abundant work for the Commons. Troops of horsemen arrived in London, craving redress of grievances upon their petitions. From the Fleet Prison came a petition from Alexander Leighton, who had been ten years in confinement; and another from John Lilburne, the sturdy London apprentice who had been whipped and imprisoned for distributing Prynne's books. Lilburne's petition was presented by Oliver Cromwell. From the several distant castles in which they were confined, the petitions of Prynne, and Burton, and Bastwick, reached the house. These prisoners were ordered to be brought to London. Leighton, mutilated, deaf, blind, crept out of the cell in which he expected to die, to receive some recompense for his sufferings. Lilburne had a money compensation voted to him. Prynne and one of his fellow-sufferers made a triumphal entry into London. "Burton and Prynne came through the most of the city triumphantly: never here such a like show: about a thousand horse, and, as some of good note say, above four thousand; above a hundred coaches, and, as many say, above two hundred; with a world of foot, every one with their rosemary branch. Bastwick is not yet come from Scilly."† It was voted that these sufferers should be restored to their callings; and that those who had unjustly sentenced them should pay high damages, as compensation, to each of them. Bastwick returned at the beginning of December, with trumpets sounding, and torches burning, and a thousand horse for his convoy. "God is making here a new world," says Baillie.

Some days before the assembling of parliament, two remarkable men met in Westminster Hall, and began conferring together upon the state of affairs. Mr. Pym told Mr. Hyde "that they must now be of another temper than they were the last parliament; that they must not only sweep the house clean below, but must sweep down all the cobwebs which hung in the top and corners, that they might not breed dust, and so make a foul house hereafter; that they had now an opportunity to make the country happy, by removing all grievances, and pulling up the causes of them by the roots, if all men would do their duties"‡ This was not idle talk of Mr Pym. On the night of Monday, the 9th of November, the earl of Strafford came to London. On the morning of Wednesday, the 11th, Pym rose in his place in the House of Commons, and, saying that he had matter of the highest importance to propose, desired that strangers should be excluded and the doors of the house be locked. The member to whom Pym discoursed of pulling up the causes of grievances by the roots was in the house, and has preserved an abstract of Pym's speech. He recapitulated all that the nation had endured in the attempt to deprive them of the liberty and property which was their birthright; "these calamities falling upon us in the reign of a pious and virtuous king, who loved his people, and was a great lover of justice." Pym's praise of the king, according to Clarendon, was, that he might wound him with less suspicion. "We must inquire," said the impassioned speaker, "from what fountain these waters of bitterness flowed." There was one man more signal than the rest in bringing these miseries upon the nation—"a man who, in the memory of many present, had sate in that house an earnest vindicator of the laws, and a most zealous supporter and champion for the liberties of the people; but long since turned apostate from those good affections, and, according to the custom and nature of apostates, was become the greatest enemy to the liberties of his country, and the greatest promoter of tyranny that any age had produced." And then he named "the earl of Strafford." Pym concluded by expressing a hope that they would provide a remedy proportionable to the disease. The members went on debating till the usual time of rising was come; but an order was given that no one should leave the house. After many hours of bitter investigation into the actions of Strafford, it was moved, "that he might be forthwith impeached of high treason, which was no sooner mentioned than it found an universal approbation and consent from the whole house." We must not forget that Mr. Hyde was himself in the house; and that whatever color he may give, when he writes as Lord Clarendon, to the proceedings against Strafford, he was one of those who gave consent and approbation to the impeachment. Falkland, indeed, recommended, though fully concurring in the determination to impeach, that there should be a further investigation by a committee previous to the impeachment; but Pym frankly said that the moment their proceedings were known Strafford would procure the parliament to be dissolved, or resort to some other desperate measures; whereas, if they went at once to the Lords, he would necessarily be committed to safe custody. Late as it was, the peers were still sitting. The doors of the House of Commons were thrown open, and Pym, at the head of three hundred members, proceeded to the House of Lords, and there, at the bar, in the name of the lower house, and of all the commons of England, impeached Thomas, earl of Strafford, of high treason, and required his arrest. The scene which followed has been spiritedly told by the principal of the University of Glasgow, who, in his visit to London, had leisure to learn more than most men, and had ability to relate well what he learned or saw: "The Lords began to consult on that strange and unexpected motion. The word goes in haste to the lord lieutenant, where he was with the king: with speed he comes to the house; he calls rudely at the door. James Maxwell, keeper of the Black Rod, opens. His lordship, with a proud glooming countenance, makes toward his place at the board-head: but at once many bid him void the house; so he is forced in confusion to go to door till he was called. After consultation, being called in, he stands, but is commanded to kneel, and, on his knees, to hear the sentence. Being on his knees, he is delivered to the keeper of the Black Rod, to be prisoner till he was cleared of these crimes the House of Commons did charge him with. He offered to speak, but was commanded to be gone without a word. In the outer room James Maxwell required him, as prisoner, to deliver his sword. When he had gotten it, he cries, with a loud voice, for his man to carry my lord lieutenant's sword. This done, he makes through a number of people toward his coach, all gazing, no man capping to him, before whom that morning the greatest of England would have stood discovered, all crying, What is the matter? he said, A small matter, I warrant you! They replied, Yes, indeed, high treason is a small matter! Coming to the place where he expected his coach, it was not there; so he behoved to return that same way through a world of gazing people. When at last he had found his coach, and was entering, James Maxwell told him, your lordship is my prisoner, and must go in my coach; so he behoved to do."* There were others to be dealt with by the same summary process who had rendered themselves obnoxious to the nation. Strafford had been committed to the Tower on the 25th of November. On the 4th of December there is this entry in Laud's Diary: "The king gave way, that his council should be examined upon oath in the earl of Strafford's case; I was examined this day." Very shortly after the archbishop himself had to undergo a more severe ordeal. On the 16th of December the canons which had been passed in convocation after the dissolution of the last parliament were, to use Laud's own words, "condemned in the House of Commons as

* Clarendon. † Baillie's "Letters and Journal," vol. i. p. 277.
‡ Clarendon.

* Baillie, "Letters and Journal," vol. i. p. 272.

being against the king's prerogative, the fundamental laws of the realm, the liberty and propriety of the subject, and containing other things tending to sedition, and of dangerous consequence." He adds: "Upon this I was made the author of them, and a committee put upon me to inquire into all my actions and to prepare a charge." On the same day he was named by the Scottish commissioners, in the upper house, as an "incendiary." On the 18th Denzel Hollis carried a message to the Lords, impeaching the archbishop of high treason. Laud was handed over to the custody of the usher of the Black Rod. When he left Lambeth there was a tribute to his private character which is touching in itself, but has no bearing upon his public errors. He says, "As I went to my barge, hundreds of my poor neighbors stood there, and prayed for my safety, and return to my house. For which I bless God and them." Ten weeks afterward he was committed to the Tower. Articles of impeachment were prepared against the lord keeper, Finch, and against Sir Francis Windebank, secretary of state. They both fled the country. "Within less than six weeks," writes Clarendon, "for no more time was yet elapsed, these terrible reformers had caused the two greatest counsellors of the kingdom, and whom they most feared, and so hated, to be removed from the king, and imprisoned, under an accusation of high treason; and frighted away the lord keeper of the great seal of England, and one of the principal secretaries of state into foreign lands, for fear of the like." But the terrible reformers did not rest here. Five of the judges, who had declared ship-money lawful, were visited with a just retribution for their servility. They were compelled to give securities to abide the judgment of parliament, while the most obnoxious of them, Sir Robert Berkeley, being impeached of high treason, was taken to prison from his judgment seat in the King's Bench, "which struck," says Whitelocke, "a great terror in the rest of his brethren then sitting in Westminster Hall, and in all his profession." A laborious and learned writer has shown how, in the times of the Plantagenets, the judges were regarded as "indifferent arbitrators, whose decisions on constitutional points were conclusive, and beyond the possibility of doubt or suspicion." But he truly points out the difference in the times of Charles I. "One of the primary causes of the great rebellion that overthrew the government, and that cost the king his head, was the degradation of the bench of justice." * Clarendon himself clearly saw this great source of the people's discontent. † In the proceedings of the House of Commons which led to the arrest of Berkeley, one speaker, supposed to be Pym, but whose name does not occur in the pamphlet which contains the speech, uttered these remarkable words: ‡ "Mr. Speaker, blasted may that tongue be that shall, in the least degree, derogate from the glory of those halcyon days our fathers enjoyed during the government of that ever-blessed, never-to-be-forgotten royal Elizabeth. But certainly I may safely say, without detraction, it was much advantage to the peace and prosperity of her reign that the great examples of Empson and Dudley were then fresh in memory. The civility of our law tells us that the king can do no wrong; but then only is the state secure when judges, their ministers, dare do none. Since our times have found the want of such examples, 'tis fit we leave some to posterity!"

While the leaders of the parliament were intent upon the re-establishment of civil rights, and the punishment of those who had violated them, the great religious party carried out the principles which had covered Scotland with ecclesiastical ruins, by an order that "commissions should be sent into all counties for the defacing, demolishing, and quite taking away of all images, altars, or tables turned altar-wise, crucifixes, superstitious pictures, monuments, and reliques of idolatry, out of all churches and chapels." § There is an interesting passage in Mrs. Hutchinson's Memoirs of her husband which illustrates the mode in which this order worked in country parishes, such as that in which Mr. Hutchinson's house of Owthorpe was situated: "The parliament had made orders to deface the images in all churches. Within two miles of his house there was a church, where Christ upon the cross, the Virgin, and John, had been fairly set up in a window over the altar, and sundry other superstitious paintings, of the priest's own ordering, were drawn upon the walls. When the order for razing out those reliques of superstition came, the priest only took down the heads of the images, and laid them carefully up in his closet, and would have had the church officers to have certified that the thing was done according to order; whereupon they came to Mr. Hutchinson, and desired him that he would take the pains to come and view their church, which he did, and upon discourse with the parson, persuade him to blot out all the superstitious paintings, and break the images in the glass; which he consented to, but being ill-affected, was one of those who began to brand Mr. Hutchinson with the name of Puritan." The so-called Puritan was then a young man of twenty-three; and he was in himself a faithful representation of the religious English gentleman, who had been bred up in a horror of papistical observances, and who, by study of the history of his country, and by serious meditation on the state of public affairs, was prepared to take an earnest part in the great struggle of his time: "He applied himself," says Mrs. Hutchinson, "to understand the things then in dispute; and read all the public papers that came forth, between the king and parliament, besides many other private treatises, both concerning the present and foregoing times. Hereby he became abundantly informed in his understanding, and convinced in conscience, of the righteousness of the parliament's cause, in point of civil right."

On the 30th of January the charges against Strafford were laid before the House of Lords. These were twenty-eight in number. The Scottish commissioners, and a deputation from the Irish parliament, also put forward the same charges, of endeavoring to rule the north of England and Ireland by military power; of attempting to subvert the fundamental laws of the realm; of laboring to overthrow parliaments and parliamentary authority. During the anxious period between the commitment of the great earl on the 11th of November, and his trial on the 22d of March, the Commons had labored assiduously in the work of legislation as well as in that of punishing the instruments of evil government. Of these legislative labors, which they continued till the close of the session, we shall give a short general view before we conclude our narrative of the first session of this memorable parliament. Meanwhile let us relate, as briefly as the importance of the subject allows, the proceedings in the trial and attainder of "the one supremely able man the king had" *—the man whose acquittal and restoration to power would, in the opinion of most persons, have given the death-blow to the liberties of England. The proceedings against that eminent man have been condemned by many, who fully admit, with Mr. Hallam, "that to bring so great a delinquent to justice according to the known process of the law was among the primary duties of the new parliament." But, "the known process of the law" having been set aside, it is held that justice was not rightly administered. The proceedings have been defended, even while it is fully admitted, as Mr. Macaulay admits, that his "attainder was, in truth, a revolutionary measure;" and in the same spirit they are justified, "by that which alone justifies capital punishment, or any punishment, by that alone which justifies war, by the public danger." †

In that Westminster Hall which had witnessed so many memorable scenes; in that hall in which, re-edified by Richard II., the parliament sat which deposed him, and Bolingbroke placed himself in the marble chair—in that hall where More was condemned, and Henry VIII. sentenced a heretic to the fire, and the protector Somerset was doomed to the scaffold—in that hall was to be enacted a scene more strange than any which had gone before—the arraignment of the great minister who was identified with the acts of the sovereign—a virtual trial of strength between the crown and the people. Of this trial, May, the parliamentary historian, says, "So great it was that we can hardly call it the trial of the earl of Strafford only. The king's affections toward his people and parliament, the future success of this parliament, and the hopes of three kingdoms dependent upon it, were all tried when Strafford was arraigned. . . . Three whole kingdoms were his accusers, and eagerly sought in one death a recompense of all their sufferings." May speaks, also, of "the pompous circumstances and stately manner of the trial itself." The hall was fitted up in a manner quite unusual in any previous state-

* Foss, "Judges of England." † See *ante*, p. 430.

‡ Quoted by Mr. Forster, in his "Life of John Pym," p. 144.

§ By a subsequent vote the crosses of Cheapside and Charing were taken down. Evelyn, in his "Diary," May 2d, 1643, says, "I went from Wotton to London, where I saw the furious and zealous people demolish that stately cross in Cheapside."

* Carlyle. † Macaulay, "Essay on Nugent's Hampden."

trial. There was a throne for the king at the north end; the woolsack for the lord-steward, the earl of Arundel; benches for the peers, who sat in their red robes, lined with ermine; sacks for the lord keeper and the judges; and, what constituted the peculiarity of this trial, a stage of eleven tiers of seats on each side of the hall, seven of which were reserved for the members of the House of Commons, who were all there in committee. The king did not occupy the throne, but sat with the queen and his family in a box on the side of the throne. "The trellis, that made them to be secret, the king broke down with his own hand, so they sat in the eye of all," writes Baillie, who was present in the seats appointed for the Scotch commissioners. The doors were kept, he says, "very straitly with guards. We always behoved to be there a little after five in the morning." The Lords were in their places daily by eight o'clock; the king was usually half an hour before them. Many ladies were present, in galleries allotted to them. On Monday, the 22d of March, as on every succeeding day, the earl of Strafford was brought to Westminster from the Tower in a barge, accompanied by the lieutenant, with boats full of armed men; and on his landing he was guarded by the trained band. He took his place below the bar at a desk, attended by four secretaries and his counsel. "He was always in the same suit of black, as in doole [mourning]. At the entry he gave a low courtesie; proceeding a little he gave a second; when he came to his desk a third; then at the bar, the fore-face of his desk, he kneeled; rising quickly, he saluted both sides of the houses, and then sat down. Some few of the Lords lifted their hats to him. This was his daily carriage."* The sitting each day was prolonged to two, three, or four o'clock. "It was daily the most glorious assembly the isle could afford; yet the gravity not such as I expected," writes the observant Scot. While the earl was preparing his answers to particular charges, the Lords, he says, "got to their feet, walking, and clattered." The Commons, too, made loud clattering. After ten o'clock they ate and drank, "bottles of beer and wine going thick from mouth to mouth, without cups, and all this in the king's eye."

But if, in the few resting minutes of this solemn trial, the wants of the animal man were supplied after a homely fashion, never was the supremacy of intellect more strikingly put forth to move pity or compel indignation. "Every day, the first week," writes May, "from Monday to Saturday, without intermission, the earl was brought from the Tower to Westminster Hall, and arraigned many hours together; and the success of every day's trial was the greatest discourse or dispute in all companies." The first of these days was occupied by reading the articles of impeachment and Strafford's written answers to them. On the second day Pym, the greatest orator of the lower house—that great assembly of high thinkers and bold doers—being commanded by the lord-steward to proceed, thus began: "My Lords, we stand here by the commandment of the knights, citizens, and burgesses, now assembled for the Commons in parliament; and we are ready to make good that impeachment whereby Thomas earl of Strafford stands charged in their name, and in the names of all the commons of England, with high treason." The House of Commons had passed a vote "that the earl of Strafford had endeavored to subvert the ancient and fundamental laws of the realm, and to introduce arbitrary and tyrannical government." To sustain this allegation was the chief object of Pym and the other managers of the impeachment; and although the greater number of the articles exhibited could not be technically brought within the statute of treasons, they contended that acts which tended to subvert the constitution were acts of treason against the king. Our necessary limits will not permit us to go through the various and complicated charges upon which this principle was to be sustained. They were, chiefly, acts of oppression as president of the Council of the North; arbitrary proceedings against individuals as governor of Ireland; a contempt for justice, by his assertion that the Irish were a conquered nation, and that the king might do with them as he pleased. He was charged that, as chief minister of England, he had advised the king, if parliament failed to give him supplies, to levy what he needed by his prerogative; and that after the dissolution of parliament he said the king had vainly tried the affections of his people, and he was free to do whatever his power would admit.

* Baillie, vol. i. p. 316.

On all these points Pym spoke, having constant reference to the answers which Strafford had put in. Strafford replied, and Pym rejoined. On the third day Maynard, a lawyer, one of the managers, followed up the accusations regarding Strafford's Irish administration; and Strafford, as before, replied with wondrous readiness—wondrous when it is considered that he was suffering from severe disease, and was alone against a host of enemies. Day after day this contest went on. "Many foul misdemeanours," says May, "committed both in England and Ireland, were daily proved against him: but that ward which the earl, being an eloquent man, especially lay at, was to keep off the blow of high treason, whatsoever misdemeanours should be laid upon him; of which some he denied, others he excused and extenuated with great subtlety, contending, to make anything good, that misdemeanours, though never so many and so great, could not, by being put together, make one treason, unless some one of them had been treason in its own nature." On the thirteenth day of the trial, the 10th of April, Pym moved in the House of Commons that the proceedings should take the new form of a bill of attainder against the earl of Strafford.

There was a rising member of the house, Henry Vane, the son of Sir Henry Vane, who was comptroller of the royal household in 1639, and in 1641 was secretary of state. The youthful member for Hull, afterward so famous as

"Vane, young in years, but in sage counsel old,"

who, in his early enthusiasm for civil and religious liberty, had left all the prospects of ambition which naturally opened to him, to join the colony of New England, had now returned home, as his friend Milton had returned, when the mother country required the service of her children. He was the means of an extraordinary disclosure connected with the counsels of Strafford to the king. On that 10th of April Pym stood up, Henry Vane being in his seat, and produced a paper containing "a copy of notes taken at a junto of the Privy Council for the Scots affairs, about the 5th of May last." Whitelocke thus relates how these notes, which were in the handwriting of old Sir Henry Vane, were obtained: "Secretary Vane, being out of town, sent a letter to his son, Sir Henry Vane the younger, then in London, with the key of his study, for his son to look in his cabinet for some papers there, to send to his father. The son looking over many papers, among them alighted upon these notes; which being of so great concernment to the public, and declaring so much against the earl of Strafford, he held himself bound in duty and conscience to discover them. He showed them to Mr. Pym, who urged him, and prevailed with him, that they might be made use of in the evidence against the earl of Strafford, as being most material, and of great consequence, in relation to that business." Young Vane's breach of his father's confidence will be judged harshly or compassionately, according to the degree in which it is believed that the public good is the supreme law. Old Vane wept in the house when the notes were produced. These notes were the record of a dialogue in which Laud, Hamilton, and Strafford were the speakers in council; and the words which Strafford addressed to the king were these: "You have an army in Ireland that you may employ to reduce this kingdom to obedience." On the 13th of April Pym read these notes in Westminster Hall. Lord Clare, Strafford's brother-in-law, contended that *this* kingdom meant Scotland and not England. Strafford took up this point, and maintained that a man's life should not depend upon a single word. The notes were admitted as evidence against him. The whole tenor of Strafford's correspondence can leave no doubt upon the mind of any dispassionate person, at the present day, that Strafford would not have had the slightest hesitation in recommending the king to let him bring the Irish army to England, for the overthrow of the fundamental laws of the realm. The peers of 1641 had not these materials of judgment before them; but they had ample means of knowing that such an intention was in perfect accordance with the principles which Strafford proclaimed and acted upon.

While the bill of attainder was debated in the Commons, the Lords continued to sit judicially in Westminster Hall, as if no such measure were in agitation. After the notes discovered by the younger Vane had been received, Strafford was called upon for his general defence upon the facts, leaving the law to his counsel. He spoke two hours and a half. The hard and prejudiced principal of Glas-

gow University says: "He repeated nought new but the best of his former answers; and, in the end, after some lashness and fagging, he made such ane pathetic oration, for ane half hour, as ever comedian did upon a stage. The matter and expression was exceeding brave: doubtless, if he had grace or civil goodness, he is a most eloquent man. The speech you have it here in print. One passage made it most spoken of; his breaking off in weeping and silence, when he spoke of his first wife." Whitelocke, to whom we owe many of the most interesting memorials of this great time, has preserved this peroration in a less perishable form than that of the "Diurnal" which Baillie transmitted to his Scottish friends:

"My Lords, it is hard to be questioned upon a law which cannot be shown. Where hath this fire lain hid so many hundreds of years, without any smoke to discover it, till it thus burst forth to consume me and my children? That punishment should precede promulgation of a law—to be punished by a law subsequent to the fact, is extreme hard: what man can be safe if this be admitted? My Lords, it is hard in another respect, that there should be no token set, by which we should know this offence, no admonition by which we should avoid it. If a man pass the Thames in a boat, and split upon an anchor, and no buoy be floating to discover it, he who owneth the anchor shall make satisfaction; but if a buoy be set there, every man passeth at his own peril. Now, where is the mark, where the token upon this crime, to declare it to be high treason? My Lords, be pleased to give that regard to the peerage of England as never to expose yourselves to such moot points, to such constructive interpretations of laws: If there must be a trial of wits, let the subject-matter be of somewhat else than the lives and honors of peers. —It will be wisdom for yourselves, for your posterity, and for the whole kingdom, to cast into the fire these bloody and mysterious volumes of constructive and arbitrary treason, as the Christians did their books of curious arts, and betake yourselves to the plain letter of the law, that telleth us what is, and what is not treason, without being more ambitious to be more learned in the art of killing than our forefathers. It is now full two hundred and forty years since any man was touched for this alleged crime, to this height, before myself: Let us not awaken those sleeping lions to our destructions by raking up a few musty records that have lain by the walls so many ages forgotten or neglected. May your Lordships please not to add this to my other misfortunes: Let not a precedent be derived from me so disadvantageous as this will be in the consequence to the whole kingdom. Do not, through me, wound the interest of the commonwealth; and, however these gentlemen say they speak for the commonwealth, yet, in this particular, I indeed speak for it, and show the inconveniences and mischiefs that will fall upon it. For, as it is said in the statute, 1 Hen. IV., no man will know what to do or say for fear of such penalties. Do not put, my Lords, such difficulties upon ministers of state, that men of wisdom, of honor, and of fortune, may not with cheerfulness and safety be employed for the public: If you weigh and measure them by grains and scruples, the public affairs of the kingdom will lie waste; no man will meddle with them who hath anything to lose.

"My Lords, I have troubled you longer than I should have done, were it not for the interest these dear pledges a saint in heaven left me."—Here he paused and shed a few tears.—"What I forfeit for myself is nothing; but that my indiscretion should extend to my posterity woundeth me to the very soul. You will pardon my infirmity; something I should have added, but am not able, therefore let it pass. And now, my Lords, for myself, I have been by the blessing of Almighty God taught that the afflictions of this present life are not to be compared to the eternal weight of glory which shall be revealed hereafter. And so, my Lords, even so, with all tranquillity of mind, I freely submit myself to your judgment; and whether that judgment be of life or death, '*Te Deum laudamus.*"

When we read these burning words we can easily believe the statement of May, that the ladies in the galleries were all on Strafford's side. "So great," he says, "was the favor and love which they openly expressed to him, that some could not but think of that verse,

> "Non formosus erat, sed erat facundus Ulysses;
> Et tamen æquoreas torsit amore Deas."

Never was quotation more happy. Strafford was not beautiful, but he was the eloquent Ulysses, who bent the sea-goddesses to his love. After such appeals—not only to "the pity proper to their sex," which May attributes to Strafford's fair friends, but appeals to all who could be moved by natural sympathy toward a man bearing up so bravely in the presence of imminent danger and under the pressure of disease—the majestic periods of Pym's reply would fall dull and cold. Even now Strafford touches the heart, while Pym holds the understanding in his powerful grasp. There never was a grander scene in the ancient world of "famous orators"—not when Demosthenes "fulmined" against Philip, and Catiline trembled before Cicero—than when Pym, in the presence of the king of England, proclaimed that treason against the people was treason against the throne, and intimated that the sovereign who abetted such treason was not himself safe from "a miserable end." We may drop a tear for the fate of Strafford; but we should ill deserve the freedom which we enjoy under a constitutional monarchy if we did not feel how much we owe to the noble assertion of the dominion of law over arbitrary power which Pym then sent forth into the heart of England:

"The law hath a power to prevent, to restrain, to repair evils. Without this, all kinds of mischief and distempers will break in upon a state. It is the law that doth entitle the king to the allegiance and service of his people; it entitles the people to the protection and justice of the king. It is God alone who subsists by himself; all other things subsist in a mutual dependence and relation. He was a wise man that said that the king subsisted by the field that is tilled; it is the labor of the people that supports the crown. If you take away the protection of the king, the vigor and cheerfulness of allegiance will be taken away, though the obligation remain. The law is the boundary, the measure, betwixt the king's prerogative and the people's liberty. While these move in their own orbs, they are a support and a security to one another—the prerogative a cover and defence to the liberty of the people, and the people by their liberty enabled to be a foundation to the prerogative. But if these bounds be so removed that they enter into contestation and conflict, one of these mischiefs must ensue—if the prerogative of the king overwhelm the people, it will be turned into tyranny; if liberty undermine the prerogative, it will grow into anarchy."

There was not a man in that great assembly who could refuse assent to the truth of these words. Happy would it have been; much misery would have been spared; we might have reached in 1641 what we were struggling for till 1688, had these oracular sentences been equally the guide of prince and people. Charles must have started at the prophetic warning which followed:

"Arbitrary power is dangerous to the king's person, and dangerous to his crown. It is apt to cherish ambition, usurpation, and oppression, in great men, and to beget sedition and discontent in the people; and both these have been, and in reason must ever be, causes of great trouble and alteration to princes and states. If the histories of those eastern countries be perused, where princes order their affairs according to the mischievous principles of the earl of Strafford, loose and absolved from all rules of government, they will be found to be frequent in combustions, full of massacres, and of the tragical ends of princes. If any man shall look into their own stories, in the times when the laws were most neglected, he shall find them full of commotions, of civil distempers, whereby the kings that then reigned were always kept in want and distress; the people consumed by civil wars; and by such miserable counsels as these some of our princes have been brought to such a miserable end as no honest heart can remember without horror, and an earnest prayer that it may never be so again."

Again and again Pym asserted his leading principle, that the offences of Strafford constituted the crime of treason, inasmuch as he had "endeavored by his words, actions, and counsels, to subvert the fundamental laws of England and Ireland, and to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government." By the wise law of the reign of Edward VI., all treasons were reduced to the standard of the statute of Edward III., under which the offence was clearly defined as comprising seven distinct heads—1, compassing the death of king, queen, or their heir; 2, the offence which was alleged against the two wives of Henry VIII., and those implicated with them; 3 and 4, levying war against the king, and adhering to the king's enemies; 5 and 6, counterfeiting the king's seal, and counterfeiting the king's money; 7, slaying the king's chancellor, treasurer, or justices. Pym's interpretation of treason appears, therefore, a somewhat forced inference

from the actions and counsels of Strafford. And yet, fanciful as it may sound, there is reason in this grand declamation: "Shall it be treason to embase the king's coin, though but a piece of twelvepence or sixpence? And must it not needs be the effect of a greater treason to embase the spirit of his subjects, and to set up a stamp and character of servitude upon them, whereby they shall be disabled to do anything for the service of the king and commonwealth?" It is natural that we should question the justice of such an extension of a definite statute. Mr. Hallam, however, thus qualifies our doubts: "We are not to suppose that the charges against this minister appeared so evidently to fall short of high treason, according to the apprehension of that age, as in later times has usually been taken for granted;" and he points out what we shall have presently to notice, that the judges were of opinion that, upon the articles held by the Peers to be proved against Strafford, he deserved to undergo the penalties of the law.

The close of this great trial in Westminster Hall was dramatic in the highest sense of that word. Pym wound up his speech with this appalling denunciation:

"The forfeitures inflicted for treason, by our law, are of life, honor, and estate, even all that can be forfeited; and this prisoner having committed so many treasons, although he should pay all these forfeitures, will be still a debtor to the commonwealth. Nothing can be more equal than that he should perish by the justice of that law which he would have subverted. Neither will this be a new way of blood. There are marks enough to trace this law to the very original of this kingdom; and if it hath not been put in execution, as he allegeth, these two hundred and forty years, it was not for want of law, but that all that time hath not bred a man bold enough to commit such crimes as these."* Pym had a few more formal words to utter, but having turned round, his eyes met those of Strafford, who was intently gazing on his accuser—the friend of his earlier years—his associate in the great struggle which produced the Petition of Right, which Charles and his ministers trampled upon.† The ancient friend, whose blood the accuser had demanded in the name of his country, had said, in one passage of his defence, "It pierces my heart, though not with guilt yet with sorrow, that in my gray hairs I should be so misunderstood by the companions of my youth." Their eyes met. Pym faltered. The unimaginative Baillie thus describes and accounts for the sudden failure of the great orator: "To humble the man, God let his memory fail him a little before the end. His papers he looked on, but they could not help him to a point or two, so he behoved to pass them."‡

The bill of attainder of the earl of Strafford was passed by the Commons on the 21st of April. Fifty-nine members voted against it out of a house of two hundred and sixty-three. Among them was Lord Digby, son of the earl of Bristol. Although he described Strafford as "that grand apostate to the commonwealth who must not expect to be pardoned in this world till he be dispatched to the other," he said, "and yet, let me tell you, Mr. Speaker, my hand must not be to that dispatch. I protest, as my conscience stands informed, I had rather it were off." The bill was carried to the upper house by Pym, with a message "that it was a bill that highly concerned the Commonwealth in the expediting of it." The king then went to the House of Lords, and stated that he had been present during the whole trial of Strafford; that he could not condemn him of high treason; but, said he, "I must confess for matter of misdemeanors, I am so clear in that, that though I will not chalk out the way, yet let me tell you that I do think my Lord Strafford is not fit hereafter to serve me or the commonwealth in any place of trust, no, not so much as that of a constable." This interference was offensive to the Commons, who deemed it a breach of privilege for the king to take notice of any bill during its passage through parliament. There were other circumstances ill-calculated to allay the temper of the Commons or the people. Rumors, afterward distinctly proved not to be without foundation, were rife, of a plot to bring up the army from the north to overawe the parliament, and to effect the release of Strafford. Preachers in the city poured forth invectives against the "great delinquent." Multitudes thronged the approaches to the House of Lords, demanding "Justice!" The names of the fifty-nine members of the Commons who had voted against the bill of attainder were placarded as "Straffordians, or betrayers of their country." The Peers, consulting with the judges whether some of the articles against Strafford, which they considered proved, amounted to treason, received an unanimous opinion that he had incurred the penalties which the law awarded to that crime. The articles of treason which the Peers deemed proved were the fifteenth, which charged the lord deputy of Ireland with raising money on his own authority, and quartering troops on the people of Ireland, in order to compel obedience to his unlawful requisitions; and the nineteenth, that which charged him with imposing an unlawful oath on the Scots in Ireland. In a house of forty-five, twenty-six peers voted Strafford guilty, and passed the bill of attainder.

While this question was under debate in the House of Lords, the Commons were singularly moved by the disclosures which were made of the king's own participation in the design "to disaffect the army to the Parliament;" to bring it up from the north with the view to place absolute power in the crown. Goring, a colonel in the army, having taken umbrage at some preference shown to Percy, a brother-conspirator, disclosed the plan to Lord Newark, who revealed it to other lords, through whom it reached the indefatigable John Pym. He brought the whole matter before the House of Commons. The evidence of this plot, though by no means definite or conclusive, was sufficient to prove that the king had listened to a proposal of appealing to a military force to control the representatives of the people. In the Memoirs of Madamé de Motteville, who states that she had the information from the queen herself, there is a relation of this army plot, which is described as a meritorious design, carried on at the desire of the king and queen. Henrietta's favorite, Jermyn, was deeply implicated in it. Even with the imperfect knowledge which the Commons possessed of this somewhat wild scheme of the courtiers, combined with the fact that Strafford had offered twenty thousand pounds to Sir William Balfour, the lieutenant of the Tower, to permit his escape, we can scarcely wonder at their immediate adoption of strong measures. Their first resolution was to draw up a Protestation, under oath to defend the Protestant Church, his majesty's person and power, the privileges of parliament, and the lawful rights and liberties of the people. This was immediately sworn to and signed by every member present; was sent to the House of Peers, who all signed except two, and was circulated for general signature through the kingdom. This Protestation became a touchstone of opinions. Some months after four thousand Buckinghamshire petitioners rode to London with a copy of the Protestation stuck in each man's hat. But the Protestation was of far less consequence than a short bill which was carried in this moment of alarm. Earlier in the session an act had passed "for the prevention of inconveniences happening by the long intermission of parliament;" but the bill which immediately followed the Protestation, "to prevent inconvenience which may happen by the untimely adjourning, proroguing, or dissolving this present parliament," made the parliament itself the sole arbiter of its own duration. The royal assent was given by commission to this bill on the 10th of May. On the same day the same commissioners consented to the bill of attainder against the earl of Strafford. On the 11th of May the king sent a letter to the Lords by the Prince of Wales, in which he desired that a conference might take place with the Commons, to the intent, he said, that "both houses of parliament consent, for my sake, that I should moderate the severity of the law in so important a case." This extraordinary postscript was added: "If he must die, it were charity to reprieve him until Saturday." Strafford had generously written a letter to the king to set his "conscience at liberty," so as to allow him to pass the bill of attainder, "for prevention of evils which may happen by your refusal." But it is clear that the earl, who thus gave this last proof of his fidelity, expected another result; for he exclaimed, when it was announced to him that the king had passed the bill, "Put not your trust in princes." It is unnecessary here to

* The authority for Pym's speech is Rushworth. To understand its power, it should be read complete in Mr. Forster's "Life of Pym."

† See *ante*, p. 423.

‡ Baillie describes this concluding oration as "one of the most eloquent, wise, true speeches, that ever we heard, or I think shall ever hear." M. Guizot, referring to the authority of the "State Trials," says that Pym read a prepared answer, without being listened to by any one; and that the look of scorn which Strafford gave him made him falter at the beginning of his speech, "which he had great difficulty in delivering."

enter into the question of the weakness or wickedness of the king in consenting to the sacrifice of Strafford. Charles held it, in the subsequent struggle of his life, as his one great fault—that which was justly punished by Heaven in his misfortunes. Strafford met his fate with the same resolution which had characterized the public actions of his life. He walked to the scaffold, says Rushworth, a spectator of the scene, with the step and manner of "a general marching at the head of an army, to breathe victory, rather than those of a condemned man, to undergo the sentence of death." As he passed the window of the room in which Laud was confined, he asked the blessing of the archbishop, and moving on exclaimed, "God protect your innocency." The firm yet modest demeanor of the great earl produced little mitigation of the dislike of the people. "In the evening of the day wherein he was executed, the greatest demonstrations of joy that possibly could be expressed ran through the whole town, and countries hereabout; and many, that came up to town on purpose to see the execution, rode in triumph back, and with all expressions of joy, through every town they went, crying, 'His head is off, his head is off.'" Warwick, the zealous adherent of the court, tells this, "to show how mad the whole people were, especially in and about this then bloody and brutish city, London."*

CHAPTER LXXXIX.

Act for the non-dissolution of parliament—Jealousy of the Commons—Principal legislative measures—Ship-money; Star Chamber; Local arbitrary courts; Court of High Commission; Forests; Writs for knighthood—English and Scottish armies disbanded—The king goes to Scotland—Intrigues with Montrose—Parliament reassembles—The Irish Insurrection—The king's progress to London—Debate on the Remonstrance—The king's entertainment in the city—Struggle of parties—The Remonstrance presented—The king at Whitehall—Tumults—Protest, and committal of twelve bishops—Articles of treason exhibited against Lord Kimbolton and five members of the Commons—The king attempts to seize the five members—The house adjourned.

The consent of the king to the bill for the attainder of Strafford, and to the measure which was afterward called "The Act for the Perpetual Parliament," can scarcely be attributed to any other feeling than a sense of his immediate weakness. Mr. Hallam imputes Charles's ready acquiescence in this parliamentary bill, to his own shame and the queen's consternation at the discovery of the army plot.† Lord Clarendon says, "After the passing these two bills, the temper and spirit of the people, both within and without the walls of the two houses, grew marvellous calm and composed."‡ The Parliament now went boldly and steadily forward in the work of reform. A subsidy and a poll-tax were granted; but another subsidy of tonnage and poundage was granted for a very limited time, from May 25 to July 15; so that the Commons might exercise the right of renewal, according to circumstances. This subsidy was renewed, by subsequent acts, until July 2d, 1642. It is difficult to blame them for this excessive jealousy of the designs of the crown. The bill for triennial parliaments was absolutely necessary, to take out of the hands of the king the power to govern again without a parliament. The more unconstitutional measure of preventing the dissolution of parliament by the king without its own consent, thus rendering the Commons independent of the crown and of their own constituents, cannot be justified upon any principle consistent with the just balance of the monarchical and democratic interests in the state. Nothing but a well-grounded suspicion of the designs of the king could have induced both houses hastily to pass such a measure, upon the simple allegation that money could not be borrowed under the authority of parliament if there was a prospect of its being suddenly dissolved. "It is impossible to think," writes Sir Philip Warwick, "how so intelligent a person as this king was, should by any persuasions, which certainly were great on the queen's side, or treachery, which certainly was great on the side of many of his great courtiers, be induced thus to divest himself of all majesty and power."§ The queen under the influence of terror, as some have believed, but more probably with the hope of procuring the interference of foreign powers to restore the absolute authority of Charles, was preparing to leave the country. The princess royal was betrothed to the eldest son of the prince of Orange. A secret article of the treaty stipulated that the prince should assist the king, if the disputes with his parliament came to an open rupture. The queen, a few months later, alleging her ill-health, wished to seek a remedy in the spa-waters. Upon the remonstrance of both houses of parliament, she consented to remain in England. Amid the contradictory and obscure traces of court secrets, one thing is manifest—that there was not the slightest approach to a real union between the king and the parliament for the public good. The royal concessions were made with a sort of recklessness which argues that there was a hope and belief that they might become nugatory under some turn of fortune. The suspicions of the Commons were never wholly set at rest.

In the great legislative measures of this session, the houses were invariably anxious to rest their reforms upon the ancient foundations of law and liberty. Thus in the statute granting tonnage and poundage, it is declared and enacted, "That it is and hath been the ancient right of the subjects of this realm, that no subsidy, custom, impost, or other charge whatsoever ought or may be laid or imposed upon any merchandise, exported or imported by subjects, denizens, or aliens, without common consent in parliament."* In "An act for the declaring unlawful and void the late proceedings touching ship-money," it is declared that the writs and judgments thereupon "were and are contrary to and against the laws and statutes of the realm, the right of property, the liberty of the subject, former resolutions in parliament, and the petition of right made in the third year of the reign of his majesty that now is."† Again and again the principle of arbitrary taxation was made to hear its death-knell. In the act for dissolving the Court of Star Chamber and taking away the whole of its powers, all the ancient statutes, including the Great Charter, which declare that no freeman shall be imprisoned or condemned but by judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land, are recited; and it is affirmed that the authority of the Star Chamber, under the statute of Henry VII., has been abused, and the decrees of the court have been found "to be an intolerable burthen to the subjects, and the means to introduce an arbitrary power and government."‡ This statute not only abolishes the Court of Star Chamber, but the jurisdiction of the courts of the marches of Wales, of the northern parts, of the duchy of Lancaster, and of the county palatine of Chester. Under these arbitrary courts one third of the people had been deprived of the protection of common-law, and were at the mercy of such local despots as Strafford.

In the act for abolishing the Court of High Commission it is maintained that, under the statute of the first of Elizabeth "concerning commissioners for causes ecclesiastical," the commissioners "have to the great and insufferable wrong and oppression of the king's subjects used to fine and imprison them, and to exercise other authority not belonging to ecclesiastical jurisdiction." The act of abolition goes farther, and takes from the ecclesiastical courts the power to inflict temporal penalties for spiritual offences.§ The "Act for the certainty of forests, and of the meres, meets, limits, and bounds of the forests," goes back to the days of Edward I. as to ancient boundaries, and, reprehending their real or pretended extension, confines forests within such limits as were recognized in the twentieth year of James I.‖ In "An act for preventing vexatious proceedings touching the order of knighthood," reference is made to an ancient usage that men seized of lands to the yearly value of forty pounds might be compelled to take upon themselves the order of knighthood, or else to make fine; but it declares that many have been put to grievous fines and vexations, for declining to receive the same dignity, being wholly unfit for it in estate or quality. In all these enactments for the removal of great oppressions, constant reference is had to the origin of the abuses. There is no unreasoning pretext for their abolition, as if the subject were to be benefited by arbitrarily curtailing the prerogative of the crown. Clarendon fully admits all the abuses which these enactments swept away; and yet, in the spirit of that ignoble belief which he has done so much to perpetuate, that justice to the subject can only be derived from the favor of the sovereign,

* Warwick, "Memoirs," p. 164.
† "Constitutional History," c. 9.
‡ "Rebellion," vol. i. p. 459, ed. 1826.
§ "Memoirs," p. 181.

* 16 Car. I. c. 8.
† Ibid., c. 14.
‡ Ibid., c. 10.
§ Ibid., c. 14.
‖ Ibid., c. 16.

he says, of these acts of parliament, that they "will be acknowledged by an uncorrupted posterity, to be everlasting monuments of the king's princely and fatherly affection to his people." * Much more rationally do we now feel that, "in by far the greater part of the enactments of 1641, the monarchy lost nothing that it had anciently possessed; and the balance of our constitution might seem rather to have been restored to its former equipoise than to have undergone any fresh change." † It is to the Long Parliament, in this triumphant session, that we owe a new era of civil liberty. If they had rested here in their great work, they would have placed the political rights of Englishmen upon the broad foundation upon which the national greatness and security has been since built up. Other questions, incident to the particular crisis, prevented that concord between the sovereign and the people upon which the safety of the monarchy must rest.

The pacification with Scotland was concluded by act of parliament; ‡ and by another act the sum of 300,000*l.* was agreed "to be given for a friendly assistance and relief toward the supply of the losses and necessities of our brethren of Scotland." § On the 10th of August the king left London for Scotland. On the 9th of September the parliament adjourned. Charles had manifested great impatience to proceed to Scotland. On his journey he passed through the English army in the north, which was disbanding; and he dined at Newcastle with Leslie, the general of the Scottish army, which was returning home. The king was accompanied by two commissioners named by the Lords, and four named by the Commons, among whom was Hampden. Clarendon calls them "spies." There was no discourtesy between Charles and these commissioners; but they were evidently there to watch and counteract his secret designs. The king had met the Scottish parliament; had sanctioned all their proceedings even to the abolition of episcopacy; and seemed bent upon securing the affections of the nation by swearing to the terms of the Covenant, and attending the Presbyterian worship. There can be no doubt that he was plotting to destroy those whom he chose to consider as his personal enemies. Montrose had been in correspondence with the king. Argyle had intercepted a letter in cipher, and the parliament had imprisoned the daring man who was now the great supporter of the old order of affairs in the Scottish Church and State. Montrose contrived to correspond with Charles, through one of his pages, offering to produce proofs of the secret communications of Hamilton and Argyle, with Hampden, Pym, and other parliamentary leaders, to bring the Scottish army into England in 1640. Hamilton and Argyle, having learned that they were in danger of liberty or life, absented themselves. For Montrose had endeavored to persuade the king to arrest them, and if resistance was made to remove them by assassination. Such was political and religious hatred, when mixed up with the semi-barbarism of Scottish clanship. Clarendon says, "the king abhorred that expedient." There was great alarm in Edinburgh; but the king and the Scottish parliament thought it wise to accommodate matters; and the nobles returned to receive marks of honor from Charles. But Hampden and the other commissioners saw the danger with which they might be threatened. "The leaders," says M. Guizot, "thought their former relations with the Scottish insurgents had been pardoned, together with the rebellion itself, by the last treaty of peace." It was natural that they should so think. The act of parliament for the pacification has these express words: "It is expedient for making the peace and unity of his Majesty's dominions the more firm and faithful, and that his Majesty's countenance against all fears may shine upon them all the more comfortably, that an act of pacification and oblivion be made in the parliament of all the three kingdoms for burying in forgetfulness all acts of hostility, whether betwixt the king and his subjects or between subject and subject, or which may be conceived to arise upon the coming of any English army against Scotland, or the coming of the Scottish army into England, or upon any action, attempt, assistance, counsel, or device, having relation thereto and falling out by the occasion of the late troubles preceding the conclusion of the treaty and the return of the Scottish army into Scotland; that the same and whatsoever hath ensued thereupon, whether touching upon the laws and liberties of the church and kingdom, or upon his Majesty's honor and authority, in no time hereafter may be called in question or resented as a wrong, national or personal, whatsoever be the quality of the person or persons, or of whatsoever kind or degree civil or criminal the injury be supposed to be, and that no mention be made thereof in time coming, neither in judgment nor out of judgment, but that it shall be held and reputed as though never any such thing had been thought nor wrought." The statute for the pacification does not expressly pass such an act of oblivion; but after the king by his royal assent had declared its expediency, this manifestation of duplicity could only tend to widen the breach between the sovereign and the legislature.

During the parliamentary recess a committee sat at Westminster; and they instituted inquiries, and authorized acts, which were certainly beyond their legislative functions. The news from Scotland led this committee to believe, according to Clarendon, that "there was some desperate design on foot;" and he adds that the Scottish business, which was called "the incident," "had a strange influence at Westminster, and served to contribute to all the senseless fears they thought fit to entertain." * Other news soon came to Westminster that produced there, and throughout the kingdom, a consternation far more intense and lasting than any "senseless fears." The House of Commons reassembled on the 20th of October. On the 25th the lords of the council communicated to the house that a fearful insurrection had broken out in Ireland; and shortly after the king sent a letter to the parliament, apprising them of a "formed rebellion" which must be prosecuted with a sharp war, "the conducting and prosecuting which he wholly committed to their care and wisdom." A committee of both houses at once took upon themselves the authority thus confided to them; "the mischief whereof, though in the beginning little taken notice of," says Clarendon, "was afterward felt by the king very sensibly." Such a voluntary concession of the executive power to the legislature was indeed a dangerous precedent.

The Irish insurrection of 1641 was one of the most terrible events in the history of that unhappy country. It was an event which long perpetuated the hatred between the Irish natives and the English settlers, and in a series of bitter revenges kept alive the more deadly animosity between Catholics and Protestants. The Irish army, which had been raised by Strafford, had been kept together against the desire of the parliament. The king had wished to establish that army in Flanders, to be ready for any service under the king of Spain; but his plan had been prevented by a parliamentary resolution, which afterward became a law, against "the raising and transporting of forces of horse or foot out of his Majesty's dominions of England or Ireland." This Catholic army was therefore disbanded; and it became a dangerous power in a distracted country. The vigilant rule of Strafford was at an end. There was no resident viceroy. The government was administered by the two lords justices. The Protestant troops in Ireland were few, and they were scattered. Charles had striven to prevent the disbanding of Strafford's eight thousand Papists; and after that measure was accomplished, he had intrigued to prevent the dispersion of these men. They were told to rally round their sovereign, and by defending the throne prevent the extirpation of the ancient religion. A general rising was at length determined upon among some Irish chieftains and some of the ancient settlers of the Pale, for the purpose of seizing the castle of Dublin, and proclaiming that they would support the sovereign in all his rights. The plot was betrayed as far as regarded the attack upon Dublin Castle; but Ulster was in open insurrection on the 22d of October. Sir Phelim O'Neal was at the head of thirty thousand men. What was intended to be an insurrection, for the redress of civil wrongs and the removal of religious disabilities, soon became a general massacre of Protestants. The conspirators in Ulster were rendered desperate by the failure of the plot for the seizure of Dublin. The Puritan settlers of the north were especially obnoxious to those who were in arms. They were driven from their houses in an inclement season. They fled to the hills and morasses, where they perished of hunger. They were put to death, with all the horrors that only savages and fanatics can inflict. Women and children were murdered with relentless fury. Multitudes fled toward Dublin as their only city of refuge. The number of those that perished has

* "Rebellion," vol. i. p. 504.
‡ 16 Car. I. c. 17.
† Hallam, vol. ii. c. 9.
§ Ibid., c. 18.

* Appendix to "History of Rebellion," vol. ii. p. 576 (ed. 1826).

been variously estimated. Clarendon says that "about forty or fifty thousand of the English Protestants were murdered before they suspected themselves to be in any danger, or could provide for their defence by drawing themselves into towns or strong houses." Troops at length arrived from England; and after months of horror the insurrection was quelled. The king could never wholly remove the belief that he had instigated this fearful rising, or had connived at it. The Irish insurgents themselves pretended that they acted under the royal authority. There is a curious illustration of this circumstance in a manuscript relation of the "Siege of Ballgaly Castle," in the county of Clare, at the beginning of 1642, written by one of the besieged. "After this the enemy would daily in our sight draw forth their skenes and swords, flourishing them, swearing many dangerous oaths that erelong they would draw us forth and hack us to pieces, terming us Puritan rogues, and all the base names that might be invented, vowing that shortly Sir Phelim O'Neal, and at least 40,000 soldiers, would come into Thomond and not leave a Protestant living, praying heartily for them, pretending that they then fought for them, but within a short time after they pretended that they were wholly the queen's army, and that she and her mother were in the north aiding them, but no Protestant admitted to look upon her. This note suddenly altered, and then they were all for the king, vowing deeply that they had his Majesty's commission for what they did, and that they were his Majesty's Catholic forces."*

When the parliamentary commissioners quitted Edinburgh they urged the king's speedy return to London. His intentions were, however, kept secret. He had left the earl of Essex commander of the forces south of Trent, but the earl was not in the confidence of the court. The queen, on the 20th of November, writes to the secretary of state that he may now tell Essex when the king is coming; for, she adds, "the king commanded me to tell this to my lord of Essex, but you may do it, for these lordships are too great princes now to receive any directions from me."† In his progress from Scotland the king was received with demonstrations of respect and affection. At York he was told by the mayor, "Our wintry woods assume spring leaves to welcome home so indulgent a sovereign." At Stamford the mayor alluded to the Irish rebellion, expressing his conviction that "although Rome's hens should daily hatch of its preposterous eggs crocodiliferous chickens, yet under our royal sovereign we should not fear." The king was to reach London on the 25th, and there to dine with the lord mayor, who was a devoted royalist. It was natural that the people of themselves should express these sentiments of good-will to Charles. A vast number of the grievances of the nation had been swept away, and the people would necessarily attribute much of the merit to the king, and be willing to lay aside their doubts and complainings. It is not easy to understand why the parliamentary leaders should have chosen the moment of the king's return to greet him, not with their professions of love, but with the strongest remonstrance against the whole tenor of his past government. The only solution is that they acted under a distinct persuasion that it was impossible, at that time, that a just balance could be restored between the monarchic and the democratic principle, unless one power yielded something more than had been already conceded, or the other power gave up some of the advantages which it had already won. The conviction in the mind of the king that he had a right to be absolute had never been removed or lessened by the events of the past twelve months. The resolution of the Commons that he should not be again absolute was as strong as ever. But at this crisis the men who had been unanimous in 1640 divided into two great parties—those who held that the monarchy should be still more abridged of its power, and those who believed that any further assertion of parliamentary authority would be to destroy the monarchy. With the question of the due limits of popular rights was mixed up the equally difficult question, whether episcopacy should be regulated or abolished; and this question, in time, became merged in the wider question, whether England, like its neighbor kingdom, should become Presbyterian, or whether all state religion should come to an end, and every congregation of Christians be a church of itself. We cannot understand the real spirit of this great time, if we judge the parties and the individuals in an uncharitable temper—if we believe that the cavaliers, as the loyalists were called, meant to fight for slavery and popery; and that the roundheads, as the parliamentarians were called, were furious anarchists or blind fanatics. An Englishman who will now look honestly and calmly at the events of this period, will rejoice that he is descended from men who, whatever be their opinions, were earnest in their advocacy; who were, for the most part, no trading politicians, merely intent upon their individual advancement; who were truly heroic in their passionate loyalty or their passionate love of civil or religious liberty; who, whether vilified as profligates or as hypocrites, displayed, each in his own way, some of the noblest traits of human character; for they each were fighting with a conviction that the eye of God was upon them, and the greater number of them, whether Episcopalian, Presbyterian, or Independent, believing in his conscience that he was doing God's work in the world.

The debate on the Remonstrance was the great trial of strength in the House of Commons. That debate began at nine o'clock of the morning of the 22d of November. It went on through that day till it grew dark. Candles were called for. Twelve hours of passionate talk, and yet no rest. The House thinned under the faintness and exhaustion of this unusual sitting. But the excitement was greater than the weariness. The Remonstrance was adopted by one hundred and fifty-nine votes against one hundred and forty-eight. "At three of the clock in the morning," says Philip Warwick, "when they voted it, I thought we had all sat in the valley of the shadow of death; for we, like Joab's and Abner's young men, had catched at each other's locks, and sheathed our swords in each other's bowels, had not the sagacity and great calmness of Mr. Hampden, by a short speech, prevented it, and led us to defer our angry debate till next day." The Remonstrance had been carried, but the "angry debate" was continued on the question of printing it. As they went into the house, Falkland said to Cromwell that "it would take some debate," which Cromwell doubted. As they went out, Falkland asked Cromwell whether it had been debated; to which he answered, "he would take his word another time; and whispered him in the ear, with some asseveration, that if the Remonstrance had been rejected, he would have sold all he had the next morning, and never have seen England more; and he knew there were many honest men of the same resolution." This statement of Clarendon has been called "a vague report, gathered over dining-tables long after, to which the reader need not pay more heed than it merits."* This Remonstrance is a document of 206 articles. It may be read in Rushworth and Rapin, and its general tone is very like a declaration of war by one potentate against another. We do not believe what Clarendon affirms, that "the only end of passing it was to incline the people to sedition;" but we may admit with Mr. Hallam, that if Charles "were intended to reign at all, and to reign with any portion either of the prerogative of an English king, or the respect claimed by every sovereign, the Remonstrance of the Commons could but prolong an irritation incompatible with public tranquillity."†

The manifestations of popular feeling at this eventful period can scarcely be regarded as indications of public opinion. There can be no doubt that, on either side, many arts were practised to procure such demonstrations as might influence the temper of parliament, or support the wishes of the king. One of the most important of these was the splendid welcome that was given by the city of London to Charles on the 25th of November. Clarendon says, "Gourney, the lord mayor, was a man of wisdom and courage, and expressed great indignation to see the city so corrupted by the ill artifices of factious persons; and therefore attended upon his majesty, at his entrance into the city, with all the lustre and good countenance it could show, and as great professions of duty as it could make or the king expect."‡ The "Ovatio Carolina," as this reception was called in a pompous account of the ceremonial,‡ was in many respects the greatest pageant that "the royal chamber" of London had ever witnessed. The lord mayor and aldermen, and five hundred horsemen selected from the liveries, in velvet and plush coats, with pendants, and footmen, and trumpeters, rode out to Kingsland. A new way through the fields was made to Shoreditch, for the ordinary road was

* "Narratives of the Contests in Ireland." Camden Society.
† Green's "Letters of Henrietta Maria," p. 46.

* Carlyle's "Cromwell's Letters," vol. i. p. 95.
† "Constitutional History," vol. ii. c. ix.
‡ "Harleian Miscellany," vol. v. p. 86, edit. of 1810.

"impassable, in regard to the depth and foulness of it." The lord mayor had a tent pitched in the fields near Kingsland, and thither the king and queen, with the prince of Wales, and the duke of York, and the Princess Mary, were escorted by the sheriffs. Alighting from the royal coach, the king received an address, to which he answered, that he was returned with as hearty and kind affection to his people in general and to London in particular, as could be desired by loving subjects. To mark his particular affection to the city, he gave back "that part of Londonderry" from which the citizens had been evicted. "This, I confess," he said, "is now no great gift; but I intend first to recover it, and then to give it you whole and entirely." Perhaps some of that assembly might have recollected that Londonderry was taken from the citizens because they had refused to comply with the illegal demand of a forced loan. Onward went the gorgeous calvacade to Moorgate, and so on to the Guildhall; and the houses were hung with tapestry, and the conduits ran with claret-wine, and the people cried "God bless, and long live, King Charles and Queen Mary." The banquet was of proportionate splendor; and the old hall was brilliant on that November day with the gorgeous dresses of lords and ladies; and the city dames vied in splendor with the high-born; and it seemed in that hour of festival as if in that large town of seven hundred thousand people all were of one accord of loyal content. After the banquet, the king and the court were conducted in solemn procession to Whitehall, the footmen carrying lighted torches, "so that the night seemed to be turned to day." But even amid this well-arranged demonstration there was doubt and alarm. The multitude gazed from behind the rails four feet distant from the houses, and admired the splendid array of courtiers and citizens, of footmen and whifflers. But "because some seditious libels were at that time dispersed, which bred a panic fear in some, order was taken, that there should be two companies of the city's trained bands placed in several parts of the city upon that day; as also that at every door a man should be placed, sufficiently appointed, to be ready upon all occasions to appease any disorders." *

The reception of the king by the city appears to have given him confidence in making a demonstration of his disposition toward the parliament. He withdrew the guard, which Essex had appointed for the security of the two houses. The struggle of parties quickly began to assume a more formidable character. Men of great influence changed their sides. The earl of Holland, who had been a successful courtier in the time of James I., who was afterward a favorite of Charles's queen, and whom the king, says Clarendon, "but four months before had looked on as his own creature, as he had good reason to account himself from the beginning, joined himself close to and concurred with those councils which, with the greatest bitterness, were held against him." Holland House, at Kensington, one of the few mansions whose quaint architecture carries us back two centuries and a half, was the scene of many a secret deliberation of the popular party. The earl of Essex and the earl of Leicester also took their side with those who were considered the king's enemies. On the other hand, Mr. Hyde, though without office, had become an adviser of the king. So, also, Sir John Colepepper, one of the most able of the parliamentary leaders. More important than either was the subsequent accession of Lord Falkland to the king's councils. Colepepper became chancellor of the exchequer, and Falkland, in a short time after, secretary of state. Falkland was most reluctant to accept office, but he yielded to the persuasions of Hyde. With this additional support of able and moderate advisers, Charles might have attained the enviable position of a patriot king had he adhered to their advice, which, without any violent compromise of their former opinions, would have tended to the maintenance of tranquillity. The Remonstrance of the Commons was presented to Charles at Hampton Court on the 1st of December. He received it with temper. The Remonstrance was published; and the king's answer to it, written by Hyde, was also published. But the king had other advisers with whom moderate measures were the last in their thoughts. Falkland had not openly seceded from his party till after the king, by one rash act which we shall presently have to relate, and the Commons, by a series of demands for power which grew more imperative as the control of the house fell into the hands of the more violent, had each rendered it impossible that a pacification could be effected, without unduly crippling the monarchy, or without returning to absolutism. The battle had to be fought out by physical force. The wordy war was coming to an end.

Two days after the committee of the House of Commons had been at Hampton Court with the Remonstrance, the lord mayor and a select number of aldermen of London arrived there with an address. It was a harmless policy thus to attempt a counter manifestation of public opinion, as if to neutralize the acts of the Commons. But the machinery was very insufficient for the object. The lord mayor implored the king and the queen to return to Whitehall, "to give a good quickening to the retail trade;" and the king said he would return. The lord mayor begged that the king would not impute to the city, or to the better sort of citizens, disorders which had occurred about Westminster; for "the skirts of the city are more populous than the city itself, fuller of the meaner sort of people;" and if any dwellers in the city should have been concerned in such disorders, "as who can deny among millions of people, some there may be," yet their purpose was unknown to the city magistrates. This loose way of talking of millions of people, as inhabitants of the capital, long prevailed. And so the king and his family, at the sole instance of the obedient portion of the corporation of London, returned to the palace of Whitehall a few days after, "there to keep their Christmas," as the king had promised. It was an awful Christmas and an awful New Year. For six centuries of occasional troubles—of kings dethroned, of the red rose and the white alternately prevailing, of Tyler and Cade insurrections, of Papist and Protestant struggles—the state had never been so near anarchy as in this winter of 1641. The real constitutional strength, both of the king and the parliament, was so balanced that military power or popular fury might each decide the preponderance. About Whitehall gathered bands of ardent gentlemen of town and country, some of generous loyalty and unstained life, but more of loose habits and broken fortunes—full of contempt for Puritans, and perfectly ignorant of the real causes of difference between the king and the parliament. Many of them were Romanists. Ludlow's account, however colored, is true in the main as to the character of those who called themselves the king's body-guard. "The king, finding that nothing less would satisfy the parliament than a thorough correction of what was amiss and full security of their rights from any violation for the future, considered how to put a stop to their proceedings; and to that end encouraged a great number of loose debauched fellows about the town to repair to Whitehall, where a constant table was provided for their entertainment. Many gentlemen of the Inns of Court were tampered with to assist him in his design, and things brought to that pass that one of them said publicly in my hearing, 'What! shall we suffer those fellows at Westminster to domineer thus? Let us go into the country and bring up our tenants to pull them out.'" * The king gave a sanction to the opinion that he contemplated a resort to force, in his injudicious appointment of a Romanist and a desperado, Colonel Lunsford, to be governor of the Tower. Clarendon thus speaks of the appointment: "The king, finding that the seditious preachers every day prevailed in the city of London, and corrupted the affections and loyalty of the meaner people toward the goyernment of the Church and State, resolved to put that place, which some men fancied to be a bridle upon the city, into the hands of such a man as he might rely upon." † The Commons requested the Peers to join them in a petition against this appointment; but the king superseded Lunsford upon the private advice of the Peers. The popular cry finally set in against the bishops. A bill was before the Lords, which had been carried in the other house six months before, for taking away the votes of bishops and removing them from the House of Peers. In August thirteen of the bishops had been impeached by the Commons for having taken part in passing the Canons of 1640. The archbishop of Canterbury was still imprisoned in the Tower. The idea of the abolition of episcopacy was become familiarized to the people by the example of Scotland, and by the ready adhesion which the king had given to the Presbyterian establishment there in his recent visit. There was now a change in the demonstrations of the corporation of London. A petition of the aldermen and common council was carried to Westminster in a procession of

* "Ovatio Carolina."

* "Memoirs," vol. i. p. 21. † "Rebellion," vol. ii. p. 81.

sixty coaches, praying that the House of Commons would still be a means to concur with the king and the Lords in redressing the grievances of Church and State; "and for the better effecting thereof that the Popish lords and bishops may be removed out of the House of Peers." The apprentices of London also agreed to a petition to the king, showing that they found by experience great mischiefs coming upon their masters' tradings, "to nip them in the bud when they were first entering into the world; the cause of which they could attribute to no other but the Papists and the prelates and that malignant party which adhered to them." Truly enough does Clarendon call this apprentices' petition "such stuff." But the popular cry daily gathered strength. It was small poetical exaggeration in the author of "Hudibras" thus to unite "All cries about the town," in one "hideous shout," around the palace "to cry the bishops down:"

"The oyster-women lock'd their fish up,
And trudg'd away, to cry, No Bishop.
The mouse-trap men laid save-alls by,
And 'gainst evil counsellors did cry.
Botchers left old clothes in the lurch,
And fell to turn and patch the Church.
Some cry'd the Covenant, instead
Of pudding-pies and ginger-bread.
And some for brooms, old boots and shoes,
Bawl'd out to purge the Common-house:
Instead of kitchen-stuff, some cry,
A Gospel-preaching ministry;
And some for old suits, coats, or cloak,
No surplices nor Service-book." *

"The Christmas holidays giving more leave and licence to all kind of people, the concourse grew more numerous about Westminster." † As the audacity of the multitude increased, so did the fury of the cavaliers. Colonel Lunsford, disappointed of his governorship of the Tower, and other officers, were now engaged in skirmishes with the apprentices and such leaders of the daily mobs. "From these contestations the two terms of roundhead and cavalier grew to be received in discourse," says Clarendon. The hair of the London apprentices was cut close about their ears, and hence the name of contempt. The factions, royalist and parliamentarian, were bitter in their reproaches against each other as encouragers of these passionate outbreaks. The dogged cries of the multitude, the insolent speeches of the king's friends, might have passed off without any serious results beyond a few broken heads, had not the bishops themselves become mixed up in the affray. Clarendon, who bore a decided ill-will to Williams, the archbishop of York, attributes the evil results to the Church, chiefly to the pride and passion of this archbishop. Hearing a youth in the street vociferating "No bishops," the fiery Welshman seized him, and there was a great scuffle, in which the archbishop's robes were torn from his back. He returned to his house, the deanery of Westminster, and having assembled twelve of the bishops, who had been often prevented attending in their places in parliament through these tumults, proposed "that they might unanimously and presently prepare a protestation to send to the house, against the force that was used upon them: and against all the acts which were, or should be, done during the time that they should by force be kept from doing their duties in the house." The archbishop soon drew this document, which all signed; and forthwith carried it to the king at Whitehall, who directed the lord keeper to present it to the Peers. The immediate result was that the Commons accused of high treason all those who had signed the paper; and the whole twelve were committed. "In all the extremity of frost, at eight o'clock in the dark evening, are we voted to the Tower," writes Joseph Hall, bishop of Norwich—one who suffered much persecution undeservedly, but whose character was safe in the hands of impartial posterity. Imprudent and illegal as was this protest, it was a bold stretch of party feeling to call it treasonable. In the debate on the bishops' offence in the House of Commons, one member only spoke in their behalf, and said, "he did not believe that they were guilty of high treason, but that they were stark mad; and therefore desired they might be sent to Bedlam." ‡

The cry of "No bishop" was certainly not an expression of the national opinion. Although the arrogance and indiscretions of some of the higher clergy, and their extravagant enforcement of offensive ceremonies, had disgusted many sober and religious persons, and even at this time had called forth a petition for the reformation of the Episcopal order from seven hundred beneficed clergymen, there was by no means a general sympathy with those who sought the destruction of the establishment. The Scots who were in England in 1641 were dreading that the people would be content with a modified Episcopacy. "All are for the creating," writes Baillie, "of a kind of Presbytery, and for bringing down the bishops, in all things spiritual and temporal, so low as can be with any subsistence; but their utter abolition, which is the aim of the most godly, is the knot of the question." By "the most godly" the exclusive Presbyterian meant those only of his own persuasion. What was called "the root and branch party" was especially strong in London; and the House of Commons had come to a resolution for the abolition of Episcopacy before the adjournment in 1641, by a majority of thirty-one, upon a bill brought in by Sir Edward Dering. Archbishop Usher had prepared a scheme of reformation, under which each county was to be a diocese, with a governing college, or Presbytery, of twelve, under the presidency of a bishop; and the house also voted for this plan. The measure for excluding the bishops from the House of Peers, which was the cause of the popular agitation in the Christmas of 1641, was supported by many who had no desire to subvert the Church, or to establish an ecclesiastical democracy. Falkland was one of those who went to this extent. But to minds like that of Falkland, earnest for civil and religious liberty, but also attached to the ancient institutions; disliking the persecutions which the nonconformists had endured, but also offended by the narrow and bitter spirit of the Puritans; opposed to Popish superstitions, but yet disgusted by the desecration of holy places, and by the insults offered to the ministers of religion—to minds of this anti-fanatical and tolerant cast the temper of the parliamentary leaders, and of the populace at this period, must have been the signal for their ultimate separation from their party. In this revolution of England, as in all other revolutions, those who halt between two opinions can scarcely expect to be the victors. It is for the Cromwells to go forward, ever confident and self-willed, from imminent danger to triumphant success; but it is for the Falklands to ingeminate the word "Peace, peace;" and to seek death in the battle-field as the only refuge of hearts broken through the desolation of their country.*

With these fearful contentions around the king's palace and the houses of parliament—Lunsford and his cavaliers drawing their swords upon the city apprentices in Westminster Hall on one day, and the apprentices returning in great force on another day, crying out "Slash us now"—the Commons again petitioned the king for a guard under the command of the earl of Essex. This guard the king refused, except it were under an officer appointed by himself. The leaders of the Commons had too many friends about the court not to know that some crisis was approaching. The king had, no doubt, reasonable fears that it was contemplated to deprive him of the control of the military force of the kingdom; and this, which was the great point of difference in all subsequent attempts at negotiation, might have led him to the adoption of the fatal measure which shut out all hopes of tranquillity. On the 31st of December it was voted in the Commons "that the house be resolved into a committee on Monday next, January 3d, to take into consideration the militia of the kingdom." From the time of the army plot, in May, 1641, it had been the object of the Commons to vest the command of the militia in persons nominated by themselves. We have several times had occasion to point out that there was no regular military force kept up, except a few soldiers retained for the defence of fortresses. In earlier times of danger the people were called out under commissions of array. When invasion was apprehended, as on the alarm of the Spanish armada, the sovereign exercised the power of mustering and training the population for the common defence. The royal authority for arming the people in time of peace was very doubtful. Thus the parliament, while the question of the militia was in dispute, authorized "An Act for the better raising and levying of soldiers for the present defence of the kingdoms of England and Ireland," in which it was declared that, "by the laws of this realm, none of his majesty's subjects ought to be impressed, or compelled to go out of

* Part i. canto ii. line 540. † Clarendon. ‡ Ibid., vol. ii. p. 121.

* See Clarendon's famous character of Falkland, vol. iv. p. 240.

his county to serve as a soldier in the wars, except in case of necessity of the sudden coming in of strange enemies into the kingdom, or except they be otherwise bound by the tenure of their lands or possessions." * There appeared no legal provision for calling out the militia in time of peace, except by a new act of parliament. With our present knowledge of the constitutional powers of the sovereign, we can have no hesitation in affirming that the power of nominating the officers of such a force was necessarily a part of the royal prerogative; and that the requisition of the Commons to place the command of the militia in the hands of lords-lieutenant of each county, to be nominated in a bill, and to obey the orders of the two houses, was an undue invasion of the rights of the crown. But, on the other hand, we must not forget that in the case of Charles he had manifested a disposition, which Strafford had distinctly encouraged, to employ an army to make himself absolute. The king and the parliament were at issue upon the vital point as to which should wield the power of the sword. The Commons suspected the king. The king hated the Commons. The question of the militia and the question of episcopacy were the questions that made the opening year of 1642 the most ominous in English history. The king endeavored to solve the grand difficulty by what, in modern times, is called a *coup d'état*.

When Charles, at this period of tumult and alarm, had bestowed office on Colepepper and Falkland, and had sought the councils of Hyde, he "declared that he would do nothing that in any degree concerned or related to his service in the House of Commons without their joint advice, and exact communication to them of all his own conceptions." So writes Clarendon, adding, "which without doubt his majesty did at that time steadfastly resolve, though in very few days he did very fatally swerve from it." The historian then describes the influence possessed over the king by Lord Digby, who he represents as a man of great vanity, ambition, and self-confidence. "The king himself," he says, "was the unfittest person alive to be served by such a counsellor, being too easily inclined to sudden enterprizes, and as easily startled when they were entered upon." Thus, he says, "a very unhappy counsel was proposed and resolution taken, without the least communication with either of the three who had been so lately admitted to an entire trust." It would have been difficult for an enemy of Charles to have more strongly depicted the weakness, rashness, and faithlessness of his character, than in these words of his friend and panegyrist.

On the 2d of January, when the king sent his refusal to the Commons to appoint a guard for their security, he added, "We do engage to you solemnly, on the word of a king, that the security of all and every one of you from violence is, and ever shall be, as much our care as the preservation of ourselves and our children." On the 3d of January the attorney-general, Sir Edward Herbert, appeared at the bar of the House of Lords, and in the king's name accused of high treason Lord Kimbolton and five members of the Commons. These members were Pym, Hollis, Hampden, Haslerig, and Strode. The attorney-general desired that these persons should be placed in custody, and a secret committee appointed to examine witnesses. They were accused of endeavoring to subvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and deprive the king of his regal power; of alienating the affections of the people from the king; of drawing his majesty's late army from their obedience; of encouraging a foreign power, Scotland, to invade the kingdom; of endeavoring to subvert the rights of parliament; of compelling the parliament to join with them in their traitorous designs; and of conspiring to levy war against the king. The charge of corresponding with the Scots, in 1640, was, as we have shown, a technical act of treason, for which there was a legal defence under the statute of oblivion. The other charges had reference to their parliamentary conduct, as Clarendon implies. On the same day a sergeant-at-arms appeared at the bar of the House of Commons, and required the speaker to place five members in his custody, whom the king had accused of high treason. The five members were present when the officer named them. They remained in their places, silent. The speaker commanded the sergeant to retire, and sent a deputation to the king, of which Falkland and Colepepper formed part, to say that so important a message should receive their most serious consideration, and that the members should be ready to answer any legal charge. The papers of the accused had been sealed up, at their lodgings, by the king's command. The house ordered that the seals should be removed, and the speaker's warrant issued for the apprehension of those who had affixed them. The house then adjourned. On the morning of the 4th the five members of the Commons were in their places. It was perfectly well known to a few what was about to happen. The king had acted illegally, in the first instance, by sending a sergeant-at-arms to demand the persons of the members without any warrant of the privy council or of a magistrate. It was now known that he was about to follow up this despotic attempt by an act still more unconstitutional. The Commons sent a message to the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council, to inform them that the privileges of parliament were in danger; and some members were deputed to the inns of court to desire the law students not to come to Westminster, as it was understood that they had been tampered with. The house then adjourned till one o'clock. In a short time it was made known that the king was coming down the street from Whitehall, escorted by three or four hundred armed persons. Again it was reported that the king, with his band of attendants, had entered Westminster Hall. It was a moment of terrible suspense. Some members drew their swords. The more prudent urged the five accused to retire, to prevent bloodshed. An account of the scene which ensued has been preserved in the notes of one present, Sir Ralph Verney, member for Aylesbury. It is as graphic as it is important as a parliamentary precedent.*

"As soon as the house met again [after the morning adjournment], it was moved, considering there was an intention to take these five members away by force, to avoid all tumult, let them be commanded to absent themselves; upon this the House gave them leave to absent themselves, but entered no order for it. And then the five gentlemen went out of the house.

"A little after the king came with all his guard, and all his pensioners, and two or three hundred soldiers and gentlemen. The king commanded the soldiers to stay in the hall, and sent us word he was at the door. The speaker was commanded to sit still, with the mace lying before him; and then the king came to the door, and took the palsgrave in with him, and commanded all that came with him on their lives not to come in. So the doors were kept open, and the earl of Roxburgh stood within the door, leaning upon it. Then the king came upward toward the chair, with his hat off, and the speaker stepped out to meet him; then the king stepped up to his place, and stood upon the step, but sat not down in the chair.

"And after he had looked a great while he told us he would not break our privileges, but treason had no privilege; he came for those five gentlemen, for he expected obedience yesterday, and not an answer. Then he called Mr. Pym and Mr. Hollis by name, but no answer was made. Then he asked the speaker if they were here, or where they were? Upon this the speaker fell on his knees, and desired his excuse, for he was a servant to the house, and had neither eyes nor tongue to see or say anything but what they commanded him: then the king told him he thought his own eyes were as good as his, and then said his birds had flown, but he did expect the house should send them to him; and if they did not, he would seek them himself, for their treason was foul, and such a one as they would all thank him to discover: then he assured us they should have a fair trial; and so went out, pulling off his hat till he came to the door.

"Upon this the house did instantly resolve to adjourn till to-morrow at one of the clock, and in the interim they might consider what to do."

CHAPTER XC.

The king demands the members at Guildhall—Manifestations of popular discontent—The king removes from Whitehall—The members brought back in triumph—The queen leaves England—Conference at Newmarket—The king refused entrance to Hull—Parliamentary ordinance for the militia—The king forms a body-guard at York—Propositions of the parliament—View of society immediately before the commencement of the civil war—Arming of the people—

* 16 Car. I. c. 28.

* Mr. Hallam prints it from the original notes more correctly than it is given in Hatsell's "Precedents of Proceedings in the House of Commons."

The Cavaliers — Influence and character of the Puritans—The clergy—Shutting up of the play-houses—Volunteers of London — Women petitioning — London apprentices—Industry affected by the preparations for civil war—Disturbances in the country districts—Maintenance of order generally—Influence of the press—The poets—The journalists—Superstitions—The king sets up his standard at Nottingham — His gloomy prospects—Messages between the king and parliament—Essex marches from London.

When the king left the House of Commons the members for a few seconds sat in mute astonishment; but the cry of "Privilege, Privilege," then burst forth, and the house instantly adjourned. As the members passed into the lobbies they found themselves among a crowd of their own servants and other spectators, who were repeating the violent expressions which had been used by the king's attendants. The accused members proceeded to the city. The night was one of general alarm. The citizens formed themselves into armed patrols. The cry was that the Cavaliers were coming to fire the city. At Whitehall there was terror and despondency. The queen, who in the morning had seen the king go forth from the palace, promising her that he would return in an hour, master of his kingdom, saw him return under the disgrace of having attempted an unlawful act, and failed in the attempt. In the evening it was known that the six members were in a house in Coleman Street. Lord Digby offered, says Clarendon, "with a select company of gentlemen, who would accompany him, whereof Sir Thomas Lunsford was one, to seize upon them, and bring them away alive, or leave them dead in the place." The historian, who had just related the scene in the House of Commons, adds, with wonderful *naïveté*, "but the king did not like such enterprises." The Commons assembled on the 5th, and, declaring the king's coming "in a warlike manner" a high breach of privilege, adjourned for six days, appointing committees to sit in the city. One committee occupied Grocers' Hall, another occupied Merchant Tailors' Hall. Charles himself on that morning rode into the city without any guards. He was received by the people generally with cold respect, and by some with cries of "Privilege of Parliament." One man threw into his carriage a paper inscribed "To your tents, O Israel!" The king had written to the lord mayor to summon a common council in Guildhall. He told them that he came among them without a guard, to show his affection; "that he had accused certain men of high treason, against whom he would proceed in a legal way; and therefore he presumed they would not shelter them in the city." Clarendon adds, "He departed without that applause and cheerfulness which he might have expected from the extraordinary grace he vouchsafed to them." The king told one of the sheriffs whom he wished to conciliate, that he would dine with him; and having dined, he returned homeward, hearing the cry of "Privilege of Parliament" repeated, and looking upon faces of gloom and disquiet. It was Twelfth Night. The old Christmas gayety of Whitehall was interrupted by such occurrences as England had never before seen. But on this Twelfth Night the one play of that Christmas was performed in the cock-pit. The king and queen were not present; the prince of Wales, then a boy of twelve, was there to laugh at the scenes of "The Scornful Lady," one of the most popular of the dramas of Beaumont and Fletcher. This was the last dramatic performance which Whitehall witnessed during the reign of Charles.* There were four more days of fear and vacillation while the king and his family remained in the capital. The common council sent a petition to the king, complaining of the attempt to arrest the members. He makes an answer which only increases the discontent. On the 8th he issues a proclamation to arrest Lord Kimbolton and the five commoners. The parliamentary committees in the city meet the proclamation by great preparations to bring them back in triumph to Westminster. The courtiers now became alarmed for the personal safety of the king and queen. On the evening of the 10th Charles left Whitehall for Hampton Court. He never again entered that palace of the English kings, till that fatal morning when he walked across the park from St. James's, attended by Bishop Juxon, and guarded by a regiment of foot.

At two o'clock of that day se'nnight on which the king had entered the House of Commons, the accused members were brought back to the parliament stairs, in a rude triumph which presented a remarkable contrast to the welcome which the city gave its sovereign on the 25th of November. From London Bridge to Westminster the Thames was covered with pleasure-barges and wherries filled with citizens. Lighters and long-boats, carrying pieces of ordnance, and dressed up with streamers, surrounded the barges of the Commons. The trained bands marched past Whitehall, bearing on their pikes the protestation of 1641, and the printed votes of the Commons declaring the king's breach of their privileges, pinned on their breasts. As the crowd passed the palace they exclaimed, "Where are now the king and his cavaliers?" The House of Commons having met, the sheriffs of London were called in, and received the thanks of the speaker. The masters and officers of ships, who had formed the river guard, were also thanked. Then came the freeholders of Buckinghamshire, who, to the number of four thousand, had arrived in London to offer their services for the defence of parliament. They came, each wearing the famous protestation in his hat.* A deputation from the freeholders went the next day with a petition to the king, in which they prayed that their representative, Mr. Hampden, and the other members who labored under a "foul accusation," might enjoy the just privileges of parliament. The king replied, "that because of the doubt that hath been raised of the manner, he would waive his former proceedings, and proceed in an unquestionable way." This "unquestionable way" was never tried. Another attempt of the king's rashest partisans was as unpropitious as the breach of privilege. On the day when the Buckinghamshire petition was presented, Lord Digby and Colonel Lunsford appeared with a body of men in arms at Kingston. The parliament proclaimed them traitors. Digby fled beyond sea; Lunsford and his cavaliers attended the king to Windsor.

In the councils of Windsor, in which we may now well believe that better advisers were listened to than the vain Digby or the truculent Lunsford, a sensible plan of operations was resolved upon. The king was to refrain from all open contests with the parliament; to hold out terms of conciliation, and gradually to retire to the north, while his friends were gathering strength. Charles invited the houses, on the 20th of January, to reduce all their complaints to one specific relation. The Peers hailed this as an omen of peace; the Commons would put no faith in the king's desire for conciliation, unless he would transfer the military commands of fortresses and the militia to those who possessed the confidence of parliament. The king gave a decided refusal to the Commons' "sure ground of safety." The house then directed, by ordinance, that Goring, the governor of Portsmouth, and Hotham, the governor of Hull, should hold those garrisons "for king and parliament," and surrender to no one but under the authority of the parliament. Day by day was the contest growing to a fatal crisis. The houses passed a bill for regulating the militia early in February. About the same time the bill was carried "for disabling all persons in Holy Orders to exercise any temporal jurisdiction or authority," the preamble of which runs thus, "Whereas bishops and other persons in Holy Orders ought not to be entangled with secular jurisdiction, the office of the Ministry being of such great importance that it will take up the whole man." † To this bill, by which the bishops were excluded from the House of Lords, the king at length gave his assent. The bill for the militia he rejected. The queen urged her husband to accept the one bill and reject the other. On the 16th of February her majesty, escorted by the king to Dover, took her departure for Holland. She carried with her the crown jewels; and her real purpose was to raise forces for resisting the demands of the parliament. There are many letters from the queen to the king, during her absence, which show how she labored to strengthen the king's infirmity of purpose. They communicated in cipher, and the key to the cipher was always kept in the king's pocket. "Once again I remind you," she writes, "to take care of your pocket and not let our cipher be stolen." ‡ The breach between the king and the parliament upon the question of the militia was more and more widened. Commissioners were received

* The book of the Master of the Revels furnishes this record. See Collier's "Annals of the Stage," vol. ii. p. 102.

* Butler calls this document

"The prototype of reformation,
Which all the saints, and some, since martyrs,
Wore in their hats, like wedding-garters."—"Hudibras," canto 2.

† 16 Car. I. c. 27.

‡ Green's "Letters of Henrietta Maria," p. 54.

again and again, and the matter could not be accommodated; nor would the king, at the earnest entreaty of the houses, return to London. At last, at a conference at Newmarket, when it was asked by Lord Holland and Lord Pembroke, whether the militia might not be granted for a time, Charles replied, "No, by God, not for an hour; you have asked that of me, in this, which was never asked of a king, and with which I would not trust my wife and children." This scene, in this locality, must have suggested a contrast to the usual meetings of the court at Newmarket, for the race-course there was established by Charles; and few courtiers fell in with the opinion of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who said, "The exercise I do not approve of is running of horses, there being much cheating in that kind." The king, after this stormy conference, went on to York. Royalist forces had been raised in the north by the marquis of Newcastle. The first step toward an actual outbreak of civil war was quickly taken. On the 23d of April the king suddenly appeared before Hull at the head of a strong body of horse, and demanded admittance into the town. There was a large store of arms and ammunition in the fortress. The mayor was about to open the gates when Sir John Hotham went on the ramparts, and falling on his knees, begged the king to excuse a refusal to the demand, for that he, as governor, had sworn to keep the place at the disposition of the parliament. Charles was compelled to retire, proclaiming Hotham a traitor. He then complained to the parliament, demanding justice against the governor of Hull, according to law. The two houses voted their approval of Hotham's act. The crisis had arrived. There was nothing more to be done for reconcilement. Thirty-two peers and sixty-five members of the Commons joined the king at York. Those that remained no longer attempted to pass bills for the royal sanction. They issued ordinances. On the 5th of May the parliamentary ordinance for the militia was directed to be carried out. The king proclaimed this ordinance to be illegal, and summoned the gentlemen of York to form his body-guard. But even in this county, which was considered the stronghold of the royalists, opinions were divided. The lord chancellor, Littleton, had sent the great seal to the king, that mystic symbol of legal government. Many gentlemen of the county assembled in the town hall of York, and were addressed by Charles, who was received with loud acclamations. Commissioners of the parliament, men of local influence, who had been sent to York to observe what passed, were threatened by the king and hooted by the cavaliers. But under this appearance of overwhelming strength, some fifty gentlemen, with Sir Thomas Fairfax at their head, refused to join in the formation of a body-guard. A more important demonstration of public feeling occurred in the gathering round the hall of several thousands of the middle class, who demanded admission to the meeting, and being refused, held a meeting of their own, and protested against the acts of a close assembly. The king called another general meeting upon a neighboring moor; and thither came forty thousand men, for the purpose of presenting a petition to the king, imploring him to be reconciled to his parliament. Charles read a paper, and was going away, when young Fairfax pressed forward, and on his knee presented the petition of the people. The king indignantly rode off, and after many violent ebullitions of contempt from the cavaliers the meeting dispersed. The councils of the king became irresolute. The decisions of the parliament, freed from the royalist members who had retired to York, became bolder. The leaders prepared for open war with marvellous energy. They proposed terms of accommodation which they must have anticipated would meet with rejection. These propositions went to the extent of stripping the monarch of the greater part of the constitutional powers which, happily, in our times, have been found consistent with the most perfect liberty of the people. They contemplated, more especially, the enforcement of the principle that the appointment of the king's council and the great officers of state should be subject to the approbation of the two houses. By the gradual establishment of ministerial responsibility, and the harmonious dependence of the executive power upon the legislative, such a result has been attained. It was then sought to be attained by such a direct curtailment of the sovereign authority as would have made the monarch what Charles truly described, "but the picture, but the sign of a king." The courageous and able men who drew up these propositions must have been satisfied that their adoption could have led to no permanent tranquillity; that they were incompatible with the existence of the monarchical principle; and that the executive power, under such arrangements, could have had no real strength to preserve domestic peace or resist foreign aggression. But they dreaded a return to arbitrary power; they suspected, not without cause, the inclinations of the king. They had the great plea of self-preservation for their actions; and they knew that if they fell themselves, public liberty would fall with them. Neither party was in a position to regard their rights and duties with equanimity. The most terrible question that can be put to a nation was now about to be put—to which of two powers, each claiming to be supreme, will you render obedience? On the 9th of July, three days before the houses came to the decisive vote, that an army shall be raised "for the defence of the king and parliament" (such, for some time, was the phrase of the ordinances), one member, Sir Benjamin Rudyard, uttered this prophetic warning: "Mr. Speaker, it now behoves us to call up all the wisdom we have about us, for we are at the very brink of combustion and confusion. If blood once begin to touch blood, we shall presently fall into a certain misery, and must attend an uncertain success, God knows when, and God knows what. Every man here is bound in conscience to employ his uttermost endeavors to prevent the effusion of blood. Blood is a crying sin: it pollutes the land. Let us save our liberties and our estates, as we may save our souls too. Now I have clearly delivered mine own conscience, I leave every man freely to his." *

Let us pause at this juncture, at which the public men of England are exhibiting the spirit of party in aspects so unusual and so portentous, and endeavor to catch some faint glimpses of the life of the people immediately before the commencement of the civil war.

"Before the flame of the war broke out in the top of the chimneys, the smoke ascended in every country." So writes Lucy Hutchinson, a careful and honest observer of what was passing. She saw around her, in many places, "fierce contests and disputes, almost to blood, even at the first." The partisans of the king were carrying out his commissions of array. The partisans of the parliament were insisting upon obedience to the ordinance for the militia. The king proclaimed Essex, the captain-general of the parliament, and his officers, as traitors. The parliament voted the king's commissioners of array to be traitors. Not only were the king and the parliament each struggling to obtain possession of the munitions of war by seizing the fortified places, but each barrel of gunpowder was contested for by opposite parties. Mr. Hutchinson, going by chance to Nottingham, at the time when Charles was at York, is told by the mayor's wife that the sheriff has come to take away the ammunition belonging to the trained bands of the county. He goes into the town hall, and finds Lord Newark, the lord lieutenant, and the sheriff, with two or three captains, seeing the gunpowder weighed. The king, said the lord lieutenant, desired to borrow it—it should be restored in ten days. Mr. Hutchinson contended that such was the danger of the times that in four days they might be ruined for the want of the powder; there was a troop of horse in the town, committing great outrages and insolencies, and calling divers honest men Puritans and rogues. The contest went on; but Lord Newark, admitting that the powder belonged to "the country," would have it for the king. When the countrymen outside the hall knew what had taken place, they desired Mr. Hutchinson to stand by them, and they would part with every drop of blood in their bodies before the lord lieutenant should have the powder. Lord Newark angrily gave up his demand, when he saw the multitude gathered round the hall. But still the power of the magistrate was respected, and it was agreed that the mayor and the sheriff should have the powder in their joint custody. Such contests between those of opposite opinions were going on throughout England. Few of the members of parliament remained in London. The zealous men of influence in their several counties were in their own districts, raising volunteers, gathering subscriptions, drilling recruits, collecting arms. Each is subscribing largely "for defence of the kingdom." Firearms are scarce; and the old weapons of the long-bow and cross-bow are again put in use. Old armor, long since "hung by the wall," is brought down and furbished. The rustic, changed into a pikeman, puts on the iron skull-cap and greaves; and the young farmer becomes a dragoon,

* His printed speech bears date July 18th. It is in the "Harleian Miscellany," vol. v. p. 216.

with his carbine and pistols. In the parliamentary army there is every variety of clothing. In some companies raised by gentlemen among their tenants, the old liveries of each family give the prevailing color. Hampden's men are in green; Lord Brook's in purple; others are in blue; others in red. The officers all wear an orange scarf, being the color of their general. The buff doublet, "though not sword yet cudgel proof," is a substitute for armor. Haslerig's Lobsters, and Cromwell's Ironsides—each so called from their rough mail—are not formed as yet. Recruits are taken at first without much reference to their opinions. Cromwell, with his supereminent sagacity, saw the danger of this course. In a later period of his life, when he had attained supreme power, he thus described his position at the commencement of the war: "I was a person who, from my first employment, was suddenly preferred and lifted up from lesser trust to greater; from my first being a captain of a troop of horse." He then relates that he "had a very worthy friend, a very noble person, Mr. John Hampden, and he thus spake to him: 'Your troops are most of them old decayed serving-men, and tapsters, and such kind of fellows; and their troops are gentlemen's sons, younger sons, and persons of quality: do you think that the spirits of such mean and base fellows will ever be able to encounter gentlemen that have honor, and courage, and resolution in them.'" What Cromwell did to meet the ardor of the cavalier, with a zeal equally enthusiastic, he goes on to tell: "I raised such men as had the fear of God before them, as made some conscience of what they did."* Cromwell did justice to the principle upon which the honor and courage of the Cavaliers was founded. He saw, beneath their essenced love-locks and gilded doublets, clear heads and bold hearts. The gay were not necessarily debauched; the health-drinkers were not necessarily drunkards. There were other men in the royalist ranks than

"The bravoes of Alsatia, the pages of Whitehall."†

There were great spirits in both armies ready to measure their swords for "The King," or for "The Cause."

We can scarcely assume that the bulk of the population, or even the greater number of the richer and more educated classes, at once took their sides in this great argument. We know they did not. Many of the best gentlemen of England withdrew from the quarrel which promised to be fatal either to order or to liberty. John Evelyn, whose inclinations were royalist, was one. "The Covenant being passed," he obtained a license, signed by the king, to travel. He found it "impossible to evade the doing very unhandsome things."† Sir Roger Twysden, one who had refused ship-money, dreaded on the one hand to take part with the parliament, for he "saw, if this war continued, it would prove the ruin of the Protestant religion and the laws of the land;" but, on the other hand, he "did not love to have a king armed with book-law against me for my life and estate." Mr. Kemble, the editor of Twysden's "Government of England," from which we quote, says, "Sir Roger Twysden was not the only gentleman who, being unable to join either party, desired to leave England for a time." This learned student of our history adds, by way of accounting for the flight to other lands of some of the country gentlemen, that "they felt it was impossible to serve a king who never spoke a word of truth in his life; and yet could not arm against him, or remain neutral between the two parties."‡ With every respect for conscientious halting between two opinions, we must nevertheless feel that it is nobler to be a little wrong in the adoption of one party or the other, than to stand aside in philosophical or interested indifference to either party. No cause can be wholly good or wholly bad. While Englishmen were girding up their loins for battle in 1642, they presented a grander aspect than if the Roundheads had suffered Charles to come back in triumph to London, to be the absolute king which he claimed to be; or if the Cavaliers had suffered the Roundheads to trample the monarchy and the Church in the dust, even in an honest desire to correct their abuses.

The state of opinion in the country generally is thus represented by Mrs. Hutchinson: "Some counties were in the beginning so wholly for the parliament that the king's interest appeared not in them; some so wholly for the king that the godly, for those generally were the parliament's friends, were found to forsake their habitations, and seek other shelters." But in London, after the attempt of the king to violate the sanctuary of the House of Commons, and his removal from the seat of government, the majority of the people became devoted to the parliament. That the influence of those distinguished as "the godly" was more effectual in the capital than in the country, would be manifest if there were no other evidence than the bitterness with which the Puritans, and especially their preachers, are spoken of by the royalist writers. The "Gospel Trumpeter, surrounded with long-ear'd rout"—the "errant saints"—the "gifted brethren, preaching by a carnal hour-glass," were the objects of Butler's ridicule. Cleaveland's coarser wit attacks the "new teacher of the town"—"his shopboard breeding"—his "cozening cough and hollow cheek"—his "hands to thump, no knees to bow." The Puritan clergy were more hated than the "preaching coblers, pulpit praters," whom some defended "in a merry way," saying that, when such men first began to "take up that duty which the prelates and great doctors had let fall," they each had invaded the other's calling—"that chandlers, cutlers, weavers, and the like, preached, while the archbishop himself, instead of preaching, was busied in projects about leather, salt, soap, and such commodities as belonged to those tradesmen."* In London the influence of the popular preachers who filled the churches and conventicles was irresistible. Few of the clergy were bold enough to support episcopacy; and those who proclaimed high-church opinions had very incredulous auditors. This temper began in the hatred of popery, which the people saw lurking behind the most harmless ceremonials. The cause of the parliament became the cause of the more earnest religionists; while the party of the king, though supported by many of sincere piety, was also the rallying-point of the indifferent, the pleasure-loving, and the licentious. In the king's court, during its season of prosperity, the splendors of the Church were more regarded than the ministration of the working clergy. We have mentioned the performance of "The Scornful Lady" on the night of the eventful 5th of January. It is perhaps significant of the real want of respect for the ministerial office, in a court which was ready to risk a civil war in the cause of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, that at this time of alarm a play was acted, of which "the trivial, senseless, and unnatural representation of the chaplain," was, seventy years afterward, denounced as an offence against good morals, with the just observation that "it is so mean a thing to gratify a loose age with a scandalous representation of what is reputable among men, not to say what is sacred, that no beauty, no excellence in an author, ought to atone it." The "Spectator," in the reign of Anne, held that the character of the chaplain in "The Scornful Lady," "has done more towards the disparagement of holy orders, and consequently of virtue itself, than all the wit of that author, or any other, could make up for in the conduct of the longest life after it." The chaplain of "The Scornful Lady" is not represented as a Puritan. We see only, to use the words of the essayist, "a wretch without any notion of the dignity of his function."† This was the play selected by the master of the revels with an utter unconsciousness of its impropriety. How should he have been conscious that it was inconsistent with the boasted decorum of the court of Charles to ridicule the degraded condition of the clergy, when the curates who did the work were so scandalously paid that in London they were to be found dining at "the threepenny ordinary," and in the country were glad to obtain from the churchwarden "a barley bag-pudding for the Sunday's dinner"? The country curate is described as being "under a great prebend, and a double-beneficed rich man," with a salary inferior to his cook or his coachman. The London curates are represented as living "upon citizens' trenchers; and were it not that they were pitiful and charitable to them, there was no possibility of subsistence."‡ The committee of the Commons in 1641 received many bitter complaints from parishes, that their rectors and vicars would not preach themselves nor allow others to preach; and they appointed "The Committee of Preaching Ministers," whose business was to remedy these neglects. We can easily understand how, out of this laxity in regard to the

* Carlyle's "Cromwell," vol. iii. p. 250. This remarkable speech is also in Guizot's "Cromwell," vol. ii. p. 316.
† Diary.
‡ Introduction, p. lxx.
* May.
† "Spectator," No. 270—1712.
‡ See a curious tract, "The Curates' Conference," in "Harleian Miscellany," vol. i. 8vo.

real interests of religion, while some ministers were disputing whether "the Lord's table" should stand in the body of the church or at the east end, railed or without rails, covered or uncovered, those who denounced a liturgy, or resisted all ecclesiastical government, grew stronger and stronger, and principally increased in London and other great towns. From this period we cannot understand the causes and the events of the civil war without steadily keeping in mind that the zeal of the Puritans, in whatever sectarian differences it exhibited itself, was as much the sustaining principle of the great conflict as the passionate desire for civil liberty. These two great elements of resistance to the crown produced impressions upon the national character—for the most part salutary impressions—which two centuries have not obliterated.

The strength of the puritanical element in the parliament of 1642 led to bold interferences with popular habits. The parliamentary leaders knew that they would have the support of the most powerful of the community of London, and of many other great towns, if not of the majority of the nation, when they discouraged the ordinary amusements of the people—the bear-baitings, the cock-fights, the horse-races, the May-poles; appointed a fast on Christmas day; and shut up the theatres. Bitter must have been the heart-burnings among the actors when their vocation came to an end in London, in 1642. The five regular companies were dispersed. Their members became "vagabonds," under the old statutes, hanging about the camps of the Cavaliers, or secretly performing in inns and private houses. Old John Lowin, who was a fellow-actor with Shakespeare, went to keep "The Three Pigeons" at Brentford; and in that ancient hostelry, a few years ago, some scenes were discovered painted on a wall. The parliament would not have ventured upon depriving the people of their most cherished amusement, throwing so many persons into destitution, had not the suppression of plays been held by them as a matter of religious obligation. There is a solemnity in the words of "An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons concerning Stage Plays," dated September 2d, 1642, which has no sound of hypocritical pretence: "Whereas the distressed estate of Ireland, steeped in her own blood, and the distracted estate of England, threatened with a cloud of blood by a civil war, call for all possible means to appease and avert the wrath of God appearing in these judgments: amongst which fasting and prayer having been often tried to be very effectual, have been lately and are still enjoined; and whereas public sports do not well agree with public calamities, nor public stage-plays with the seasons of humiliation, this being an exercise of sad and pious solemnity, and the other being spectacles of pleasure, too commonly expressing lascivious mirth and levity; it is therefore thought fit and ordained by the Lords and Commons in this parliament assembled, that while these sad causes and set times of humiliation do continue, public stage-plays shall cease and be forborne."

Milton has described two of the chief aspects of the London of this period in very eloquent words: "Behold now this vast city; a city of refuge, the mansion-house of liberty, encompassed and surrounded with His protection. The shop of war hath not there more anvils and hammers working, to fashion out the plates and instruments of armed justice in defence of beleaguered truth, than there be pens and heads there, sitting by their studious lamps, musing, searching, revolving new notions and ideas."* London is the shop of war; it is the home of thought. Let us look at the vast city under the first of these aspects. It has always had its trained bands. It has now its volunteers of every rank. Ludlow thus relates his first introduction to "the shop of war," when he thought it his duty, as a young man, to take part in the cause of parliament: "Soon after my engagement in this cause, I met with Mr. Richard Fynes, son to the Lord Say, and Mr. Charles Fleetwood, son to Sir Miles Fleetwood, then a member of the House of Commons; with whom consulting, it was resolved by us to assemble as many young gentlemen of the Inns of Court, of which we then were, and others, as should be found disposed to this service, in order to be instructed together in the use of arms."† They frequently met at the artillery ground, to receive this instruction from "a person experienced in military affairs." Many who had been in the Protestant armies of the continent, some who had fought under Gustavus Adolphus, were competent to become such instructors. Such a man was Skippon, who had been appointed major-general of the London militia. Clarendon does justice to his character: "The man had served very long in Holland; and from a common soldier had raised himself to the degree of a captain, and to the reputation of a good officer: he was a man of order and sobriety, and untainted with any of those vices which the officers of that army are exercised in." The parliament considered this city force as a great arm of strength: "Ordered, that the house shall meet to-morrow at eight, and adjourn at ten, to the end that such as please may see the militia of the city of London exercised."* Eight thousand men were mustered on this occasion. Tents were erected for the members of parliament, and there was a city feast, without which the review would have been maimed of its fair proportions. There were healths, mingled wth prayers and thanksgivings, on that and other grand occasions. Skippon and his strict brethren were obliged to compromise with some of the profane customs which they held in abomination. When the parliamentary ordinance for an army went forth, the zeal of the people was called out in a more remarkable manner than by the sights of Finsbury fields. There was a work to be done which would require heavy payments. Four thousand men had enlisted in one day, and they must have wages. The tables of Guildhall were instantly heaped up with money and plate. The wealthy brought their bags of silver and their parcel-gilt goblets; the poorer, their smallest article of value—"a thimble, bodkin, and a spoon." May says, "It was a common jeer of men disaffected to the cause to call it 'the thimble and bodkin army.'"

> "Women, that left no stone unturn'd
> In which the Cause might be concern'd,
> Brought in their children's spoons and whistles,
> To purchase swords, carbines, and pistols."†

Women took part in this great question of the time with an ardor in which there is nothing really ridiculous. The cavaliers laughed at "the zealous sisterhood;" but, in a juster point of view, there is something as heroic as the royalist countess of Derby's defence of Latham House, in the demeanor of the Puritan Ann Stagg, a brewer's wife, when she went to the door of the House of Commons, at the head of a great number of women of the middle class, and presented a petition, which said, "It may be thought strange and unbecoming our sex to show ourselves here, bearing a petition to this honourable assembly; but Christ purchased us at as dear a rate as he did men, and therefore requireth the same obedience, for the same mercy, as of men: we are sharers in the public calamities." Pym delivered a gracious message to Ann Stagg and her companions: "Repair," he said, "to your houses, we entreat, and turn your petitions into prayers at home for us." Milton, commending the courtesy of the parliament to such petitions, says, "The meanest artisans and laborers, at other times also women, and often the younger sort of servants, attending with their complaints, and that sometimes in a less humble guise than for petitioners, have gone with confidence that neither their meanness would be rejected, nor their simplicity contemned."‡

The London apprentices, so prominent in these unhappy times, and so really formidable in their organization, require a brief notice. They were not a low-bred or illiterate class. The greater number were the sons of substantial citizens or yeomen; and even the esquire did not disdain that his boy should serve in the shop of the London trader. Stow says, "Because the apprentices of London were often children of gentlemen and persons of good quality, they did affect to go in costly apparel, and wear weapons, and frequent schools of dancing, fencing, and music." Their principle of confederation gave them their political strength. A writer of this period says, "There is a kind of supernatural sympathy, a general union, which knits their hearts in a bond of fraternal affection, under the common notion of a London 'prentice."§ The dress of the apprentice in the reign of Charles I. was, "The flat round cap, hair close cut, narrow falling band, close side-coat, close hose, cloth stockings," an antique habit which may still be seen in the streets of London, as worn by the youths of that noble school, Christ's Hospital. The

* "Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing."
† "Memoirs," p. 43.
* "Journals," May 9th, 1642.
† "Hudibras," part ii. canto 2.
‡ "Apology for Smectymnus."
§ "Honour of London Apprentices," 1647.

violence of the apprentices against episcopacy, and their general adherence to the cause of the parliament, were probably influenced by the opinions of their Puritan masters. But among this body there were some differences of opinion. At the beginning of 1642 there was a petition for peace, presented by "divers" London apprentices, which was not very favorably received; and in their published vindication they say, "Though we for several considerations were not, or not suffered to be, of that number who have exposed their persons to the fury of war, yet, as they bleed outwardly, we bleed within for the distempers of this Church and State." They probably belonged to the households of the minority of citizens, or were sons of royalist families. Their assertion that when they went to present their petition they desired "all the subscribers to meet at the Piazzas in Covent Garden, in complete civil habits, without swords or staves," seems to point to a contrast with the usual truculent demeanor of their fraternity; and suggests that "the great long club" and "the long dagger" of the "well-grown sturdy apprentices," described by Stow, were still the weapons which made the rallying-cry of "'Prentices and clubs!" a terror to civic dignitaries.

It would have been more than strange if, amid all the excitements of this summer, the preparations for civil war—the doubts and fears of those whose property or industry would surely be affected by the loss of internal peace—the prosperity of the kingdom generally, and that of the Londoners as much as any portion of the nation, had not been materially affected. There is a curious tract, issued "in the year of disasters, 1642," which sets forth the general stagnation of employments. It is a bitter outpouring of wrath against "that masterpiece or idea of dissimulation, which nature made her example to portraiture a rogue by, the Roundhead." Evidently written by a lawyer it pours forth "St. Hilary's tears for want of a stirring Midsummer term." In Westminster Hall "those few judges left have time enough to get a nap, and no noise to awake them"—"the lawyers, instead of perusing the breviates, and reducing the matter in question to cases, were buying up all the pamphlets, and dispersing themselves in corners to read them." The coaches that used to rumble up and down Palace Yard, challenging heaven with their thunder, are here and there one. The cooks in King Street lean against their door-posts. The lodgings in the Strand are empty. "At the Exchange the only question that is asked is, What news?—not from Aleppo, Constantinople, the Straits, or Indies, but from York, Ireland, and the Parliament." In the halls of the city companies there is no feasting but for the masters and wardens. In the shops there is no talk among the tradesmen, "but condoling the want of the courtiers' money." This is not a very touching feature of distress. It presents us nothing of the miseries of the poor, the first to suffer in a time of public distraction. Yet from all the indications of this remarkable period we may collect that public order was strictly maintained in London; that there were no attacks upon property; that life was perfectly secure. London was the general resort of those whose opinions exposed them to danger in the country. Ellwood, the Quaker, says, "In my infancy, when I was but about two years old, I was carried to London." His father "favored the parliament side, though he took not arms. Not holding himself safe at his country habitation, which lay too near some garrisons of the king's, he betook himself to London." The little boy was the playfellow of the daughter of the Lady Springett; "being admitted as such to ride with her in her little coach, drawn by her footman, about Lincoln's Inn Fields."* The children in the little coach give an appearance of perfect security to Lincoln's Inn Fields. It was in the country that the distractions of the time bore hard upon the richer families. Every manor-house was liable to attack by a royalist or a parliamentary band. Lady Brilliana Harley had to put her castle of Brompton, in Herefordshire, in a posture of defence, while her husband, Sir Robert Harley, was engaged in his parliamentary vocation. The courageous woman, who died at her post, writes to her son, "My dear Ned, I thank God I am not afraid; it is the Lord's cause that we have stood for."† The people of Herefordshire were mostly for the king. In Essex, the party of the parliament predominated. Arthur Wilson, in "The Tract of my Life," says, "The twentieth of August, 1642, the king having left the parliament, and thereby a loose rein being put into the mouth of the unruly multitude, many thousands swarmed to the pulling down of Long Melford House, a gallant seat belonging to the countess of Rivers, and to the endangering of her person. She being a recusant, they made that their pretence, but spoil and plunder was their aim. This fury was not only in the rabble, but many of the better sort behaved themselves as if there had been a dissolution of all government. No man could remain in his own house without fear, nor be abroad with safety."* At such a time, in a country where all were arming themselves, with the purpose, or the pretence, of joining one party or the other, lawless bands would undoubtedly seize the occasion of tumult and rapine. A circumstance recorded in July, 1643, may be anticipated in point of time as an illustration of this inevitable result of civil commotion. There was an insurrection in Kent against the parliament. The house of Thomas Weller, the collector of the subscription money for the parliamentary army, was broken into and plundered; and one Parry, a smith, of Crayford, and another man named Smale, held the following colloquy: "We have sped well here," says Parry; "let us go to Hadlow and Peckham, and plunder there, for they are rich rogues, and so we will go away into the woods." Smale replied, "But we must plunder none but Roundheads." With a great oath Parry rejoined, "We will make every man a Roundhead that hath anything to lose: this is the time we look for."†

Amid scenes such as these, "in all quarters of English ground, with swords getting out of their scabbards," there is one neutral power not wholly cast down—"the constable's baton still struggling to reign supreme."‡ That power never ceased to assert itself amid hostile armies. The judges went their usual circuits. The sessions and the county courts were regularly held. The constable kept watch and ward, arrested night-walkers, pursued hue and cry after felons, apprehended vagabonds, presented disorderly alehouses. The overseer provided the common stock to set the poor to work, and relieved the impotent poor. The local organization of England might be disturbed, but it was never destroyed. The assumption of executive authority by the parliament, if it were sometimes abused, was everywhere directed to the maintenance of order. While the chief nobles and gentlemen, who were the natural conservators of the peace in their several counties, were gathered round the king at York, or at Oxford, the leaders of the parliament were not only looking after the particular interests of their cause, and that very sharply, but were keeping the people under a strict rule, however irregular. The sons of Sir John Bramston are coming from the king at York, in July of 1642. Near Huntingdon they are commanded to stand by certain musketeers, who start out of the corn, "telling us we must be searched, and to that end must go before Mr. Cromwell, and give account from whence we came, and whither we were going."§ Mr. Cromwell is not yet in military command, but he is a justice of the peace, and his name is already a word of strength. He is member for the town of Cambridge; and has there exercised a very unusual representative power, by seizing the magazine in the castle, and stopping the transit of the university plate to the king's quarters. The country gentleman "in a plain cloth-suit," who farmed the tithes at Ely, and cultivated lands there, felt that he had the power within him to deal with great public exigencies. In a very startling manner did he deal with them.

In 1623 Charles heard, in Ben Jonson's "Prince's Masque," allusions to a power which was then beginning to make itself formidable. The "press in a hollow tree," worked by "two ragged rascals," expressed the courtly contempt of that engine which was to give a new character to all political action. In 1642, wherever Charles moved, he had his own press with him. His state papers, for the most part written by Hyde, were appeals to the reason and the affections of his people, in the place of the old assertions of absolute authority. In the same way the declarations of the parliament approached the great questions in dispute, in the like spirit of acknowledgment that there was a court of appeal beyond the battle-field, where truth and right would ultimately prevail. This warfare of the pen gradually engaged all the master minds of the country; some using the nobler

* "Life of Thomas Ellwood, written by himself."
† "Letters of Lady Brilliana Harley," p. 180. Camden Society.

* Peck's "Desiderata Curiosa," lib. xii. p. 23. Folio.
† Mr. Weller's Narrative. "Camden Miscellany," vol. iii. p. 31.
‡ Carlyle's "Cromwell," vol. i. p. 98.
§ "Autobiography of Sir John Bramston," p. 86.

artillery of earnest reasoning and impassioned rhetoric; others emptying their quivers of vehement satire, or casting their dirty missiles of abuse, on the opponents of their party. Milton enters upon his task with a solemn expression of "small willingness to leave a calm and pleasing solitariness, fed with cheerful and confident thoughts, to embark in a troubled sea of noises and hoarse disputes, put from beholding the bright countenance of truth in the quiet and still air of delightful studies." * Cleaveland rushes into the fray with an alacrity that suits his impetuous nature:

"Ring the bells backward; I am all on fire;
Not all the buckets in a country quire
Shall quench my rage." †

Herrick was living in his vicarage of Dean Priors in Devonshire, disliking the "people currish, churlish as the seas," among whom he lived; scarcely venturing to print till he was ejected from his benefice, but solacing his loyalty with the composition of stanzas to "the prince of Cavaliers," and recording his political faith in two lines, which comprehended the creed of the "thorough" royalists:

"The gods to kings the judgment give to sway;
The subjects only glory to obey." ‡

The general tone of the poets is expressed by Lovelace:

"Our careless heads with roses bound,
Our hearts with loyal flames." §

Butler, from the time when he left his father's cottage at Strensham, on the banks of the Avon, to note down those manifold characteristics of his time which furnish the best picture of its common life, was a royalist. Cleaveland, Carew, Suckling, Denham, Herrick, Butler, form a galaxy of cavalier verse-makers. The dramatic poets, who were left to see the suppression of the theatres, such as Shirley, were naturally among the most ardent haters of the Puritan parliament. But Milton did not quite stand alone among those with whom civil and religious liberty was a higher sentiment than loyalty to the king. George Wither was the poet of Puritanism, as ready with bitter invective as Cleaveland. But in Wither, the exalted spirit of fervent piety, which warmed the hearts of the religious enthusiasts, whether "sitting by their studious lamps," or shouting "The Cause," amid the noise of battle, imparts a majesty to his political poems for which we look in vain amid the songs of the Cavaliers:

"With fury came our armed foes,
To blood and slaughter fiercely bent;
And perils round us did inclose,
By whatsoever way we went;
That hadst not Thou our Captain been,
To lead us on and off again,
We on the place had dead been seen,
Or masked in blood and wounds had lain." ‖

The inferior men of letters then rushed to take up the weapons of party in the small newspapers of the time. Their name was legion. Their chief writers, Marchmont Needham on the parliament side, with his "Mercurius Britannicus," and John Birkenhead on the royalist side, with his "Mercurius Aulicus," were models of scurrility. The character which Aubrey gives of Birkenhead was probably true of the greater number of the journalists: "He was exceedingly confident, witty, not very grateful to his benefactors, would lie damnably." ¶ The parliament writers had evidently the best of it, if we may judge by the hatred which Cleaveland bears to the whole tribe of journalists: "A Diurnal Maker is the sub-almoner of history, queen Mab's register; one whom, by the same figure that a north-country pedlar is a merchant-man, you may style an author." ** A London diurnal he calls "a history in sippets." He says, "It begins usually with an Ordinance, which is a law still-born." Its chief ingredients are "plots, horrible plots." When the time of fighting came, Cleaveland regarded "the triumphs of a Diurnal" as "so many bladders of their own blowing;" and Butler ridicules those victories which called forth "thanksgiving day amongst the churches," as mere vaporings, though

"registered by fame eternal
In deathless pages of Diurnal." *

Whatever were their demerits, the little newspapers produced a powerful effect. They were distributed through the villages by the carriers and foot-posts. The country-woman brought a "Diurnal" from the market town in her egg-basket. They gave information to individuals, without committing indiscreet friends in correspondence. They probably did something toward general enlightenment in places that would have been otherwise wholly given up to local prejudices and superstitions. In a time of such great public troubles all men had a touch of superstition. Evelyn looks with wonder upon "a shining cloud in the air, in shape resembling a sword." † After the fight of Edgehill, "in the very place where the battle was stricken, have since and doth appear strange and portentous apparitions of two jarring and contrary armies." So records a tract, in which the "apparitions and prodigious noises of war and battles" are certified by a justice of the peace, a preacher, and "other persons of quality." Such a relation was evidently not an attempt at imposture, and must be received as a remarkable instance of the illusions of the imagination, when preternaturally excited by the immediate presence of extraordinary events. During these wars the belief in witches reached a frightful extent, and the astrologers, with Lilly at their head, were going beyond their ancient vocation of discovering lost spoons and prophesying happy marriages, to discover in the stars the certain victory for the party which offered the best rewards for their science.

Such, then, is a very imperfect sketch of a few of the salient points of English society, at the time when rival armies of Englishmen stood front to front in the midland counties. The king in August had vainly attempted to obtain possession of Coventry. He had then gone to Leicester with a body of cavalry. On the 21st of August the king's nephew, Prince Rupert, had joined him, and received the command of the horse. The next day they rode to Nottingham. The king's purpose was, upon Nottingham Castle to set up his standard—a ceremony which had not been seen in England since Richard III. had raised his standard in Bosworth Field—a ceremony which was held by some legists to be equivalent to a declaration that the kingdom was in a state of war, and that the ordinary course of law was at an end. Evening was coming on. The great streamer, such as was borne by many men at a lord mayor's show, was placed upon the highest tower, with a red battle-flag waving over it. The herald read a proclamation; the trumpets sounded; the friends who stood around the castle cried "God save the king." A stormy night came on; and, omen of disaster, as many thought, the standard was blown down.

The setting-up of the standard would appear from Clarendon's account to have been a hasty and somewhat desperate act. The king had previously issued a proclamation "requiring the aid and assistance of all his subjects on the north side Trent, and within twenty miles southward thereof, for the suppressing of the rebels, now marching against him." He calls, in a tone of supplication rather than of command, to invite all "whose hearts God Almighty shall touch with a true sense and apprehension of our sufferings," to attend our person at our town of Nottingham, where "we intend to erect our standard royal in our just and necessary defence, and whence we intend to advance forward for the suppression of the said rebellion." Clarendon says, "There appeared no conflux of men in obedience to the proclamation; the arms and ammunition were not yet come from York, and a general sadness covered the whole town." There is a passage in his original MS. which adds, "And the king himself appeared more melancholic than he used to be." The historian of "The Rebellion" further enlarges upon the gloomy prospect that was before the king and his adherents: "The king received intelligence the next day that the rebels' army, for such now he had declared them, was, horse and foot and cannon, at Northampton;" besides a force at Coventry. "At Nottingham, besides some few of the trained bands, which Sir John Digby, the active sheriff of that county, drew into the old ruinous castle there, there were not of foot levied for the service yet three hundred men. So that they who were not over much given to fear, finding very many places in that great river, which was looked upon as the only

* "Reason of Church Government," book ii.
† "The Rebel Scot." ‡ "Hesperides," p. 151, vol. i. ed. 1823.
§ "To Althea." ‖ Song 88. ¶ Lives, vol. ii. p. 239.
** "Character of a Diurnal Maker," ed. 1657.

* "Hudibras," part i. canto 3. † Diary.

strength and security of the town, to be easily fordable, and nothing toward an army for defence but the standard set up, began sadly to apprehend the danger of the king's own person."

There is an interesting description of Nottingham Castle by one who, in another year, had there to endure great anxieties, and to show the tenderness as well as heroism of a noble woman's nature. Mrs. Hutchinson thus describes this remarkable place, of which a modern building is now also a ruin, produced not by time, but by popular outrage :

"The castle was built upon a rock, and nature had made it capable of very strong fortification ; but the buildings were very ruinous and unhabitable, neither affording room to lodge soldiers nor provisions. The castle stands at one end of the town, upon such an eminence as commands the chief streets of the town. There had been enlargements made to this castle after the first building of it. There was a strong tower, which they called the Old Tower, built upon the top of all the rock, and this was that place where Queen Isabel, the mother of King Edward the Third, was surprised with her paramour, Mortimer, who by secret windings and hollows in the rock came up into her chamber from the meadows lying low under it, through which there ran a little rivulet, called the Line, almost under the castle rock. At the entrance of this rock there was a spring, which was called Mortimer's Well, and the cavern Mortimer's Hole : the ascent to the top is very high ; and, not without some wonder, at the top of all the rock there is a spring of water. . . . . Under that tower, which was the old castle, there was a larger castle where there had been several towers and many noble rooms, but the most of them were down ; the yard of that was pretty large ; and without the gate there was a very large yard that had been walled, but the walls were all down, only it was situated upon an ascent of the rock, and so stood a pretty height above the streets ; and there were the ruins of an old pair of gates, with turrets on each side."

The importance attached, in these days, to the royal act of hoisting a streamer of unusual size upon a commanding position, can scarcely be adequately estimated in our times. It revived all the traditions of feudality. It was the terrible symbol of the Lord Paramount summoning his vassals to war. The motto which the standard displayed might be taken as an assertion of the principle of absolute power, which the king had supposed inherent in him : "Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's." That Charles was supported throughout this contest by the belief that he was not accountable to any power for his actions, was sufficiently manifested at this critical period. His advisers urged an attempt to negotiate with the parliament. Charles refused with a "composed courage and magnanimity" which "seemed too philosophical and abstracted from the policy of self-preservation." But he was persuaded to negotiate—not in sincerity of heart, but in the desire to obtain an advantage from the mere manifestation of a disposition to negotiate : "That which prevailed with his majesty very reasonably then to yield was, 'that it was most probable' (and his whole fortune was to be submitted at best to probabilities) 'that, out of their pride, and contempt of the king's weakness and want of power, the parliament would refuse to treat ; which would be so unpopular a thing, that as his majesty would highly oblige his people by making the offer, so they would lose the hearts of them by rejecting it ; which alone would raise an army for his majesty.'"* The parliamentary leaders knew that the messengers of the king came with hollow overtures. They knew his weakness at the moment when he sent a message to the parliament that his only desire was to prevent the effusion of blood ; "our provision of men, arms, and money being such as may secure us from further violence till it pleases God to open the eyes of our people." The parliament returned this answer : "We have endeavored to prevent, by our several advices and petitions, the dangerous and distracted state of this kingdom, not only without success, but that there have followed those several proclamations and declarations against both the Houses of Parliament, whereby their actions are declared treasonable, and their persons traitors ; and, thereupon, your Majesty hath set up your standard against them, whereby you have put them, and in them the whole kingdom, out of your protection. So that, until your Majesty shall recall those proclamations and declarations, whereby the earl of Essex and both Houses of Parliament are declared traitors or otherwise delinquents and until the standard set up in pursuance of the said proclamation be taken down, your Majesty hath put us into such a condition that while we so remain, we cannot, by the fundamental privileges of parliament, the public trust reposed in us, or with the general good and safety of this kingdom, give your Majesty any other answer to this message."* The king, in new proclamations, repeated his declarations of the treason of the earl of Essex and others ; at the moment when he had made another proposition that he would withdraw his proclamations if the parliament would withdraw theirs. Neither party would make the first concession.

There is nothing more remarkable, amid the anger and suspicion of this momentous period, than the evident reluctance of both parties to proceed to extremities. In such a conflict all would be losers. There was so much of reason and justice on each side that, till the shock of arms had let loose the passions that belong to a state of war, there was a lingering hope that a day-spring of peace would succeed this gloomy night. Sir Edmund Verney, the king's standard-bearer, thus expressed himself to Hyde : "My condition is much worse than yours, and different, I believe, from any other man's, and will very well justify the melancholic that I confess to you possesses me. You have satisfaction in your conscience that you are in the right, that the king ought not to grant what is required of him ; and so you do your duty and your business together. But for my part, I do not like the quarrel, and do heartily wish that the king would yield and consent to what they desire ; so that my conscience is only concerned in honor and in gratitude to follow my master. I have eaten his bread, and served him near thirty years, and will not do so base a thing as to forsake him, and choose rather to lose my life (which I am sure I shall do) to preserve and defend those things which are against my conscience to preserve and defend." However we may feel as to the civil and religious principles involved in this fearful quarrel, our warmest sympathies go with the noble English men who were engaged on opposing sides, though the ties of blood and friendship might have joined them in the same ranks. How many might truly say to his friend and brother,

"Nought I did in hate, but all in honor."

In a letter from Sir William Waller, the parliamentarian, to Sir Ralph Hopton, the royalist, this principle is enforced with a feeling which we confess we cannot read without deep emotion, though the actors in this tragedy have passed from the stage two centuries ago. "My affections to you are so unchangeable that hostility itself can not violate my friendship to your person ; but I must be true to the cause wherein I serve. The old limitation of *usque ad aras* holds still. . . . The great God, who is the searcher of my heart, knows with what reluctance I go upon this service, and with what perfect hatred I look upon a war without an enemy. But I look upon it as *opus Domini*, and that is enough to silence all passion in me. The God of peace in his good time send us peace, and in the mean time fit us to receive it ! We are both on the stage, and we must act the parts that are assigned us in this tragedy. Let us do it in a way of honour, and without personal animosities."

And so, there being no alternative but war, the parliament, on the 9th of September, published a declaration to the whole kingdom, setting forth the causes of the war. On that day the earl of Essex marched in great state out of London to join the army in the midland counties with the trained bands. A few weeks later the parliament ordered London to be fortified ; and the population, one and all, men, women, and children, turned out, day by day, to dig ditches, and carry stones for their bulwarks.

CHAPTER XCI.

Beginnings of the civil war—The king marches to Shrewsbury—Skirmish at Worcester—Battle of Edgehill—The night and day after the battle—Richard Baxter visits the battle-field—The king marches upon London—The fight at Brentford—The royalists retire—The Londoners march to Turnham Green—The war

* Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 205.

* Clarendon, vol. iii.

spreading through England—The queen lands with an army—The court at Oxford—Administration of justice—Reading surrendered to Essex.

The flame of war is bursting forth in many places at once. Fortified towns are changing their military occupants. Portsmouth had capitulated to the parliament's army a fortnight before the king raised his standard at Nottingham. Lord Northampton, a royalist, had seized the stores at Banbury, and marched to the attack of Warwick Castle. That ancient seat of feudal grandeur was successfully defended by the commander who had been left in charge, while Lord Brook marched with some forces to the parliament's quarters. Every manor-house was put by its occupiers into a posture of defence. The heroic attitude of the English ladies, who, in the absence of their husbands, held out against attacks whether of cavaliers or roundheads, was first exhibited at Caldecot manor-house, in the north of Warwickshire. Mrs. Purefoy, the wife of William Purefoy, a member of the House of Commons, defended her house against Prince Rupert and four hundred cavaliers. The little garrison consisted of the brave lady and her two daughters, her son-in-law, eight male servants, and a few females. They had twelve muskets, which the women loaded as the men discharged them from the windows. The outbuildings were set on fire, and the house would have been burned had not the lady gone forth and claimed the protection of the cavaliers. Rupert respected her courage, and would not suffer her property to be plundered. This young man, who occupies so prominent a part in the military operations of the civil war, was only twenty-three when Charles made him his general of horse. He had served in the wars for the recovery of the Palatinate, and had exhibited the bravery for which he was ever afterward distinguished. But in his early warfare he had seen life unsparingly sacrificed, women and children put to the sword, villages and towns burned, the means of subsistence for a peaceful population recklessly destroyed. His career in England did much to make the king's cause unpopular, though his predatory havoc has probably been exaggerated. The confidence which the king placed in him as a commander was not justified by his possession of the high qualities of a general. The queen who, dangerous as she was as a counsellor of the king, had remarkable abilities, thus described the nephew of Charles when he was about to sail for England. "He should have some one to advise him, for, believe me, he is yet very young and self-willed. I have had experience of him. This is why I thought it fitting to warn you of it. He is a person that is capable of doing anything that he is ordered, but he is not to be trusted to take a single step out of his own head." *

About the middle of September Charles marched with his small army from Nottingham to Derby. Essex, with the forces of the parliament, was at Northampton. The king's plans were very vague; but he at last determined to occupy Shrewsbury. He halted his army on the 19th at Wellington, where he published a "Protestation," in which, among other assurances, he said, "I do solemnly and faithfully promise, in the sight of God, to maintain the just privileges and freedom of parliament, and to govern by the known laws of the land to my utmost power; and, particularly, to observe inviolably the laws consented to by me this parliament." There is a remarkable letter of the queen to the king, dated the 3d of November, in which she expresses her indignant surprise that he should have made any such engagement. "You promise to keep all that you have passed this parliament, which, I confess, had I been with you I should not have suffered it." She intimates that there are persons about him, "who, at the bottom of their hearts, are not well disposed for royalty. . . . As to believing that they wish you to be absolute, their counsels plainly show the contrary. They must be made use of, notwithstanding." † The only notion that the queen had of "royalty" was that it was to be "absolute." Who can believe that Charles ever resigned that fatal idea? Clarendon says the king's protestation "gave not more life and encouragement to the little army than it did to the gentry and inhabitants of these parts, into whom the parliament had infused, that if his majesty prevailed by force, he would, with the same power, abolish all those good laws which had been made this parliament." ‡ Their comfort and satisfaction might have been less if the queen's letter, now among the Harleian Manuscripts, and another of the same import, had been as public as the king's protestation. The discovery and publication of other such letters produced unbounded evil to the royal cause, while the issue of the contest was doubtful. Time has revealed many more secrets of the same nature, which may somewhat qualify the enthusiasm of those who, after the lapse of two centuries, read the history of the civil war in a spirit more cavalier than that of the cavaliers.

On the 22d of September Essex moved his army to Worcester. Here the first rencounter took place between the cavalry of Rupert and the parliamentary cuirassiers. The royalists had a decided advantage. Ludlow, who was in the skirmish, gives a ludicrous account of the inexperience, and something worse, of the parliament's raw troops. The lieutenant "commanded us to wheel about; but our gentlemen, not yet well understanding the difference between wheeling about and shifting for themselves, their backs being now towards the enemy whom they thought to be close in the rear, retired to the army in a very dishonorable manner; and the next morning rallied at head-quarters, where we received but cold welcome from our general, as we well deserved." * After remaining at Shrewsbury about twenty days Charles resolved to march toward London. He expected that, as the armies approached each other, many soldiers would come over to the royal standard. He was almost without money, except a sum of six thousand pounds which he received by "making merchandise of honour," to use Clarendon's expression—being the price for which he created Sir Richard Newport a baron. His foot-soldiers were mostly armed with muskets; but three or four hundred had for their only weapon a cudgel. Few of the musketeers had swords, and the pikemen were without corselets. The royal army moved from Shrewsbury on the 12th of October, on to Wolverhampton, Birmingham, and Kenilworth. Two days after the earl of Essex marched from Worcester in the direction which Charles had taken. They were only separated by twenty miles when the king first moved from Shrewsbury, but it was ten days before they came near each other. "Neither army," says Clarendon, "knew where the other was." On the night of the 22d of October the king was at Edgcot, a village near Banbury. The council broke up late. There was disunion in the camp. The earl of Lindsey by his commission was general of the whole army; but when Charles appointed Prince Rupert his general of horse, he exempted him from receiving orders from any one but the king himself—to such extent did this king carry his overweening pride of blood. Rupert insolently refused to take the royal directions through Lord Falkland, the secretary of state. In the same spirit, when a battle was expected, Charles took the advice of his nephew, rejecting the opinion of the veteran Lindsey. At twelve o'clock on the night of the 22d Rupert sent the king word "that the body of the rebel army was within seven or eight miles, and that the head-quarters was at a village called Keinton, on the edge of Warwickshire." On Sunday morning, the 23d, the banner of Charles was waving on the top of Edgehill, which commanded a prospect of the valley in which a part of the army of Essex was moving. The greater portion of the parliament's artillery, with two regiments of foot and one of horse, was a day's march behind. The king, having the advantage of numbers, determined to engage. He appeared among his ranks with a black velvet mantle over his armor, and wearing his star and garter. He addressed his troops, declaring his love to his whole kingdom, but asserting his royal authority "derived from God, whose substitute, and supreme governor under Christ, I am." † At two o'clock the royal army descended the hill. Clarendon, in noticing the dissensions created by Rupert's exclusive appointment, says it "separated all the horse from any dependence upon the general." Lindsey went into the battle, pike in hand, at the head of the foot guards, in the centre of the first line "Sir Jacob Astley," writes Warwick, "was major-general of the army under the earl of Lindsey, who, before the charge of the battle at Edgehill, made a most excellent, pious, short, and soldierly prayer; for he lifted up his eyes and hands to Heaven, saying, 'O Lord, thou knowest how busy I must be this

* Green's "Letters of Henrietta Maria," p. 97. † Ibid., p. 144.
‡ "Rebellion," vol. iii. p. 222.

* "Memoirs," p. 46.
† Colonel Weston's letter, quoted in Lord Nugent's "Hampden," vol. ii. p. 239.

day; if I forget thee, do not Thou forget me.' And with that rose up, crying 'March on, boys.'" *

Between the town of Keinton and Edgehill was "a fair campaign, save that near the town it was narrower, and on the right hand some hedges and inclosures." Ludlow, who was in the battle, confirms this description of the ground, given by Clarendon: "The great shot was exchanged on both sides, for the space of an hour or thereabouts. By this time the foot began to engage; and a party of the enemy being sent to line some hedges on our right wing, thereby to beat us from our ground, were repulsed by our dragoons." The foot soldiers on each side engaged with little result. But Rupert, at the head of his horse, threw the parliament's left wing into complete disorder. The disaster was mainly attributable to the desertion of Sir Faithful Fortescue, who went over with his troop to the royalists when he was ordered to charge. The fiery prince pursued the flying squadrons for three miles; and in the town of Keinton he was engaged in plundering the parliamentary baggage-wagons while the main body of the king's forces was sorely pressed by the foot and horse of Essex. The king's standard was taken. Sir Edmund Verney, the standard-bearer, was killed. The standard was afterward recovered by a stratagem of two royalist officers, who put on the orange-scarf of Essex, and demanded the great prize from his secretary, to whom it had been intrusted. It was yielded by the unfortunate penman to those who bore the badge of his master. Brave old Lindsey was mortally wounded and taken prisoner. Other royalists of distinction were killed. "When Prince Rupert returned from the charge," writes Clarendon, "he found this great alteration in the field, and his majesty himself with few noblemen and a small retinue about him, and the hope of so glorious a day quite banished." Many around the king counselled a retreat; but Charles, with equal courage and sagacity, resolved to keep his ground. "He spent the night in the field, by such a fire as could be made of the little wood and bushes which grew thereabouts." When the day appeared the parliamentary army still lay beneath Edgehill. "The night after the battle," says Ludlow, "our army quartered upon the same ground that the enemy fought on the day before. No man nor horse got any meat that night, and I had touched none since the Saturday before, neither could I find my servant who had my cloak, so that, having nothing to keep me warm but a suit of iron, I was obliged to walk about all night, which proved very cold by reason of a sharp frost. Toward morning, our army having received a reinforcement of Colonel Hampden's and several other regiments, to the number of about four thousand men, who had not been able to join us sooner, was drawn up; and about daylight we saw the enemy upon the top of the hill: so that we had time to bury our dead, and theirs too, if we thought fit. That day was spent in sending trumpeters to inquire whether such as were missing on both sides were killed or prisoners." † It was, in most respects, a drawn battle. Gradually each army moved off, one to attack London, the other to defend it. There is a little incident of this Edgehill fight which has been told by the gossiping chronicler, Aubrey, of the famous Harvey, the physician. "When King Charles I. by reason of the tumults left London, he attended him, and was at the fight of Edge-hill with him; and during the fight the prince and duke of York were committed to his care. He told me that he withdrew with them under a hedge, and took out of his pocket a book and read; but he had not read very long before a bullet of a great gun grazed on the ground near him, which made him remove his station."

The number of the slain at Edgehill was variously estimated by the two parties. Ludlow very impartially says, "It was observed that the greatest slaughter on our side was of such as ran away, and on the enemy's side of those that stood." There was no general desire in either army to renew the struggle. In the royal camp there was so visible an averseness "to re-engage in most officers, as well as soldiers, that the king thought not fit to make the attempt." ‡ In the parliamentary army Hampden and others vainly urged that their reinforcement would enable Essex to attack with decided success. "We hoped," says Ludlow, "that we should have pursued the enemy, who were marching off as fast as they could, leaving onl some troops to face us upon the top of the hill; but, instead of tha for what reason I know not, we marched to Warwick." *

The great events of the civil war are to be traced in the proceed ings of parliament, the state papers, the histories and memoirs of th politicians and soldiers who were engaged on either side, and the le ters of the actors in the busy scenes. But we occasionally meet wit the relations of some who were scarcely more than lookers-on, an were not committed to very strong opinions. Such a witness wa Richard Baxter. He was, at one and the same time, a royalist and Puritan. It is most interesting to follow this remarkable observer i those details of his life which, in a few graphic touches, exhibit th general state of society far more distinctly than the labored narra tives of the contemporary historians. We see him, in his twenty seventh year, at the beginning of the war, driven from his ministry a Kidderminster by those he calls "the rabble;" who reviled all th religious of the place as Roundheads; where "every drunken so that met them called out, "We shall take an order with the Puritan ere long.'" He says, "It was the undoing of the king and bishop that this party was encouraged by the leaders in the country agains the civil religious party. . . . The fury of the rabble was so h at home that I was fain to withdraw." He goes to Worcester, wher a body of the parliamentary troops were lying in a meadow. "I ha a great mind to go see them, having never seen any part of a army." He there looks upon the scattering of the parliamentar forces by Rupert's horse. "This sight quickly told me the vanity o armies, and how little confidence is to be placed in them." Esse marches into Worcester "with many lords and knights, and a flou ishing army, gallantly clothed, but never tried in fight." The youn divine had no safety in staying at home; but "the civility of th earl of Essex's army was such that among them was no danger, thoug none of them knew me: and there was such excellent preachin among them at Worcester that I stayed there among them a fe days, till the marching of the king's army occasioned their remove." Baxter preached at Alcester on the Lord's day following. "As was preaching, the people heard the cannon play, and perceived tha the armies were engaged; when sermon was done, in the afternoon the report was more audible." At sun-setting many troops fle through the town, and said that all was lost on the parliament' side. The people sent a messenger to Stratford-upon-Avon to know the truth. At four o'clock in the morning the messenger returned He gave an account of the battle which corresponds in a remarkabl manner with the authentic narratives. "The next morning, bein willing to see the field where they had fought, I went to Edgehill and found the earl of Essex with the remaining part of his arm keeping the ground, and the king's army facing them upon a hill mile off, and about a thousand dead bodies in the field between them and I suppose many were buried before." The armies drew off The poor wanderer says, "I knew not what course to take. I ha neither money nor friends: I knew not who would receive me in an place of safety." He went at last to Coventry, to the minister there an old acquaintance, "with a purpose to stay there till one side o other had got the victory, and the war was ended, and then to retur home again. For so wise in matters of war was I, and all the coun try besides, that we commonly supposed that a very few days o weeks by one other battle would end the wars; and I believe tha no small number of the parliament-men had no more wit than t think so too." †

After the battle of Edgehill the king wasted a few days in occupy ing Banbury and other small places, and on the 26th was with hi army at Oxford. Essex was slowly advancing with his army towar London, and at the end of the month was at Northampton. Th people of the metropolis had been greatly agitated by the uncertai rumors of the great fight in Warwickshire. On the night of the bat tle of Edgehill the beacons had been lighted—a prearranged signa of the parliament's success. But the fugitives whom Rupert ha chased from the field filled the roads, and proclaimed a royalist vic tory. But at the beginning of November the king's army was de cidedly known to be marching upon London. Rupert was quartere at Maidenhead with the advanced guard. Two days after Esse

* Warwick is the sole authority for this. It has been questioned, from the construction of the sentence, whether the "who" applies to Lindsey or Astley. See Warburton's "Rupert and the Cavaliers," vol. ii. p. 21.

† "Memoirs," p. 50.

‡ Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 283.

* "Memoirs," p. 52.

† "Reliquiæ Baxterianæ," 1696, part i. pp. 42 and 43.

arrived, and received the thanks of the two houses. On the 11th of November Charles was at Colnbrook. Thither went a deputation from the parliament, under a safe conduct, to propose that the king should appoint some convenient place to reside, near London, "until committees of both Houses of Parliament may attend your majesty with some propositions for the removal of these bloody distempers and distractions." The king met the deputation favorably, and proposed to receive such propositions at Windsor. "Do you your duty," he said, "we will not be wanting in ours. God in his mercy give a blessing." Ludlow records the duplicity which followed this negotiation: "Upon which answer the parliament thought themselves secure, at least against any sudden attempt: but the very next day the king, taking the advantage of a very thick mist, marched his army within half a mile of Brentford before he was discovered, designing to surprise our train of artillery (which was then at Hammersmith), the parliament, and city." Clarendon endeavors to throw the blame of this dishonor upon Rupert. The king, he says, resolved to have gone to Windsor, if the parliament had removed their garrison there, "or at least to have stayed at Colnbook till he heard again from the parliament. But Prince Rupert, exalted with the terror he heard his name gave to the enemy, trusting too much to the vulgar intelligence every man received from his friends at London—who, according to their own passions and the affections of those with whom they corresponded, concluded that the king had so great a party in London that, if his army drew near, no resistance would be made—without any direction from the king, the very next morning after the committee returned to London, advanced with the horse and dragoons to Hounslow, and then sent to the king, to desire him that the army might march after; which was, in that case, of absolute necessity; for the earl of Essex had a part of his army at Brentford, and the rest at Acton and Kingston."

From the time of the battle of Edgehill there was a general feeling in London that the king's army, not materially discomfited, would advance to strike a blow at the capital. The parliamentary earls, Pembroke, Holland, and Say and Sele, made speeches at Guildhall, to stir up the ardor of the citizens. They spoke eloquently, especially Say and Sele. "Let every man shut up his shop; let him take his musket; let him offer himself readily and willingly. Let him not think with himself who shall pay me? but rather think this, I will come forth to save the kingdom, to serve my God, to maintain his true religion, to save the parliament, to save this noble city." An ordinance of parliament declared that any apprentices who should enlist should be secured from forfeiture of their bonds, and that their masters should receive them back again. Milton heard the din of preparation in his quiet house in Aldersgate Street; and had perhaps slight assurance of safety from the trained bands of the neighboring artillery ground, when he sat within his "defenceless doors," and implored protection for "the Muses' bower."* The "assault intended for the city" at last became a reality. On the morning of the 12th of November the sound of distant guns was heard in London. Two travelers who had been seized by the royalist pickets afterward related that they saw the king and Prince Rupert together on Hounslow Heath, marching toward Brentford, and that Rupert "took off his scarlet coat, which was very rich, and gave it to his man, and buckled on his arms, and put a gray coat over it." Before noon Rupert was charging in the streets of Brentford. The regiment of Hollis was quartered there, and they were not unprepared for the attack. The long and narrow street was barricaded. The contest was obstinately maintained for three hours by Hollis's regiment. Hampden was at Acton, and Brook in a neighboring cantonment. Again and again the parliamentary forces charged the cavaliers. But the main body of the royal army now invested Brentford. The fighting went on till evening, when the royalists had a decided advantage, and compelled their enemy to retire from the town. They took many prisoners, among whom was John Lilburne, who began his career, when an apprentice, by calling down stripes and imprisonment upon his contumacy, and was now a captain of the trained bands. The old enemies of "sturdy John" did not forget his offences. He was tried for his life, and was about to be executed as a rebel, when Essex threatened that for every one of the parliament's officers thus put to death he would execute three royalist prisoners. Lilburne was released, to be always foremost in opposition, whether to Charles or to Cromwell. Many of the parliament's men were drowned in the Thames; but the greater number made their way in boats down the stream. Essex had arrived at Turnham Green with some trained bands, who, while the fighting was going on, had been exercising in Chelsea fields. To understand this scene we must figure to ourselves a London with houses extending little beyond St. James's Palace; the western roads from St. Giles's to Acton, and from Hyde Park Corner to Brentford, dotted only with scattered houses or petty hamlets, standing amid broad pasture-lands and gardens. It was dark when the trained bands with the parliamentary regiments then recruited advanced again to Brentford, and the royalists fell back to the king's quarters at Hounslow. That Saturday evening was one of confusion and alarm. "All that night the city of London poured out men towards Brentford, who every hour marched thither; and all the lords and gentlemen that belonged to the parliament army were there ready by Sunday morning, the 14th of November."* Skippon, the general of the city trained bands, came out with his well-disciplined shopkeepers and apprentices; talking now with one company, now with another, and calling them about him to make that famous oration which is more telling than all the rhetoric of Livy's Romans. "Come, my boys, my brave boys, let us pray heartily and fight heartily. I will run the same fortunes and hazards with you. Remember the cause is for God, and for defence of yourselves, your wives, and children. Come, my honest brave boys, pray heartily and fight heartily, and God will bless us." Twenty-four thousand of the parliamentary army were marshalled on that Sunday on Turnham Green. They were subjected to no very serious privations in their short campaign. The good housewives of London sent out abundant provisions of meat and beer; and the wine-cups were filled and the tobacco smoked as if those thousands were assembled for a fair instead of a battle. "The soldiers were refreshed and made merry," says Whitelocke, "and the more, when they understood that the king and his army were retreated." Pacific counsels again prevailed. Hampden was recalled, when, in pursuance of a settled plan of attack, he was about to march by Acton and Osterley Park to take the royal army in the rear. Essex remained inactive, instead of advancing to Hounslow as had been agreed. The war, according to some writers, might have been brought to a conclusion in one day of certain triumph if the irresolution of Essex had yielded to the counsels of bolder spirits. The men were not yet in the field who were resolved to make war in earnest, whatever might be the consequences. Essex was brave and skilful; but, like many other good men, he fought with reluctance against his countrymen and his familiar friends. Sir Philip Warwick has a passage, in which he has a gentle sneer at Essex for his indecision. At Hounslow, he says, "there was a large fair heath for the two armies to have tried once again their courage and their fortunes." The king "marched off towards a summer house of his own at Oatlands, betwixt Windsor and Hampton Court, where there were still fair heaths for the two armies to have engaged, if the Parliament forces would have made the adventure."† Charles rested at this pleasant seat of royalty for two days, then went on to Reading, where he fixed a garrison, and on the 29th of November was in winter quarters at Oxford.

After the royal army had withdrawn from the neighborhood of London, the citizens, who had seen war so close at their doors, began to talk more earnestly of peace. The peace party comprised many persons who could not be classed among the thorough royalists; for their petitions to the parliament expressed as strongly as ever their hatred of popery and arbitrary power. But the exertions of this moderate party produced a corresponding determination of "the pious and movement party" that the war should be carried on with renewed energy. The Guildhall was the scene of many an angry debate. At length, on the 2d of January, a petition from the common council was carried to the king at Oxford, in which he was asked to return to the capital, when all disturbance should be suppressed. Charles replied that they could not maintain tranquillity among themselves. He sent a gentleman to read his formal answer to the people in the Guildhall. It was full of reproaches, and breathed any language but that of conciliation. Amid an immense

* Sonnet viii.

* May. † "Memoirs," p. 234.

uproar, Pym and Lord Manchester addressed the multitude, and the prospect of peace faded from the people's view. Some attempts were made in the northern and western counties to preserve a neutral attitude in the struggle; but these were regarded with equal disfavor by cavalier and roundhead. Yorkshire and Cheshire, Devon and Cornwall, counties that had tried this impossible policy, soon became foremost in the strife. The eastern counties adopted a much more efficient course of action. They formed themselves into an "association," in the organization of which Cromwell was the master-spirit. Under his vigorous direction, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridge, Herts, not only kept the war away from their own localities, but furnished the most efficient support to its vigorous conduct in other quarters. The counties of Lincoln and Huntingdon soon joined this eastern association, with the like results. In the seven associated counties the cavaliers were never of any importance. During the winter a partisan warfare was going on in many places. The most important incident of these minor contests was the death of Lord Brook at Lichfield. A royalist party had obtained possession of the close of the cathedral, which was walled and moated. Lord Brook was in the command of a body of horse and foot, with artillery, brought to Lichfield to dislodge the occupiers of the close. Sitting in a house, with the window open, he was shot in the eye, and instantly died. Laud, in his Diary, describes this death of Lord Brook as a special wonder, for his beaver was up, and as a judgment; "he having ever been fierce against bishops and cathedrals."

The war, as it proceeded, gradually assumed a fiercer character. It became, to some extent, a war of classes. Clarendon says, "The difference in the temper of the common people on both sides was so great that they who inclined to the parliament left nothing unperformed that might advance the cause, and were incredibly vigilant and industrious to cross and hinder whatsoever might promote the king's; whereas they who wished well to him thought they had performed their duty in doing so, and that they had done enough for him, in that they had done nothing against him." * We may be perfectly sure that the "common people on both sides" had great reason to be dissatisfied with the temper of the cavaliers and their followers. "Thousands," says Baxter, "had no mind to meddle with the wars, but greatly desired to live peaceably at home, when the rage of soldiers and drunkards would not suffer them; some stayed till they had been imprisoned; some till they had been plundered, perhaps twice or thrice over, and nothing left them; some were quite tired out with the abuse of all comers that quartered on them." † But if "the common people" were Puritans, "noted for praying and hearing sermons," they, as Baxter's father experienced, "were plundered by the king's soldiers, so that some of them had almost nothing but lumber left in their houses." In the beginning of 1643 the national feeling was exasperated by the landing of the queen with a foreign army. During a year she had been indefatigable in making the most of the funds she had acquired by the sale of the crown jewels, to purchase arms and ammunition, and to raise men. On the 22d of February she arrived with four ships, and landed at Burlington. The admiral of the parliament had failed in intercepting her convoy; but he adopted measures of greater vigor than generosity when he arrived two days after the queen and her men had disembarked. These proceedings are described in the following characteristic letter of Henrietta Maria to Charles:

"As soon as I landed in England I sent Progers to you; but having learned to-day that he was taken by the enemy, I send you again this man to give you an account of my arrival, which has been very fortunate, thanks be to God; for just as stormy as the sea was the first time I set sail, just so calm was it this time till I was within some fifteen hours of Newcastle, and on the coast, when the wind changed to the north-west, which forced us to make for Burlington Bay, and after two hours' waiting at sea your cavalry arrived. I landed instantly, and the next day the rest of the army came to join me.

"God, who took care of me at sea, was pleased to continue his protection by land, for that night four of the parliament ships arrived at Burlington without our knowledge, and in the morning about four o'clock the alarm was given that we should send down to the harbor to secure our ammunition boats, which had not yet be able to be unloaded; but, about an hour after, these four ships beg to fire so briskly that we were all obliged to rise in haste and leave t village to them: at least the women, for the soldiers remained ve resolutely to defend the ammunition. In case of a descent I mu act the captain, though a little low in stature myself.

"One of these ships had done me the favor to flank my hous which fronted the pier, and before I could get out of bed the ba were whistling upon me in such style that you may easily believe loved not such music. Everybody came to force me to go out, t balls beating so on all the houses that, dressed just as it happened, went on foot to some distance from the village, to the shelter of ditch, like those at Newmarket; but before we could reach it t balls were singing round us in fine style, and a sergeant was kill twenty paces from me. We placed ourselves then under this shelte during two hours that they were firing upon us, and the balls pas ing always over our heads, and sometimes covering us with dus At last the admiral of Holland sent to tell them that if they did n cease he would fire upon them as enemies; that was done a litt late, but he excuses himself on account of a fog he says there wa On this they stopped, and the tide went down, so that there was n water enough for them to stay where they were." *

The admiral, Batten, was denounced as a traitor by the royalist The earl of Newcastle, who came to escort the queen to York, h been authorized by the king to raise men for his service, "witho examining their consciences; and thus his army was styled by t parliament "the queen's army," and "the Catholic army." T prejudice against foreigners and Romanists thus came into renew activity. Subsequent tamperings with the more violent papists Ireland led to the belief that the king was not sincere in his profe sions of regard for the Protestant cause; and thus the two parties cavaliers and roundheads came to be more widely separated by reli ious as well as political differences; and those who held the mo extreme opinions became the most powerful—the general course all great revolutions.

The spring of 1643 was passed by the court at Oxford. The nob city of academical palaces must have presented the most singul contrasts of gown and cuirass crowding the streets; of grave docto and ardent students talking the most impassioned loyalty to throng of ladies in those ancient halls; of outward splendor amid secr want, and of gay hearts struggling with anxious fears. Lady Fa shawe, one of the most interesting of royalists—at that time unma ried—has given the following picture of the Oxford of 1643:

"My father commanded my sister and myself to come to him Oxford, where the court then was, but we, that had till that hou lived in great plenty and great order, found ourselves like fishes o of the water, and the scene so changed that we knew not at all ho to act any part but obedience, for, from as good a house as any ge tleman of England had, we came to a baker's house in an obscu street, and from rooms well furnished, to lie in a very bad bed in garret, to one dish of meat, and that not the best ordered; no mone for we were as poor as Job; nor clothes more than a man or tw brought in their cloak bags: we had the perpetual discourse of losin and gaining towns and men; at the windows the sad spectacle war, sometimes plague, sometimes sicknesses of other kind, by re son of so many people being packed together, as, I believe, the never was before of that quality; always in want, yet I must need say that most bore it with a martyr-like cheerfulness. For my ow part, I began to think we should all, like Abraham, live in tents a the days of our lives."

To this Oxford came commissioners from the parliament, towar the end of March, authorized to negotiate a suspension of arms an a treaty of peace. The earl of Northumberland, the chief of th commission, made the somewhat miserable city brilliant with hi feasts. He had a magnificent retinue. His table was covered wit luxurious dishes and rich wines. His plate was sumptuous. Th royalists accepted his feasts, and persuaded the king to reject hi propositions. Charles displayed his usual vacillation. He mad concessions one day, and revoked them another. The queen's espe cial friends were always about him. The queen wrote to him, "Wh have you taken arms? You are betrayed. I will let you see it

* "Rebellion," vol. iii. p. 452.
† "Reliquiæ Baxterianæ," p. 44.

* Green's "Letters of Henrietta Maria," p. 166.

Never allow your army to be disbanded till it [the parliament] is ended, and never let there be a peace till that is put an end to." * The officers of the garrison, in a petition to the king, opposed a suspension of arms. Charles had instigated them to petition. The parliament peremptorily recalled its commissioners. The battle must be fought out.

We have mentioned that during the civil war the judges went their usual circuits. In the spring of 1643 this local administration of justice was temporarily suspended. The two houses of parliament, embarrassed by the king's possession of the great seal, ordered that the session of Oyer and Terminer should not be proceeded with 'until it shall please God to end these distractions between the king and people." Charles issued a proclamation, commanding that the Easter term should be held at Oxford instead of Westminster. The judges were ordered there to attend the king. Had this state of things continued, a greater evil would have ensued than the bloodshed and plunder of the war. But, by what was a practical compromise for the remedy of an enormous social mischief—one that might have led to a general insecurity of life and property—the parliament resolved to establish a great seal: and under this authority, and that of the king, judges executed their functions as usual, after a suspension of a few months. No doubt, according to their political prepossessions, they regarded the king either as deriving his power from divine right, or as a trustee for his people. At a later period we find a judge of assize laying down as a principle, "that kings, rulers, and governors, and particularly the king of this realm, should be accountable to the people for their misgovernments;" and, on the other hand, there were, we may conclude, judges who maintained the position which this judge controverts, "that the king had an original right to rule over men upon earth; and that God had not given power to earthly men to call him to account." These were the two great theories with regard to "a pure monarchy," and "a political monarchy, or monarchy governed by laws." † But whatever was considered the original foundation of government, none of the administrators of justice relaxed the principle that the law should be rigidly maintained, as regarded all private transactions. During these unhappy times England was in a great degree exempt from crimes of violence, except those committed under the pretence of martial necessity. No bands of plunderers infested the country; no lawless and ferocious spirits who, as many passages of the histories of other countries record, considering a time of public commotion as their opportunity, held the peaceful in terror. England was safe from those massacres and spoliations which characterize a nation when the reins of just government are loosened. This immeasurable blessing she owed to her ancient civil organization, and to that respect for law which has made the constable's staff the efficient representative of the sovereign's sceptre.

The repose of Oxford was soon broken up by new military enterprises. The suspension of arms contemplated in the negotiations which commenced at the end of March, were, on the 15th of April, declared by the parliament to be at an end. On that day Essex marched his army to the siege of Reading. The town had been fortified; and the garrison there, although wanting provisions and ammunition, was composed of resolute men. The approaches were regularly constructed, batteries erected, and trenches dug. The possession of Reading was considered of great importance. The king himself, on the 24th of April, set out from Oxford to head a force for the relief of the besieged. The army which he led was numerous and well appointed. At Caversham bridge the royalist forces were repulsed by those of the parliament, and fell back upon Wallingford. That day Reading was surrendered to Essex. The cavaliers were indignant that the commander of the garrison had not longer held out; and he was tried, and sentenced to death. The king reprieved him. Hampden, who had taken an active part in the siege of Reading, now urged Essex to follow up their success by an attack upon Oxford. The bold counsels were overruled. The parliamentary commander gradually became distrusted by his party. His honor and his capacity were unquestionable; but he was too inclined to forego present good in the contemplation of uncertain evils. He could not make war upon his king and his fellow-countrymen as if he were in a foreign land. Such a man should not have drawn the sword at all. Meanwhile the war was proceeding with doubtful fortune in other quarters. Sir William Waller was successful against the royalists in the south and west. Fairfax was disputing with Lord Newcastle the supremacy of the north. The Cornish men, in arms for the king, had gained a battle over Lord Stamford. What could not be accomplished in the open field by the cavaliers was sought to be effected by a secret plot. The Lady Aubigny had received a permission from the parliament with a pass, to proceed to Oxford to transact some business arising out of the death of her husband, who was killed at Edgehill. On her return to London she was commissioned by the king to convey a box thither, with great care and secrecy. His majesty told her "it much concerned his own service." This is Clarendon's account, who represents the box to have contained a commission of array to certain persons in the city, for the promotion of the king's service. Ludlow says, "The king, to encourage his friends in the city to rise for him, sent them a commission for that purpose by the Lady Aubigny, which she brought, made up in the hair of her head." On the 31st of May the members of the two houses were listening to a sermon in St. Margaret's Church, when a note was delivered to Pym. He hastily left. That night Edmund Waller, once famous as a poet, but whose "smooth" verse we now little regard, was arrested. His brother-in-law, Mr. Tomkins, Mr. Challoner (a citizen), and other persons, were also taken into custody. Waller was a member of parliament, and had been at Oxford, in March, with the commissioners. There was unquestionably a plot to arm the royalists in London, to seize the persons of the parliamentary leaders, and to bring the king's troops into the capital. Waller, in a base spirit which contrasts with the conduct of most of the eminent of either party, made very abject confessions, with exaggerated denunciations of others, to save his own life. The parliament behaved with honorable moderation. Five persons were condemned by court-martial; two, Challoner and Tomkins, were executed. Waller was reserved, to exhibit in his literary character a subserviency to power which has fortunately ceased to be an attribute of poets—to eulogize the happy restoration of Charles II., as he had eulogized the sovereign attributes of the protector Cromwell. "He had much ado to save his life," says Aubrey, "and in order to do it sold his estate in Bedfordshire, about 1300*l.* per annum, to Dr. Wright, for 10,000*l.* (much under value), which was procured in twenty-four hours' time, or else he had been hanged. With this money he bribed the house, which was the first time a House of Commons was ever bribed." *

Important events succeeded each other rapidly during this summer. Rupert's trumpet sounded to horse in Oxford streets on the 17th of June. After the occupation of Reading, the troops of Essex were distributed in cantonments about Thame and Wycombe. Rupert dashed in among the small towns and villages where these troops were quartered. Hampden had been visiting the scattered pickets, and urging upon Essex a greater concentration of his forces. Lord Nugent, with accurate local knowledge, has described the localities into which Rupert had made his irruption. "Hampden had obtained in early life, from the habits of the chase, a thorough knowledge of the passes of this country. It is intersected, in the upper parts, with woods and deep chalky hollows, and in the vales with brooks and green lanes; the only clear roads along the foot of the hills, from east to west, and those not very good, being the two ancient Roman highways, called the upper and lower Ickeneld way." Hampden had expected some attack, and immediately he heard of Rupert's movement he was in the saddle. On the morning of the 19th the prince was with a large force in Chalgrove Field, near Thame. Hampden, with a small detachment, attacked the cavaliers, expecting the main body of the parliamentary army soon to come up with reinforcements. The man who had triumphed in so many civil victories fell in this skirmish. On the first charge he was shot in the shoulder. The parliamentary troops were completely routed before Essex came up. Rupert retreated across the Thames to Oxford. The news of the great leader having received a serious wound soon reached Oxford: "One of the prisoners taken in the action said, 'that he was confident Mr. Hampden was hurt, for he saw him ride

* Green's "Letters of Henrietta Maria," p. 182.

† Sergeant Thorpe's Charge to the Grand Jury. "Harleian Miscellany," vol. vi. p. 113.

* "Lives," vol. iii. p. 564.

off the field before the action was done, which he never used to do, with his head hanging down, and resting his hands upon the neck of his horse.'"* He was alone. The troops of Rupert were in the plain between the battle-field and Thame, where the wounded man desired to go for help. A brook crossed the grounds through which he must pass. By a sudden exercise of the old spirit of the sportsman he cleared the leap, and reached Thame, there to die, after six days of agony. "O Lord, save my bleeding country," were his last words. Clarendon has done justice, though not full justice, to the character of the man with whom he was so intimately associated in the struggle against despotism. "He was of that rare affability and temper in debate, and of that seeming humility and submission of judgment, as if he brought no opinion of his own with him, but a desire of information and instruction; yet he had so subtle a way of interrogating, and, under the notion of doubts, insinuating his objections, that he infused his own opinions into those from whom he pretended to learn and receive them. . . . He was indeed a very wise man, and of great parts, and possessed with the most absolute spirit of popularity, and the most absolute faculties to govern the people, of any man I ever knew. For the first year of the parliament, he seemed rather to moderate and soften the violent and distempered humors, than to inflame them. . . . After he was among those members accused by the king of high treason, he was much altered; his nature and carriage seeming much fiercer than it did before. . . . He was very temperate in diet, and a supreme governor over all his passions and affections, and had thereby a great power over other men's. He was of an industry and vigilance not to be tired out or wearied by the most laborious; and of parts not to be imposed upon by the most subtle or sharp; and of a personal courage equal to his best parts; so that he was an enemy not to be wished wherever he might have been made a friend; and as much to be apprehended where he was so, as any man could deserve to be. And therefore his death was no less pleasing to the one party than it was condoled in the other." †

CHAPTER XCII.

The queen joins her husband—Various incidents of the war—Bristol taken by assault—Proposals for peace rejected by a small majority of the Commons—Popular disturbances in London—The siege of Gloucester—Defence of Gloucester—Essex marches to its relief—The king and his army retire—The parliamentary army march toward London—The battle of Newbury—Prowess of the trained bands—Death of Lord Falkland—The Sortes Virgilianæ—The royal success becoming more doubtful—Negotiations for an alliance between the Scots and the parliament—The Solemn League and Covenant—Essex returns to London—Growing importance of Cromwell—Skirmish of Winceby—Death of Pym—The Covenant severely enforced—Ejected ministers.

Four months had elapsed between the landing of the queen in England and her return to her royal husband. However Charles might have been personally affected by her counsels, his best advisers, the moderate men who desired peace, were afraid of her influence, and she was suspicious of their fidelity. Her dominant idea was to restore the absolute power of the king. Her ruling passion was hatred of the parliament. She writes to Charles, "To die of consumption of royalty is a death which I cannot endure, having found by experience the malady too insupportable." ‡ Again, "I do not see the wisdom of these Messieurs rebels, in being able to imagine that they will make you come by force to their object, and to an accommodation; for as long as you are in the world, assuredly England can have no rest nor peace, unless you consent to it, and assuredly that cannot be unless you are restored to your just prerogatives." § She was a bold and determined woman, who aspired to direct councils and to lead armies. On the 27th of May she writes to the king from York, "I shall stay to besiege Leeds at once, although I am dying to join you; but I am so enraged to go away without having beaten these rascals that, if you will permit me, I will do that, and then will go to join you; and if I go away I am afraid that they would not be beaten." ‖ She had her favorites, especially Jermyn and Digby, whose advancement she was constantly urging. The scandalous chroniclers of the time did not hesitate in casting the most degrading suspicions upon the queen in connection with one of these. Jermyn was made a peer. He is pointed out as "somewhat too ugly for a lady's favorite, yet that is nothing to some; for the old lady [Mary de Medicis] that died in Flanders regarded not the feature." At length Henrietta Maria determined to leave the north, and join the king at Oxford. On the 11th of July she entered Stratford-upon-Avon, at the head of four thousand horse and foot soldiers. She slept at the house in which Shakespeare lived and died—then in the possession of his daughter, Mrs. Hall. On the 13th she met Charles where his first battle had been fought; and from Keinton they proceeded to Oxford. The tidings of a victory on the 15th over the parliamentary forces at Roundway Down, in Wiltshire, greeted their arrival. A previous victory over Sir William Waller at Lansdown in Somersetshire, filled the royalists with the most sanguine hopes. Such partial successes on the other side as the brave defence of Nottingham Castle by Colonel Hutchinson had no material influence upon the state of affairs. The feelings of the adverse parties were growing more bitter. We see the proud cavaliers and the stern Puritans hating and hated. Female tenderness and courage shine out as sunny gleams in a dark day. On each side there were women as noble as Lucy Hutchinson, who thus describes what she was doing in the spirit of Christian love, while the so-called teachers of religion were cruel and revengeful:

"There was a large room, which was the chapel, in the castle this they had filled full of prisoners, besides a very bad prison, which was no better than a dungeon, called the Lion's den; and the new captain, Palmer, and another minister, having nothing else to do walked up and down the castle yard, insulting and beating the poor prisoners as they were brought up. In the encounter one of the Derby captains was slain, and five of our men hurt, who for want of another surgeon were brought to the governor's wife, and she having some excellent balsams and plaisters in her closet, with the assistance of a gentleman that had some skill, dressed all their wounds, where some were dangerous, being all shots, with such good success, that they were all well cured in convenient time. After our hurt men were dressed, as she stood at her chamber-door, seeing three of the prisoners sorely cut, and carried down bleeding into the Lion's den she desired the marshal to bring them in to her, and bound up and dressed their wounds also: which while she was doing, Captain Palmer came in and told her his soul abhorred to see this favor to the enemies of God; she replied, she had done nothing but what she thought was her duty, in humanity to them, as fellow-creatures, not as enemies." †

In the summer of 1643 the power of the parliament is visibly in danger. On the 27th of July, Bristol, a city only exceeded by London in population and wealth, is surrendered to Rupert, after an assault, with terrible slaughter on both sides. Nathaniel Fiennes, its governor, was described by Clarendon as "for root and branch" in 1640; but one whose courage being had "in disesteem," encouraged the plan of assaulting this important place. He was subsequently tried and condemned "for not having defended Bristol so well and so long as he ought to have done." He had interest enough to obtain a pardon; but he quitted the country. A design of Sir John Hotham to surrender Hull to the king was detected. He and his son were committed to the Tower on a charge of betraying the cause of the parliament. London was in a state of unusual agitation. The Lords came to resolutions, upon a proposal of peace, of a far more moderate character than had previously been determined on. There was a conference between the two houses, in which the upper house urged that "these unnatural dissensions" would destroy all the former blessings of peace and abundance. The Commons, by a majority of nineteen, decided that the proposals of the Lords should be considered. The city was in an uproar. A petition from the common council called for the rejection of the proposals. Multitudes surrounded the houses to enforce the same demand. The proposals were now rejected by a majority of seven. An attempt was then made to enforce the demand for peace by popular clamor. Bands of women, with men in women's clothes, beset the doors of the Hous

* Clarendon, vol. iv. p. 88. † "Rebellion," vol. iv. p. 92.
‡ Green's "Letters," p. 117. § Ibid., p. 108. ‖ Ibid., p. 202.

* "Character of an Oxford Incendiary," "Harleian Miscellany," vol. v. p. 346. † Hutchinson's "Memoirs," vol. i. p. 274.

of Commons, crying out, "Give us up the traitors who are against peace. We'll tear them in pieces. Give us up that rascal Pym." The military forced them away, but they refused to disperse. They were at last fired upon, and two were killed, one of whom was an old ballad-singer of the London streets. Many peers now left parliament and joined the king at Oxford, among whom was Lord Holland. Those who remained, peers or commoners, saw that the greatest danger was in their own dissensions. The royalist army was growing stronger in every quarter. London was again in peril. There was one man of extraordinary vigor who felt the immediate danger of his own district. There is not a more characteristic letter of Cromwell than the following to the commissioners at Cambridge, dated from Huntingdon on the 6th of August: "You see by this enclosed how sadly your affairs stand. It's no longer disputing, but out instantly all you can. Raise all your bands; send them to Huntingdon; get up what volunteers you can; hasten your horses. Send these letters to Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, without delay. I beseech you spare not, but be expeditious and industrious! Almost all our foot have quitted Stamford: there is nothing to interrupt an enemy, but our horse, that is considerable. You must act lively; do it without distraction. Neglect no means!" *

Had there been unanimity in the councils of the king at this period of dissensions in London among the people—with the two houses divided among themselves; men of influence deserting the parliamentary cause; no man yet at the head of the parliamentary forces who appeared capable of striking a great blow—it is probable that if he had marched upon the capital the war would have been at an end. There would have been peace—and a military despotism. Charles sent Sir Philip Warwick to the earl of Newcastle to propose a plan of co-operation between the armies of the south and north. "But I found him very averse to this," Warwick writes, "and perceived that he apprehended nothing more than to be joined to the king's army, or to serve under Prince Rupert; for he designed himself to be the man that should turn the scale, and to be a self-subsisting and distinct army, wherever he was." † With this serious difficulty in concentrating his forces, Charles determined upon besieging Gloucester. The garrison consisted of fifteen hundred men, under Edward Massey, the parliamentary governor. The inhabitants were under five thousand. On the 10th of August the king's army was stationed "upon a fair hill, in the clear view of the city, and within less than two miles of it." Charles sent a summons for its surrender, by a trumpet to the town, offering pardon to the inhabitants, and requiring an answer within two hours. Clarendon has described, with more than his accustomed attention to details which regard the common people, how the answer was brought: "Within less than the time prescribed, together with the trumpeter returned two citizens from the town, with lean, pale, sharp, and bad visages, indeed faces so strange and unusual, and in such a garb and posture, that at once made the most severe countenances merry, and the most cheerful hearts sad; for it was impossible such ambassadors could bring less than a defiance. The men, without any circumstances of duty, or good manners, in a pert, shrill, undismayed accent, said, 'They had brought an answer from the godly city of Gloucester to the king;' and were so ready to give insolent and seditious answers to any question, as if their business were chiefly to provoke the king to violate his own safe conduct." ‡ The answer was in writing, to the effect that the inhabitants and soldiers kept the city for the use of his majesty, but conceived themselves "wholly bound to obey the commands of his majesty, signified by both houses of parliament." The people of Gloucester immediately set fire to all the houses outside the walls. From the 10th of August till the 6th of September these resolute people, in spite of their strange and unusual faces, and their uncourtly manners, defended their city with a resolution and bravery unsurpassed in this warfare. The king dreaded the loss of men in an assault; and it was therefore resolved to compel a surrender by cutting off all supplies. The continued possession of Gloucester was most important to the parliament. All differences having been reconciled in London, the earl of Essex took the command of a force destined for the relief of "the godly city." At the head of fourteen thousand men he set out from London on the 24th of August. On the 5th of September he had arrived by forced marches within five miles of Gloucester. The king sent a messenger to him with pacific proposals. The answer was returned in a spirit of sturdy heroism: "The parliament gave me no commission to treat, but to relieve Gloucester; I will do it, or leave my body beneath its walls." The soldiers shouted, "No propositions." Gloucester was relieved. From the Prestbury hills Essex saw the flames of burning huts rising from the king's quarter. The royal army had moved away. On the 8th the parliamentary general entered the beleaguered city, bearing provisions to the famished people, and bestowing the due meed of honor upon their courage and constancy. On the 10th he was on his march back to London.

Of the army of fourteen thousand men which marched to the relief of Gloucester, four regiments were of the London militia. These regiments were mainly composed of artisans and apprentices. They had been drilled and reviewed in Finsbury Fields and Chelsea Fields for twelve months, and they had looked upon the approach of real war when Rupert was at Brentford. But they had seen no actual service. Their forced march to Gloucester, though scarcely exceeding a rate of ten miles a day, was a remarkable feat. They had, in the latter days of their march by Bicester, Chipping-Norton, and Stow-in-the-Wold, to pass through an enemy's country, in which the people were hostile, and the royalist cavalry were hanging on their rear. At Prestbury they had to fight their way through Rupert's squadrons, and to try how pikemen could stand up against a charge of horse. In less than a fortnight their prowess was to be proved in a pitched battle-field. Charles and his army were lying round Sudeley Castle, to the north-east of Gloucester. Essex marched to the south. In Cirencester, which he surprised, he found valuable stores for his men. The king's army moved in the same direction. Essex had passed Farringdon, and was rapidly advancing upon Newbury, on his road to Reading, when his scattered horse were attacked by Rupert and his cavaliers. According to Clarendon, the prince, "with near five thousand horse, marched day and night over the hills, to get between London and the enemy, before they should be able to get out of those inclosed deep countries in which they were engaged between narrow lanes, and to entertain them with skirmishes till the whole army should come up." * Essex had marched over Amborne Chase, intending to have quartered at Newbury that night. There was a sharp conflict for several hours, and Essex was compelled to halt at Hungerford. The king marched at the head of his foot soldiers; "though his numbers, by his exceeding long and quick marches, and the license which many officers and soldiers took while the king lay at Evesham, were much lessened." † When Essex came near to Newbury on the 19th of September he found the royal army in possession of the town. The king had come there two hours before him. Essex was without shelter, without provisions. Charles had "a good town to refresh his men in, while the enemy lodged in the field." ‡ It was absolutely necessary that Essex should hazard a battle. The road to London was barred against him. He "must make his way through or starve." In the king's quarters it was resolved not to fight, except upon such grounds as should insure victory. On the morning of the 20th, Essex being encamped upon Bigg's Hill, about a mile from Newbury, the outposts of each force became engaged, and the battle was soon general. It was fought all day "with great fierceness and courage," the cavaliers charging "with a kind of contempt of the enemy," and the roundheads making the cavaliers understand that a year of discipline had taught them some of the best lessons of warfare. "The London Trained Bands and auxiliary regiments (of whose inexperience of danger, or any kind of service, beyond the easy practice of their postures in the Artillery Garden, men had till then too cheap an estimation) behaved themselves to wonder, and were, in truth, the preservation of that army that day. For they stood as a bulwark and rampire to defend the rest; and, when their wings of horse were scattered and dispersed, kept their ground so steadily that, though Prince Rupert himself led up the choice horse to charge them, and endured their storm of small shot, he could make no impression upon their stand of pikes, but was forced to wheel about." § The men of London, taken from the loom and the anvil, from the shops of Ludgate or the wharfs of Billingsgate, stood like a wall, as such men have since stood in many a

* Carlyle's "Cromwell Letters," vol. i. p. 129.
† "Memoirs," p. 243.
‡ "Rebellion," vol. iv. p. 179.
* "Rebellion," vol. iv. p. 232.
† Ibid., p. 234.
‡ Ibid.
§ Ibid., p. 235.

charge of foreign enemies. The contempt of the cavaliers for the "base mechanicals" was one great cause of the triumph of the round-heads. The base mechanicals, in their turn, had an equal contempt for the cavaliers. Of the two men who went out from Gloucester, and spoke to the king "in a pert, shrill, undismayed accent," one was a bookbinder. Such enthusiasts knew no fear, and had small respect for rank and power, as far as outward demeanor was concerned. "Their backs turned scarce thirty yards, on clap they their caps in the king's presence, with orange ribbons in them." * But they had an ever-present belief that they were doing "the Lord's work;" and whether starving in a fortress or ridden down by men in steel, they would not be moved

"With dread of death to flight or foul retreat."

On the night of the battle of Newbury, each army remained in the position it had occupied before that day of carnage. The loss of royalists of rank was more than usually great. Three noblemen fell, for whom there was lamentation beyond the ranks of their party—Lord Carnarvon, Lord Sunderland, and Lord Falkland. Falkland, especially, still lives in our memories as one of the noblest and purest—the true English gentleman in heart and intellect. What is called his apostasy has been bitterly denounced, and not less intemperately justified, by historical partisans. One whose intellect was as clear as his feelings were ardent in the cause of just liberty has thus written of Falkland: "A man who leaves the popular cause when it is triumphant, and joins the party opposed to it, without really changing his principles and becoming a renegade, is one of the noblest characters in history. He may not have the clearest judgment or the firmest wisdom; he may have been mistaken, but as far as he is concerned personally, we cannot but admire him. But such a man changes his party not to conquer but to die. He does not allow the caresses of his new friends to make him forget that he is a sojourner with them and not a citizen; his old friends may have used him ill, they may be dealing unjustly and cruelly: still their faults, though they may have driven him into exile, cannot banish from his mind the consciousness that with them is his true home: that their cause is habitually just and habitually the weaker, although now bewildered and led astray by an unwonted gleam of success. He protests so strongly against their evil that he chooses to die by their hands rather than in their company; but die he must, for there is no place left on earth where his sympathies can breathe freely; he is obliged to leave the country of his affections, and life elsewhere is intolerable. This man is no renegade, no apostate, but the purest of martyrs; for what testimony to truth can be so pure as that which is given uncheered by any sympathy; given not against enemies amid applauding friends, but against friends, amid unpitying or half-rejoicing enemies. And such a martyr was Falkland!" †

Aubrey says of this most interesting of the heroes of the civil war: "At the fight of Newbury, my Lord Falkland being there, and having nothing to do to charge, as the two armies were engaging rode in like a madman, as he was between them; and was, as he needs must be, shot." Clarendon tells another and more consistent story: "In the morning before the battle, as always upon action, he was very cheerful, and put himself in the first ranks of Lord Byron's regiment, then advancing upon the enemy, who had lined the hedges on both sides with musketeers, from whence he was shot with a musket in the lower part of the belly, and in the instant falling from his horse, his body was not found till the next morning." It was not Falkland's duty to be in the battle. He was urged to stay away. "No," he said, "I am weary of the times; I foresee much misery to my country, but I believe I shall be out of it before night." Clarendon tells us why his life had become a burden to Falkland: "From the entrance into this unnatural war his natural cheerfulness and vivacity grew clouded, and a kind of sadness and dejection of spirit stole upon him, which he had never been used to. But after the king's return from Brentford, and the furious resolution of the two houses not to admit any treaty for peace, those indispositions which had before touched him grew into a perfect habit of uncheerfulness; and he, who had been so exactly easy and affable to all men, that his face and countenance was always present, and vacant to his company, and held any cloudiness and less pleasantness of the visage a kind of rudeness or incivility, became, on a sudden, less communicable; and thence, very sad, pale, and exceedingly affected with the spleen. In his clothes and habit, which he had minded before always with more neatness and industry and expense than is usual to so great a soul, he was not now only incurious, but too negligent; and in his reception of suitors, and the necessary or casual addresses to his place, so quick and sharp and severe, that there wanted not some men (strangers to his nature and disposition), who believed him proud and imperious, from which no mortal man was ever more free. . . . When there was any overture or hope of peace, he would be more erect and vigorous, and exceedingly solicitous to press any thing which he thought might promote it; and, sitting among his friends, often, after a deep silence and frequent sighs, would, with a shrill and sad accent, ingeminate the word 'Peace, Peace;' and would passionately profess, 'that the very agony of the war, and the view of the calamities and desolation the kingdom did and must endure, took his sleep from him, and would shortly break his heart.'" *

The untimely death of Lord Falkland must have been to some of the cavaliers, probably to the king himself, a presage of greater disaster, if we may credit the well-known anecdote which Dr. Welwood thinks not "below the majesty of history to mention." Agreeing with him, we repeat it in his own words:

"The king being at Oxford during the civil wars, went one day to see the public library, where he was shown among other books a Virgil nobly printed and exquisitely bound. The Lord Falkland, to divert the king, would have his majesty make a trial of his fortune by the *Sortes Virgilianæ*, which every body knows was an usual kind of augury some ages past. Whereupon the king opening the book, the period which happened to come up was that part of Dido's imprecation against Æneas which Mr. Dryden translates thus:

"Yet let a race untam'd, and haughty foes,
His peaceful entrance with dire arms oppose;
Oppress'd with numbers in th' unequal field,
His men discourag'd, and himself expell'd,
Let him for succor sue from place to place,
Torn from his subjects, and his son's embrace,
First let him see his friends in battle slain,
And their untimely fate lament in vain;
And when at length the cruel war shall cease,
On hard conditions may he buy his peace.
Nor let him then enjoy supreme command,
But fall untimely by some hostile hand,
And lie unbury'd on the barren sand." †

It is said King Charles seemed concerned at this accident; and that the Lord Falkland observing it, would likewise try his own fortune in the same manner; hoping he might fall upon some passage that could have no relation to his case, and thereby divert the king's thoughts from any impression the other might have upon him. But the place that Falkland stumbled upon was yet more suited to his destiny than the other had been to the king's; being the following expressions of Evander, upon the untimely death of his son Pallas, as they are translated by the same hand.

"O Pallas! thou hast fail'd thy plighted word,
To fight with caution, not to tempt the sword:
I warn'd thee, but in vain; for well I knew
What perils youthful ardor would pursue:
That boiling blood would carry thee too far:
Young as thou wert in danger, raw to war!
O curst essay of arms, disast'rous doom,
Prelude of bloody fields, and fights to come!" ‡

The relief of Gloucester and the battle of Newbury were fatal to many of the sanguine hopes of a speedy victory over disunited rebels which the royalists up to this time had entertained. They had seen how the despised Trained Bands had been disciplined into good soldiers. They had seen how such men as held the "godly city of Gloucester" for a whole month against the best troops of the king would die rather than surrender. There was a fatal concurrence of events to render it certain that, although the queen was bestowing places upon her favorite courtiers, as if Oxford were Whitehall—offering the marquis of Newcastle to be chamberlain or lord of the

* Journal of the Siege, quoted in Warburton's "Rupert and Cavaliers," vol. ii. p. 280.
† Arnold's "Lectures on Modern History," p. 238.

* "Rebellion," vol. iv. p. 231.
† "Æneid," iv. l. 880.
‡ Ibid., xi. l. 230.

bed-chamber, and intriguing to make the faithless Lord Holland groom of the stole—the real power of the monarchy was fading away. The royalists called the battle of Newbury "a very great victory." * Before this issue had been tried the parliament had appointed commissioners to negotiate a treaty of alliance with the Scots; for the parliament felt weak and dispirited. Sir Henry Vane, the chief negotiator, had acceded to the imperative demand of the Scots parliament that the religious system of Scotland should be adopted as that of England. Vane, who was an Independent, and a supporter of toleration, contrived, after great debate, to satisfy the zealous Presbyterians, who proposed "a Covenant." Vane stipulated for "a Solemn *League* and Covenant." This obligation was to be taken by both nations. The Scots proposed a clause "for the preservation of the king's person." Vane added, "in preservation of the laws of the land and liberty of the subject." To the clause for "reducing the doctrine and discipline of both churches to the pattern of the best reformed," Vane added "according to the Word of God." † This Solemn League and Covenant was to bind those who subscribed it, "to endeavor, without respect of persons, the extirpation of popery and prelacy." A passage from Baxter shows how earnestly it was sought to reconcile the moderate party to this declaration: "This Covenant was proposed by the parliament to the consideration of the synod at Westminster; the synod stumbled at some things in it, and especially at the word prelacy. Dr. Burges the prolocutor, Mr. Gataker, and abundance more, declared their judgments to be for episcopacy, even for the ancient moderate episcopacy, in which one stated president, with his presbytery, governed every church; though not for the English diocesan frame, in which one bishop, without his presbytery, did, by a lay chancellor's court, govern all the presbyters and churches of a diocese, being many hundreds; and that in a secular manner by abundance of upstart secular officers, unknown to the primitive church. Hereupon grew some debate in the assembly: some being against every degree of bishops (especially the Scottish divines), and others being for a moderate episcopacy. But these English divines would not subscribe the Covenant till there were an alteration suited to their judgments: and so a parenthesis was yielded to, as describing that sort of prelacy which they opposed, viz., that is, church government by archbishops, bishops, deans and chapters, archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy. All which conjoined are mentioned as the description of that form of church government which they meant by prelacy, as not extending to the ancient episcopacy. When the covenant was agreed on, the Lords and Commons first took it themselves, and Mr. Thomas Coleman preached to the House of Lords, and gave it them with this public explication, That by prelacy we mean not all episcopacy, but only the form which is here described." ‡ Mr. Hallam says, "These controversial subtleties elude the ordinary reader of history." But history cannot be understood unless some reference be made to them. Without regarding these subtleties, we might conclude that the parliament and the people of London were unanimous for the unconditional adoption of the same form of church government as that which was established in Scotland. The Scots no doubt expected that this would be the result. The exultation of their commissioners in London must have been unbounded when, on the 25th of September, all the members of parliament, assembled in St. Margaret's church, sworn to maintain "the solemn league and covenant." The oath was signed by two hundred and twenty-eight members of the Commons. It was adopted in the city with enthusiastic demonstrations of religious fervor. On the next day Essex was received in London with a warmth that may have consoled him for some previous complaints of his want of energy, and for annoyances which he had received in his command. The Lords and Commons gave him an assurance of their confidence: and he remained the general-in-chief, without the divided powers which had created a jealousy between himself and Sir William Waller.

While the members of parliament in London are lifting up their hands in reverent appeal to Heaven as they accept the Covenant, and the people are shouting around the earl of Essex as the banners are displayed which he won in Newbury fight, there is one man, fast growing into one of the most notable of men, who is raising troops, marching hither and thither, fighting whenever blows are needful—work which demands more instant attention than the ceremony of St. Margaret's Church. In the early stages of his wonderful history nothing is more interesting than to trace the steps of this man, now *Colonel* Cromwell. Whatever he says or does has some mark of the vigor of his character—so original, so essentially different in its manifestations from the customary displays of public men. In Cromwell's speeches and writings we must not look for the smooth and equable movement of common diplomatists and orators. His grand earnestness makes the artifices of rhetoric appear petty by comparison. The fluency of the scholarly writer is weak by the side of his homely phrases. He is urging some great friends in Suffolk to raise recruits, and choose captains of horse: "A few honest men are better than numbers. . . . I had rather have a plain russet-coated captain, who knows what he fights for, and loves what he knows, than that which you call 'a Gentleman,' and is nothing else. I honor a Gentleman that is so indeed." * In this spirit Cromwell is forming his "Ironsides," and at this period is heading them in the earliest of those famous charges which determined so many battles. On the 10th of October, in the skirmish of Winceby, near Horncastle, his career is well-nigh ended. His horse was killed at the first charge; and as he rose, he was knocked down by Sir Ingram Hopton, who led the royalists. He seized another horse, and the enemy was routed. Denzil Hollis, in his Memoirs, more than insinuates doubts of Cromwell's personal courage. He calls him "as errand a coward, as he is notoriously perfidious, ambitious, and hypocritical;" and states, of his own knowledge, that he basely "kept out of the field at Keinton battle, where he, with his troop of horse, came not in, impudently and ridiculously affirming, the day after, that he had been all that day seeking the army and place of fight, though his quarters were but at a village near hand." † We must receive this testimony for what it is worth, as coming from one who had become a bitter enemy of Cromwell, as the leader of the Independents. For the ambition of such a man as Cromwell, whether as a soldier or a politician, there was now ample room. His religious party was fast rising into importance. The sectaries of all denominations eagerly gathered under the standard of a leader who insisted that his men should be religious, but left the particular form of religion to their own choice. The religious principle of the civil war thus became more and more prominent, when enthusiasts of every denomination regarded it as a struggle for the right of private judgment in matters of faith, and despised every authority but that of the Bible. Such a leader as Cromwell had tougher materials to conquer with than Hampden, with his green-coated hunters of the Chilterns. He had themes to discourse upon in his oratory, so forcible, however regardless of proem and peroration, which, far more than Pym's eloquent declamation, stirred the hearts of a parliament that had come to consider "the power of godliness" to be a higher cause than "the liberties of the kingdoms." Cromwell's opportunity was come. The man who had destroyed arbitrary taxation, and the man who had sent the counsellor of a military despotism to the block, were no more. The year 1643 was memorable for the deaths of three of the greatest of the early patriots of the Long Parliament—Hampden, Falkland, and Pym. We have seen how two of the illustrious three died on the battle-field. Pym died on the 8th of December, having sunk under a lingering illness. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, his body being carried to its resting-place on the shoulders of ten of the leading speakers and influential members of the House of Commons. The men who now came upon the scene as the chief actors were of a different stamp than these earlier tribunes of the people. Henceforward the war will assume a broader character and a fiercer aspect. The prospect of accommodation will grow more and more faint. The religious element will go forward into what all who look impartially upon those times must consider as relentless persecution by one dominant party, and wild fanaticism among sectaries not yet banded into a common purpose. The arbitrary imposition of the Covenant upon every minister of the Anglican Church was the first great result of

* Letter of the queen to Newcastle.
† See Ludlow's "Memoirs," p. 65.
‡ "Reliquiæ Baxterianæ," p. 48.

* Mr. Carlyle has done inestimable service for the historical student by his publication of "Oliver Cromwell's Speeches and Letters, with Elucidations." For the first time Cromwell is presented to us as a real man.
† "Memoirs," p. 17.

the alliance with the Scots. The Presbyterian parliament of England became more violent for conformity than the Court of High Commission which the parliament had destroyed. The canons of Laud had fallen lightly upon men who were indifferent about the position of the altar, or the precise amount of genuflexions; but the imposition of the Covenant upon all the beneficed clergy was the declaration of an intolerant tyranny against the most conscientious. The number of incumbents ejected from their livings, for their refusal to sign this obligation, has been variously reckoned. According to Neal, the historian of the Puritans, it was sixteen hundred; according to Walker, an extreme high-churchman, it reached eight thousand. The statement of Walker is evidently a gross exaggeration. The sixteen hundred of Neal was about a fifth of the benefices of England. Whatever was the number of ejected ministers, and however some might have been, as was alleged, of evil lives, the tyranny of this measure is most odious, as coming from men who had themselves struggled against religious persecution. "The remorseless and indiscriminate bigotry of Presbyterianism might boast that it had heaped disgrace on Walton, and driven Lydiat to beggary; that it tramped on the old age of Hales, and embittered with insult the dying moments of Chillingworth." * Among the eminent public men who advocated the Covenant as a political measure, there were some who abhorred it as an instrument of persecution. The younger Vane, the chief promoter of it, declared upon the scaffold that "the holy ends therein contained I fully assent to, and have been as desirous to observe; but the rigid way of prosecuting it, and the oppressing uniformity that hath been endeavored by it, I never approved."

CHAPTER XCIII.

The Scots enter England—The Irish army defeated at Nantwich—A parliament summoned to meet at Oxford—Combined armies besiege York—Lathom House—Battle of Marston Moor—The queen leaves England—Essex defeated in the West—Second battle of Newbury—Differences between the parliamentary commanders—Laud condemned for treason by ordinance of parliament—Treaty of Uxbridge—Montrose's victories in the western Highlands—Self-denying Ordinance—Fairfax lord-general of the remodelled army—Cromwell lieutenant-general—The battle of Naseby—The king's cabinet opened—Surrender of Bristol by Rupert—Basing House taken.

The year 1644 opened with great events. On the 19th of January the Scottish army entered England. They marched from Dunbar "in a great frost and snow"—"up to the knees in snow," say the narratives. Leslie, now earl of Leven, commanded them. The marquis of Newcastle was not strong enough long to oppose them. He had given up his attempt to take Hull, and was in winter-quarters at York. Leslie's army marched on to Newcastle, which they summoned to surrender. The governor and garrison were faithful to their trust. The Scots were straitened for provisions, and the royalist army of fourteen thousand men was intercepting their supplies. They determined to advance farther into the heart of the country. At this juncture the English regiments that had been recalled by the king from Ireland were besieging the parliamentary garrison at Nantwich. Sir Thomas Fairfax hurried to the relief of the place, and totally defeated this Anglo-Irish army, which was under the command of Sir John Byron. The recall by the king of those troops who had been sent to repress the rebellion in Ireland was preceded by the conclusion of a truce with the rebels themselves. The Irish Protestants were alarmed for their safety. The English Protestants became more than ever suspicious of Charles, and especially of his queen, who had always maintained a correspondence with the Irish papists. Many of these had come over with the English troops. The cessation of arms in Ireland, says Clarendon, "was no sooner known in England, but the two houses declared against it, with all the sharp glosses upon it to his majesty's dishonor that can be imagined." He goes on to say, with reference to Irish affairs, that "the calumnies and slanders raised to his majesty's disservice and dishonor made a more than ordinary impression upon the minds of men, and not only of vulgar-spirited people, but of those who resisted all other infusion and infection." † The historian of the rebellion seeks to acquit the king of all underhand proceedings with the Romanists of Ireland. But he must have had a difficult task for a conscientious man to perform, in slurring over in this and other instances of his master's willingness to adopt covert and dishonorable measures. The next year, when Charles was engaged in the most dangerous projects with Herbert, earl of Glamorgan, for raising a great army of Irish to invade England under the auspices of the pope and foreign princes, he kept these matters a profound secret from his council. Of these Irish transactions there is the conclusive evidence against the king of Clarendon himself, in a letter addressed by him to the secretary Nicholas. "I must tell you, I care not how little I say in that business of Ireland, since those strange powers and instructions given to your favorite Glamorgan, which appears to me so inexcusable to justice, piety, and prudence. And I fear there is very much in that transaction of Ireland, both before and since, that you and I were never thought wise enough to be advised with in. Oh, Mr. Secretary, those stratagems have given me more sad hours than all the misfortunes in war which have befallen the king, and look like the effects of God's anger toward us." *

Negotiation after negotiation between the king and the parliament having failed, and the appeal to the sword still remaining of doubtful issue, some strong measure was thought expedient to lower the character of the two houses sitting at Westminster. The king's notion was to issue a proclamation declaring the parliament to be dissolved, forbidding them to meet, and requiring all persons to reject their authority. Hyde told the king his honest opinion upon this project: "I cannot imagine that your majesty's forbidding them to meet any more at Westminster will prevent one man the less going there. . . . It was the first powerful reproach they corrupted the people with against your majesty, that you intended to dissolve this parliament; and in the same way repeal all the other acts made by that parliament whereof some are very precious to the people. As your majesty has always disclaimed any such thought, such a proclamation now would confirm all the jealousies and fears so excited, and trouble many of your true subjects." † Charles very unwillingly accepted Hyde's own counter-proposition. It was that of summoning the Peers and Commons that had adhered to the royal cause to meet him in parliament at Oxford. On the 22d of December, 1643, the proclamation convoking this parliament was issued. On the 22d of January, 1644, the parliament, or more truly convention, met at Oxford. A letter written from this assembly to the earl of Essex, expressing a desire for peace, was signed by forty-three peers and one hundred and eighteen commoners. Others were absent on the king's service. In the same January, according to Whitelocke, two hundred and eighty members appeared in the House of Commons, besides those absent on the parliamentary services. A large majority of the Commons were with the Westminster Parliament; a large majority of Peers with that of Oxford. The measure might have been productive of advantage to the royal cause, had it not soon been manifest that the king and queen were impatient under any interference with the authority of royalty. This was more fatal than the absolute refusal of the parliament at Westminster to recognize "those persons now assembled at Oxford, who, contrary to their duty, have deserted your parliament," as they wrote to the king on the 9th of March. The parliament at Oxford continued to sit till the 16th of April, voting taxes and loans, passing resolutions of fidelity, but irritating the king in their refusal to be mere instruments for registering his edicts. But they produced no visible effect upon public opinion; and Charles congratulated the queen upon their being "freed from the place of all mutinous motions, his mongrel parliament," when he had willed its adjournment.

While at Oxford the king's "mongrel parliament" only proved a hindrance to the vigorous prosecution of the war, the parliament at Westminster had adopted the rational course of strengthening their executive authority. A council was formed under the title of "The Committee of the Two Kingdoms," consisting of seven Lords, fourteen members of the Commons, and four Scottish commissioners. The entire conduct of the war, the correspondence with foreign states, whatever belongs to the executive power as distinguished from the legislative, devolved upon this committee. In the spring of 1644 the parliament had five armies in the field, paid by general or

* Hallam, "Constitutional History," vol. ii.
† "Rebellion," vol. iv. p. 364.

* "Clarendon Papers," quoted in Lingard. † Clarendon's Life.

local taxation, and by voluntary contributions. Including the Scottish army, there were altogether 56,000 men under arms; the English forces being commanded, as separate armies, by Essex, Waller, Manchester, and Fairfax. Essex and Waller advanced to blockade Oxford. The queen, who was in a situation that made the thought of remaining in a city exposed to siege very irksome, determined to go to a place of greater safety. She went to Exeter in April, and never saw Charles again. He remained shut up in Oxford. Its walls were surrounded by lines of defence; but the blockading forces had become so strong that resistance appeared to be hopeless. On the night of the 3d of June the king secretly left the city, and passed safely between the two hostile armies. There had been jealousies and disagreements between Essex and Waller. The committee of the two kingdoms had assigned to Waller the command of the army of the west, in the event of the separation of the two armies. Essex, supported by the council of war, resolved to march to the west himself. He was directed by the committee to retrace his steps, and go in pursuit of the king. Essex replied to the committee that their orders were opposed to military discipline; and he marched on. Waller, meanwhile, had gone in pursuit of the king into Worcestershire. Charles suddenly returned to Oxford; and then defeated Waller, at Cropredy Bridge, near Banbury, who had hastened back to encounter him. Essex was before the walls of Exeter, in which city the queen had given birth to a princess. The king hastened to the west. He was strong enough to meet either of the parliamentary armies, thus separated. Meanwhile the north of England became the scene of the most momentous conflict that distracted England had yet beheld. The dashing enterprise of Rupert in the relief of Lathom House, so bravely held by Charlotte de la Tremouille, countess of Derby, became of small importance amid the greater event that was to follow in the north. The moated house of the Stanleys had been defended by the heroic countess for eighteen weeks against a detachment of the army of Fairfax. Their artillery could produce little impression upon the thick walls and lofty towers; and the demand to submit herself, her children and followers, to the mercy of parliament, produced from the lady, immortalized by history and romance, the reply that "the mercies of the wicked are cruel." Rupert hung the walls of Lathom House with the parliamentary banners which he had captured in a fierce battle at Bolton; and he went on toward York to a fiercer strife and a perilous defeat. The combined English and Scottish armies were besieging York. Rupert received a letter from the king, containing these words: "I command and conjure you, by the duty and affection which I know you bear me, that, all new enterprises laid aside, you immediately march, according to your first intention, with all your force to the relief of York." He did march. Marston Moor saw the result.

As Rupert advanced toward York with twenty thousand men, the allied English and Scots retired. Their councils were not unanimous. Some were for fighting, some for retreating, and at length they moved from Hessey Moor, near York, to Tadcaster. Rupert entered York with two thousand cavalry. The earl of Newcastle was in command there. He counselled a prudent delay. The impetuous Rupert said he had the orders of the king for his guidance, and he was resolved to fight. Newcastle was a man of ceremony; jealous of interference, for he had ruled the north with vice-regal magnificence; raising large bodies of troops, and paying them with the coinage of the York mint. He was indignant with the prince; but he left him to his own course. On the 2d of July, having rested two days in and near York, and enabled the city to be newly provisioned, the royalist army went forth to fight. They met their enemy on Marston Moor. The two armies looked upon each other for two hours, with scarcely a cannon-shot fired. Newcastle asked Rupert what office he was to take. He replied that the earl might repose, for he did not intend to begin the action till the morrow. Newcastle went to his carriage, and left the prince to his supremacy. The sun was in the west on that July evening when the battle began. The sun had scarcely set when the battle was finished; and there were four thousand one hundred and fifty bodies lying dead on that plain. The issue would have been more than doubtful, but for Cromwell, who for the first time had headed his Ironsides in a great pitched battle. The right wing of the parliamentary army was scattered. Rupert was chasing and slaying the Scottish cavalry. The centre of each army, each centre composed of infantry, were fighting with the sturdy resolution of Englishmen, whatever be the quarrel. The charges of Fairfax and Cromwell decided the day. The flight of the Scottish horse proclaimed that the victory of the cavaliers was complete; and a messenger who reached Oxford from Newark announced such news to the enraptured courtiers as made the Gothic pinnacles red with bonfires. In another day or two the terrible truth was known. The victory of the parliamentary armies was so complete that the earl of Newcastle had left York, and had embarked at Scarborough for the continent. Rupert marched away also, with the wreck of his army, to Chester. Each had announced his determination to the other, as they gloomily entered York on the night of the battle. Fifteen hundred prisoners, all the artillery, more than a hundred banners, remained with the victors. And the men who had achieved this success were the despised Puritans; those who had been a laughing-stock for half a century. "We had all the evidence," writes Cromwell to his brother-in-law, Colonel Valentine Walton, "of an absolute victory obtained by the Lord's blessing upon the godly party principally. We never charged but we routed the enemy. The left wing, which I commanded, being our own horse, saving a few Scots in our rear, beat all the prince's horse. God made them as stubble to our swords." Cromwell had to tell his brother-in-law of a calamity that would most touch a father's heart. "Sir, God hath taken away your eldest son by a cannon-shot. It brake his leg. We were necessitated to have it cut off, whereof he died." He expatiates upon this sorrow with no vain attempts at ordinary condolence. "The Lord be your strength" is his emphatic conclusion. When Cromwell's character came to be judged, first in an age of profligacy, and then in an age of religious indifference, no one could comprehend that he had any higher sustaining principles than craft and selfishness.

The queen, sinking under a serious illness, unable to call back the high spirit which had made her so determined in her councils and her actions, now fled to France. Essex was approaching with his army toward Exeter. She asked a safe-conduct from him to go to Bath or Bristol. He offered to wait upon her himself to London; but he could not obey her desire to go to any other place without directions from the parliament. On the 9th of July she wrote a letter from Truro, to bid her husband adieu. "I am hazarding my life that I may not incommode your affairs." She embarked from Falmouth on the 14th, and landed at Brest. Henceforth her letters to Charles will continue to show how keen was the interest she took in his proceedings, and how strenuously she held to her original idea of never conceding anything to rebels. Soon after her departure the king's arms had a considerable success over Lord Essex in Cornwall. The parliamentary party are in alarm. Cromwell writes, "We do with grief of heart resent the sad condition of our army in the west, and of affairs there. That business has our hearts with it; and truly had we wings we would fly thither."* The army was indeed in a "sad condition." Essex wrote in vain for assistance; in vain urged a diversion, to take off the pressure of the royalist army by which he was surrounded. A letter from the king was delivered to him, calling upon him to give peace to his country. Essex replied to his nephew, Lord Beauchamp, who brought the letter, that he should give no answer; his advice to the king was to return to his parliament. Another attempt was made to win Essex to a treaty. He had no authority to treat, he said, and could not treat without a breach of trust. By the latter end of August he was encompassed by the royalists. The greater part of his army desired to capitulate, though his cavalry had succeeded in passing the enemy's posts. Essex hastily left the camp to avoid that humiliation, leaving Skippon in command. The old campaigner proposed to his officers to follow the example of the cavalry, at all risks. But Charles offered honorable terms of capitulation, only requiring the surrender of the artillery, arms, and ammunition. The army of Essex returned as fugitives to London, or dispersed through the country. He wrote from Plymouth an account of "the greatest blow that ever befell our party." His fidelity to the cause he had adopted not only saved him from reproach, but the parliament hastened to give him a new mark of their confidence. The king was resolved to march to London from the west. Montrose was in arms in Scotland, and had gained two battles. The time for a great blow was thought to have arrived.

* Carlyle, vol. i. p. 156.

Three armies under Essex, Manchester, and Waller were called out for the defence of the capital. Essex, though retaining his authority, did not join the troops which fought the second battle of Newbury on the 27th of October. Manchester was there in command. This battle was hotly contested without any decisive results. The king withdrew to Oxford, renewing his project of advancing to London. The serious differences between the Presbyterians and the Independents were brought to an issue by this second battle of Newbury. There were no rejoicings in the city that the king had been checked in his approach. There was gloom and dissatisfaction among the people, which was evidently encouraged by men of bolder resolves than those who had the conduct of military affairs. In November, Cromwell, in his place in parliament, brought forward a charge against the earl of Manchester, of having "always been indisposed and backward to engagements, and the ending of the war by the sword." He renewed his attack in December. "It is now a time to speak, or forever hold the tongue. . . . I do conceive if the army be not put into another method, and the war more vigorously prosecuted, the people can bear the war no longer, and will enforce you to a dishonorable peace." In a few months the army was put "into another method."

The Presbyterian party, including the Scottish commissioners, were now at open hostility with the Independents. At a meeting at the house of the Lord-General Essex, the Scottish chancellor proposed that Cromwell should be proceeded against as "an incendiary." Whitelocke and Maynard, two eminent lawyers, were consulted. Whitelocke advised that they should be prepared with specific proofs before they brought forward such a charge. While the supporters of Essex and the other generals were seeking for proofs against their dangerous rival, it was moved in the Commons, by Zouch Tate, a man of no great mark, "that no member of either house shall, during the war, enjoy or execute any office or command, civil or military, and that an ordinance be brought in accordingly." Long and furious debates followed this proposition. It was passed by the lower house on the 21st of December, and transmitted to the Lords. The Presbyterian party saw their strength passing away from them. They endeavored to rekindle all the violence of religious intolerance, by resuming proceedings against Archbishop Laud. In the previous March his trial had commenced upon specific charges, founded upon those which had first been brought forward on his impeachment. He defended himself with skill and courage. The arbitrary power of the ecclesiastical courts which he had upheld was at an end. There was meanness and cruelty in his prosecution, after four years of imprisonment. It was the triumph of a bigotry far more odious than his own attempt to tyrannize in matters of religious opinion. His most active persecutor was William Prynne, who never relaxed in his thirst for vengeance upon the intolerance which he now repaid in tenfold measure. By an ordinance of parliament, voted by a few lords—some say seven only—he was condemned for high treason. There might be the plea of state necessity for the execution of Strafford; but to send this aged prelate to the block, whose power for good or evil was wholly gone, was atrocious in a higher degree, for this shedding of blood was useless. He was beheaded on the 10th of January, 1645. On the 3d the Liturgy of the Church of England, which had been previously tolerated, was abolished by ordinance. Four others were sent to the scaffold at the same time for political offences: Sir John Hotham and his son, Lord Macguire, and Sir Alexander Carew. The Presbyterians were left to these courses of severity, while their opponents were urging the adoption of "the Self-denying Ordinance." It was rejected on the 13th of January by the Lords. The reason for the rejection was that they did not know "what shape the army will now suddenly take." But the agitation of this question had rendered a great change necessary. On the 21st of January Fairfax was nominated general; and, within a month, a new model for the army was arranged and carried. The Self-denying Ordinance, with modifications, was ultimately passed.

The most strenuous attempt at pacification between the king and the parliament was made at the beginning of 1645. Ludlow has briefly recorded the main facts: "It was agreed that commissioners should be sent from the parliament to treat with others to be sent from the king, about conditions of peace. The place of their meeting was at Uxbridge. . . . The king had owned the two houses as a parliament, to which he was not without difficulty persuaded, though he had by an act engaged that they should continue to be a parliament till they had dissolved themselves, which they had not done." * Charles wrote to his queen, "As for my calling those at London a parliament, I shall refer thee to Digby for particular satisfaction; this in general: if there had been but two, besides myself, of my opinion, I had not done it; and the argument that prevailed with me was, that the calling did no ways acknowledge them to be a parliament." † This was his apology to Henrietta Maria, when she bitterly reproached him, saying, "When you were resolved to make a little council of four, you showed me a paper in which were many things about which you would never relax, of which this was the first." ‡ A negotiation entered upon in such a spirit was not likely to end in any agreement for the public good. Clarendon, who was one of the king's commissioners at Uxbridge, has left the amplest details of the progress of this treaty. The commissioners sent by the parliament were chiefly of the more moderate party. Men who had been united in the first days of the Long Parliament, but had since become political enemies, now met in a common hope that once more they might become friends. Sir Edward Hyde and Lord Colepepper renewed their intercourse with Mr. Hollis and Mr. Saint John. The chancellor of Scotland, Lord Loudon, and the parliamentary Lords Pembroke and Denbigh, had private discussions with Hyde and others, in which they imparted their mutual hopes and fears. "There was a good house at the end of the town, which was provided for the treaty, where was a fair room in the middle of the house, handsomely dressed up for the commissioners to sit in." § Each party ate in its own inn, for there were "two great ones which served very well to that purpose." The duke of Richmond presided at the table of the king's commissioners. Their debates were at first grave and courteous; seldom disturbed by any acrimonious reflections upon the past; always difficult and protracted for many hours. The three great points which they had to discuss were, the Church, the state of Ireland, the militia. They took each separately. The Presbyterians, with the Scottish divines, were as strenuous for the abolition of episcopacy, as the Episcopalians, with the learned doctors from Oxford, were resolute for its maintenance. Some trifling concessions were made on either side, and an approach to an agreement did not seem absolutely hopeless. The question of Ireland was not so difficult. That of the militia—the question which of two parties should hold the great instrument of power—was at one period of the discussion resolving itself into a manageable shape. Lord Southampton was deputed to proceed to Oxford to see if he could obtain some concession from the king that would place the military authority under the joint control of the crown and the parliament, each naming half of the leaders, for a limited number of years. Dr. Welwood has a remarkable story connected with this mission: "Though the parliament's demands were high, and the king showed a more than ordinary aversion to comply with them, yet the ill posture of the king's affairs at that time, and the fatal consequences they feared would follow upon the breaking off of the treaty, obliged a great many of the king's friends, and more particularly that noble person the earl of Southampton, who had gone post from Uxbridge to Oxford for that purpose, to press the king again and again upon their knees, to yield to the necessity of the times; and by giving his assent to some of the most material propositions that were sent him, to settle a lasting peace with his people. The king was at last prevailed with to follow their counsel; and the next morning was appointed for signing a warrant to his commissioners to that effect. And so sure were they of a happy end of all differences that the king at supper complaining his wine was not good, one told him merrily, he hoped that his majesty would drink better before a week was over, at Guildhall with the lord mayor. But so it was, that when they came early the next morning to wait upon him with the warrant that had been agreed upon over night, they found his majesty had

* "Memoirs," p. 149.
† "King's Cabinet Opened," Harleian Miscellany, vol. v. p. 513.
‡ Green's "Letters," p. 276.
§ That "fair room," with its black oak panels, quaintly carved, was, within the last twelve years, the principal room of the "Treaty-house Inn." We have often rested there, to indulge, over a traveller's meal, in reveries of that discussion of twenty days which made this room famous.

changed his resolution, and was become inflexible in these points." This sudden change in the king's resolves might have been ascribed to the capricious vacillation which he often displayed, whether from the changing moods of his own mind, or the influence of the queen and other secret advisers. In the instance before us, the altered temper is referred to a letter from Montrose, which had been received by Charles during the night. In the middle of December that daring chieftain had forced an entry into the country of the Campbells, wasting all before him. The mountains were covered with snow; the passes were imperfectly known; yet Montrose made his way, burning and slaughtering, till at length Argyle himself fled from his castle of Inverary, and left the unhappy clans to the vengeance of his deadly enemy. Montrose having sated his revenge till the end of January, marched toward Inverness. Argyle had returned with some forces from the lowlands to the western highlands, and was in a position near the castle of Inverlochy, when Montrose suddenly came down upon him from the mountains. The battle was a decisive victory on the part of the royalist leader, who wrote an account of his exploits to Charles, which letter Dr. Welwood prints, having "seen a copy under the duke of Richmond's hand." Montrose says that after he had laid waste the whole country of Argyle, "my march was through inaccessible mountains, where I could have no guides but cowherds, and they scarce acquainted with a place but six miles from their own habitations. . . . The difficultest march of all was over the Lochaber mountains, which we at last surmounted, and came upon the back of the enemy when they least suspected us." Having described his victory over "the rebels," he then proceeds to offer Charles his advice. His exultation at his triumph was so unbounded that he concluded a few victories in Scotland would again place the king, with uncontrolled power, upon the thrones of both kingdoms. He has heard news, he says, "as if your majesty was entering into a treaty with your rebel parliament in England. The success of your arms in Scotland does not more rejoice my heart as that news from England is like to break it. . . . The more your majesty grants the more will be asked; and I have too much reason to know that they will not rest satisfied with less than making your majesty a king of straw. . . . Forgive me, sacred sovereign, to tell your majesty that in my poor opinion it is unworthy of a king to treat with rebel subjects while they have the sword in their hands. And though God forbid I should stint your majesty's mercy, yet I must declare the horror I am in when I think of a treaty while your majesty and they are in the field with two armies; unless they disband, and submit themselves entirely to your majesty's goodness and pardon. . . . Give me leave, with all humility, to assure your majesty that through God's blessing I am in the fairest hopes of reducing this kingdom to your majesty's obedience. And if the measures I have concerted with your other loyal subjects fail me not, which they hardly can, I doubt not but before the end of this summer I shall be able to come to your majesty's assistance with a brave army; which, backed with the justice of your majesty's cause, will make the rebels in England, as well as in Scotland, feel the just rewards of rebellion." *

The treaty of Uxbridge was to last twenty days. The last day expired on a Saturday, and nothing was concluded. "They having on Sunday performed their usual visits to each other, parted with such coolness as if they scarce hoped to meet again." † When the parliamentary commissioners returned to London they found that Fairfax had received his commission as sole general. The new model for the army was being practically carried into effect. Argyle arrived from Scotland, stung by defeat and disgrace; and agreed with the extreme party in urging forward whatever measures would lead to the active prosecution of the war. The peers withdrew from their opposition to the self-denying ordinance, and it was finally passed on the 3d of April. The military services of Cromwell were of such importance that Fairfax and his officers urged that, without regard to the ordinance, he might be temporarily appointed the lieutenant-general, chief commander of the horse. The earls of Essex, Manchester, and Denbigh gave in their resignations. There was a great change in the operations of the parliament. There was to be an equal change in the councils of the king. It was resolved that the Prince of Wales should be sent into the western counties with the title of generalissimo, and that the most discreet advisers of Charles should accompany the prince, yet only fifteen years old, to direct all measures in his name. The more violent of the cavaliers now formed the advisers of Charles. Oxford resounded with songs of mockery against the pestilent roundheads. The royalist newspapers derided the folly which had dismissed the old parliamentary leaders, to place in their room untried and obscure men. The followers of such were fanatical mechanics, who would fly at the first sound of their cannon. As the summer approached the king's affairs were rapidly mending. He had taken Leicester by storm. Taunton was besieged by the royalists. Fairfax was surrounding Oxford, but inactive. Cromwell was active in the counties of the Eastern Association. Those who had opposed the remodelling of the army complained that the new organization had produced no effective results. Fairfax, on the 5th of June, received commands to raise the siege of Oxford and go to the midland counties after the king. The general sent a requisition to the parliament that Cromwell might be permitted to join him. He was indispensable, Fairfax and his colonels said, as commander of the cavalry. There is alarm in the eastern counties. Cromwell writes from Cambridge to the deputy lieutenants of Suffolk: "The cloud of the enemy's army hanging still upon the borders and drawing toward Harborough, make some supposals that they aim at the Association." A postscript adds, "Since the writing hereof we received certain intelligence that the enemy's body, with sixty carriages, was on his march toward the Association, three miles on this side Harborough, last night at four of the clock." Cromwell calls for "horse and dragoons"—all your horse and dragoons to hasten to Newmarket. The foot are to rendezvous at Bury. On the 13th of June Fairfax and Cromwell were marching after the king, who went before them from Daventry to Harborough. On the 14th of June was fought the battle of Naseby.

Cromwell wrote the dispatch announcing the result of this battle to the speaker of the House of Commons. This letter was written on the evening of that day which was fatal to the hopes of the royalists. "He [the king] drew out to meet us. Both armies engaged. We, after three hours' fight very doubtful, at last routed his army; killed and took about 5000—very many officers, but of what quality we yet know not. We took also about 200 carriages—all he had; and all his guns, being 12 in number, whereof two were demi-cannon, two demi-culverins, and I think the rest sackers. We pursued the enemy from three miles short of Harborough to nine beyond, even to the sight of Leicester, whither the king fled. Sir, this is none other but the hand of God; and to Him alone give the glory, wherein none are to share with Him." * Minuter chroniclers than the man who had the chief share of the work have given us ample details of this victory. † The cavaliers were so confident of their strength that they were amusing themselves with hunting during the five days that their headquarters were near Daventry. On the 12th the king was encamped on Burrough Hill, and had been hunting that day. Fairfax was near him, and saw from a place near Weedon, at four o'clock in the morning of the 13th, the huts of the royal camp on fire, for the army was moving off. At six o'clock that morning Cromwell arrived with his Ironsides from the associated counties; and he was received with shouts; "the horse gave a mighty shout for joy of his coming to them." The united parliamentary forces now marched forward toward Harborough. The king had taken up his quarters for the night at the "Hall House," at Lubenham, near Harborough, where his van was stationed. His rear was at Naseby. Late that evening Ireton and his troopers suddenly dashed in among the royalists there. Some fled to the old hall, where the king was gone to rest. He set off instantly to Rupert's quarters at Harborough, and in a midnight council of war it was determined not to retire to Leicester, as had been previously agreed, but to fight Fairfax. "They would not stay to expect his coming," says Clarendon, "but would go back to meet him." The parliamentary army was on its march at three in the morning of the 14th, and at five it was at Naseby. Of this old hamlet on a hill in the centre of England there is a rough sketch in a curious book by a chaplain of Fairfax. ‡ Mr. Carlyle has given the present aspect of the place in a few

* Welwood's "Memoirs," p. 306, ed. 1736.
† Clarendon, vol. i. p. 81.

* Carlyle, vol. i. p. 176.
† See Carlyle, vol. iii. Appendix, No. vii.
‡ Sprigge, "Anglia Rediviva."

words: "A peaceable old hamlet of some eight hundred souls; clay cottages for laborers, but neatly thatched and swept; smith's shop, saddler's shop, beer-shop, all in order; forming a kind of square which leads off southward into two long streets: the old church, with its graves, stands in the centre. . . . The ground is upland, moorland, though now growing corn; was not inclosed till the last generation, and is still somewhat bare of wood."* According to Clarendon the king's army was drawn up early in the morning of the 14th in order of battle, about a mile from Harborough, there to wait for the enemy. The several commands were thus assigned: Prince Rupert commanded the left wing; Sir Marmaduke Langdale the right wing; Lord Ashley the main body. The reserves were with the king. The scout-master came in and reported that he had been three or four miles, and could gain no intelligence of any enemy near. Rupert then went forward with his horse, and indistinctly seeing the van of the parliament's troops, fancied they were retreating, and sent a messenger to desire that the royalist main body should immediately move up. When Fairfax saw the king's army advancing he formed his troops in a large fallow field north-west of Naseby, the brow of the hill running east and west for about a mile. The centre was commanded by Fairfax himself and Skippon; the right wing by Cromwell; the left wing by Ireton. The reserves were commanded by Pride, Hammond, and Rainsborough. On Rupert hurried. "Thus," says Clarendon, "the army was engaged before the cannon was turned, or the ground made choice of upon which they were to fight." The hill on which the parliamentary army was drawn up bears the name of "Mill Hill." The king's army was on a hill opposite. A wide table-ground known as "Broad Moor" was between them. Here was the chief point of the deadly struggle. Rupert charged up the hill against the left wing of Fairfax. Cromwell charged from the extreme right, down the hill upon Langdale's squadrons. Rupert is carrying all before him with his battle-cry of "Queen Mary." He has beaten Ireton's left wing back to Naseby; but there he has been tempted to lose time in taking a survey of his enemy's baggage. Cromwell has scattered the left wing of the royalists. Langdale's horse have fled through the furze-bushes and rabbit-warrens, before the battle-cry of "God is our strength." But Fairfax in the centre is hotly pressed. The king's foot have come over the hill, and poured in volley after volley upon the parliamentary ranks. They have closed. Fairfax is riding from division to division bareheaded. His helmet has been lost in the first charge. Old Skippon is wounded, but he "will not stir while a man will stand." But help is at hand. The Ironsides now turn from their flying enemies on the right, and retrieve the day by their assaults on the king's main battle. When Rupert returns he sees the royal army in utter confusion. Fairfax has rallied his men, and the royalists yield. But the king's reserve of horse, consisting of his own guards, what are they doing? A panic fear seizes them, which Clarendon thus explains: "The king was even upon the point of charging the enemy, in the head of his guards, when the earl of Carnewarth, who rode next to him (a man never suspected for infidelity, nor yet one from whom the king would have received counsel in such a case), on a sudden, laid his hand on the bridle of the king's horse, and swearing two or three full-mouthed Scottish oaths (for of that nation he was), said, 'Will you go upon your death in an instant?' and before his majesty understood what he would have, turned his horse round; upon which a word ran through the troops, 'that they should *march* to the right hand;' which led them both from charging the enemy, and assisting their own men. Upon this they all turned their horses, and rode upon the spur, as if they were every man to shift for himself."† Rupert's men, says Clarendon, "having, as they thought, acted their parts, could never be brought to rally themselves again in order, or to charge the enemy. That difference was observed all along, in the discipline of the king's troops, and of those which marched under the command of Fairfax and Cromwell (for it was only under them, and had never been remarkable under Essex or Waller), that, though the king's troops prevailed in the charge, and routed those they charged, they seldom rallied themselves again in order, nor could be brought to make a second charge the same day."‡

The battle was at an end. The most precious spoil of that day was "the king's cabinet," which, when "opened," disclosed secrets which more injured his cause than any victory of his enemies. When the banners taken at Naseby were hung up in Westminster Hall there was joy and pride; but there was bitter indignation when the letters taken in the cabinet at Naseby were read aloud in Guildhall. There was no sincerity in the king's desire for peace; there was no abatement of his determination to govern by absolute power. Foreign princes were asked to send their soldiers to conquer rebel England. The dreaded Papists were to be freed from every restraint on the condition of such assistance. The best blood of the cavaliers had been shed on the Broad Moor near Naseby.* Other defenders of the king's standard might arise; but these letters were the damning evidence of deceit; and those who saw that the word "loyalty" had ceased to charm could only complain that domestic confidence was violated when the private correspondence of a king and queen was published to the whole world.

"Naseby being not far from Coventry where I was," writes Baxter, "and the noise of the victory being loud in our ears; and I having two or three that of old had been my intimate friends in Cromwell's army, whom I had not seen of above two years, I was desirous to go see whether they were dead or alive. And so to Naseby field I went two days after the fight, and thence by the army's quarters before Leicester, to seek my acquaintance."† The worthy man whose curiosity thus took him among scenes of horror has left us no description of the traces of carnage here. But he has given a vivid picture of the men by whom the work was done. In his dispatch of the 14th of June to the Speaker of the Commons, Cromwell did not neglect, even in his brief rest after the battle and the pursuit, to call attention to these men—the flower of the new-modelled army. "Honest men served you faithfully in this action. Sir, they are trusty; I beseech you, in the name of God, not to discourage them. I wish this action may beget thankfulness and humility in all that are concerned in it. He that ventures his life for the liberty of his country, I wish he trust God for the liberty of his conscience, and you for the liberty he fights for." "The liberty of his conscience," thus proclaimed in the hour of Cromwell's triumph, was a startling notion to the majority of public men at that time. When Baxter found his old acquaintance in the camp, he stayed with them a night. He had been "unfeignedly for king and parliament." He had thought "that the war was only to save the parliament and kingdom from Papists and delinquents." He understood the Covenant to be "against Papists and schismatics." He thought it a mere lie when "the court news-book told the world of the swarms of Anabaptists in our armies." He came among Cromwell's soldiers, and "found a new face of things which I never dreamed of." Sectaries in the highest places "were Cromwell's chief favorites, and by their very heat and activity bore down the rest." He says, "They were far from thinking of a moderate Episcopacy, or of any healing way between the Episcopal and the Presbyterians. They most honored the Separatists, Anabaptists, and Antinomians; but Cromwell and his council took on them to join themselves to no party, but to be for the liberty of all." Shortly after, Baxter, whose reputation as a preacher was very high, was invited by Colonel Whalley to be chaplain to his regiment. Whalley was "orthodox by religion, but engaged by kindred and interest to Cromwell." Baxter went. "As soon as I came to the army, Oliver Cromwell coldly bid me welcome, and never spake one word to me more while I was there." The good man was

* Vol. i. p. 173. † "Rebellion," vol. v. p. 184. ‡ Ibid., p. 185.

* The slaughter of the 14th of June was terrific, both on the battle-ground and in Cromwell's charge of the fugitives beyond Harborough. Mr. Thorne, in his charming "Rambles by Rivers," has well described the battle, and says, that "the field itself still retains evidence of the event. The bodies were collected and buried in several huge pits that were hastily dug; and the earth with which they were covered has sunk considerably, so that now they form large hollows—some of the deeper, from the water collecting in them, except in very dry weather, form ponds, and being left waste round the borders, have become fringed with brambles and weeds. The plough is not carried over any of the graves, and they have a solemn effect when it is known what they are. In cultivating the soil, bullets, cannon-balls, and fragments of arms are frequently turned up. The man I had with me when examining the place had been a servant of Mr. Mastin's [the historian of Naseby], and had dug for him in several of the pits. The bodies, he said, were not more than eighteen inches or two feet from the surface. The arms are usually rusted to pieces, but not always; my man had dug up 'a swoard not very long ago, and polished her up as broight as bran-new.'"

† "Reliquiæ Baxterianæ," p. 56.

ridiculed: "There was a reformer come to the army to undeceive them, and to save Church and State." Thus discountenanced, the zealous minister pursued what he thought his duty. "I set myself day by day to find out the corruptions of the soldiers; and to discourse and dispute them out of their mistakes, both religious and political. My life among them was a daily contending against seducers, and gently arguing with the more tractable." He was ever disputing with them about civil government, or church order and government. "But their most frequent and vehement disputes were for liberty of conscience, as they called it; that is, that the civil magistrate had nothing to do to determine of any thing in matters of religion, by constraint or restraint; but every man might not only hold, but preach and do in matters of religion what he pleased: that the civil magistrate hath nothing to do but with civil things; to keep the peace, and protect the Church's liberties." Amid all this vehemence—amid the ignorance, pride, and self-conceitedness which Baxter reprehends—it is impossible not to be struck by the fact of a great army, after a mighty victory, being occupied with discussions which appear more properly to belong to parliaments and synods. But without a due perception of the zeal which, whether rightly or wrongly directed, counted an earnest faith the one thing needful, we cannot comprehend the events of these times, and more especially those events which placed, ultimately, the monarchy and the parliament under the power of the army.

During the summer of 1645 singular confederacies had been formed in some places, avowedly for protecting their property against both parties. Those who belonged to them were known as "Clubmen." They were to some extent neutrals, but they were principally called into activity by royalist gentry. They were not "clubbable" men in Johnson's sense of the term. Their business was to use their clubs as valiantly as they might. They became annoying in the south-west to the parliamentary army; and Cromwell, in a march toward Shaftesbury, encountered about two thousand of them. They fired upon a party of his horse, but of course were soon routed. "We have taken about three hundred," Cromwell writes to Fairfax, "many of which are poor silly creatures, whom if you please to let me send home, they promise to be very dutiful for time to come, and will be hanged before they come out again." Fairfax had taken some of the Clubmen previously; and Cromwell told those who interceded for them that "they were to be tried judicially for raising a third party in the kingdom." *

King Charles had fought his last battle at Naseby. The military career of Prince Rupert in England was now fast coming to an end. Bristol, which Rupert was charged to defend, was invested by Fairfax and Cromwell on the 22d of August. The positions taken by the several divisions of the parliamentary army are minutely described in a letter from Cromwell to the Speaker. On the 10th of September the city was stormed. The royalists caused the city to be set on fire at three places. While the parliamentary commanders "were viewing so sad a spectacle," Rupert sent a trumpet to propose a surrender. The articles were agreed upon, and the prince marched out with a convoy of two regiments of horse. He went to Oxford. Charles wrote him a bitter letter of reproach from Hereford: "My conclusion is, to desire you to seek your subsistence until it shall please God to determine of my condition, somewhere beyond seas." A royal proclamation was issued the same day, revoking and disannulling all commissions of military authority given to "our nephew Prince Rupert." The surrender of Bristol was perhaps the wisest act of Rupert's life; for he had no chance of holding it against the parliamentary forces, and the king was utterly unable to render him assistance. But Charles would not learn from the bitter lessons of adversity. It is justly said, "After his defeat at Naseby his affairs were, in a military sense, so irretrievable that, in prolonging the war with as much obstinacy as the broken state of his party would allow, he displayed a good deal of that indifference to the sufferings of the kingdom, and of his adherents, which has been sometimes imputed to him." †

At the beginning of October Winchester surrendered to Cromwell, and he then went on to the siege of Basing House. Of the many memorable places of the civil war there is none more interesting than this. It was among the strongest of those private houses of the nobility which offered such strenuous resistance to the progress of the parliamentary troops. It had endured siege after siege for four years. The traveller on the South Western Railway looks down upon a great ruined pile, not far from Basingstoke, lying on the other side of a little stream. The ruin will repay a closer inspection. This was the house called "Loyalty" which Cromwell battered from the higher ground till he had made a breach, and then stormed with a resolution which made all resistance vain. Never was such a rich plunder offered to the roundheads, as was found in the mansion "fit to make an emperor's court," of the magnificent Pawlet, Marquis of Winchester.

* Carlyle, vol. ii. p. 184.

† Hallam, vol. ii. p. 182.

CHAPTER XCIV.

Destruction of manor-houses—Miseries of sieges—Montrose defeated at Philiphaugh—Defeat of Digby—His cabinet taken—The king in Oxford—Overtures for pacification—Termination of the war in the west—Prince of Wales leaves for Scilly—The king negotiates with the Scots—The king's flight from Oxford—Adventures of the king on his way to the Scottish army—The king with the army before Newark—State of parties—Negotiations—The king surrendered to English commissioners—Capitulation of Oxford—End of the first civil war.

The traces of the civil war in England are to be found in the existing ruins of several old mansions, besides those of Basing House. Among the most interesting and picturesque are the remains of the manor-house of South Winfield. This was one of the estates of the Shrewsbury family; and here Mary Queen of Scots resided for some time under the care of the earl, who is associated with her unhappy story. Sir John Gell, who was very active in the parliamentary interest in Derbyshire, here placed a garrison. In 1643 the place was taken by the royalists. But it was retaken by Sir John Gell; and Colonel Dalby, the governor, was killed in the storming. In 1646 the parliament ordered the place to be dismantled. Such was the course with regard to other great mansions of historical interest. Of the various conflicts for the possession of detached castles and manor-houses, that of Basing House is among the most memorable. The rapine and slaughter there were probably greater than at any other of such strongholds. It was a post of importance, which had held out against the parliament so long that it was deemed almost impregnable. Its large garrison was amply supplied by the rich surrounding country. The roads between London and the "Western Parts" were entirely commanded by this fortified mansion, and by Donnington Castle, near Newbury. At the siege of Basing House was present Hugh Peters, a chaplain in the parliamentary army, and at that time secretary to Cromwell. After the storm he "took a view of the works, which were many, the circumvallation being above a mile in compass." He then looked about him to see the extent of the victualling department; finding "provisions for some years rather than months; four hundred quarters of wheat; bacon, divers rooms-full, containing hundreds of flitches; cheese proportionable; with oatmeal, beef, pork; beer, divers cellars-full, and that very good." Seventy-four persons, according to Mr. Peters, were slain in the house, among whom was one lady, "who by her railing provoked our soldiers, then in heat, into a further passion." Among the slain was "Robinson the player, who a little before the storm was known to be mocking and scorning the parliament and our army." * Some of the details of the plunder and destruction, as given by Peters, will furnish an idea of the havoc of this terrible civil war: "The plunder of the soldiers continued till Tuesday night; one soldier had a hundred and twenty pieces in gold for his share; others plate, others jewels; among the rest, one got three bags of silver, which (he being not able to keep his own counsel) grew to be common pillage amongst the rest, and the fellow had but one half-crown left for himself at last. The soldiers sold the wheat to country-people, which they held up at good rates awhile; but afterward the

* From the construction of a sentence in the report of Peters, it does not seem quite clear that Robinson was slain by Harrison, as Sir Walter Scott assumes in "Woodstock:" "There lay dead upon the ground Major Cuffle, a man of great account among them, and a notorious Papist, slain by the hands of Major Harrison, that godly and gallant gentleman; and Robinson, the player, who," etc. (See Carlyle, vol. i. p. 194.)

market fell, and there were some abatements for haste. After that they sold the household stuff, whereof there was good store, and the country loaded away many carts; and they continued a great while fetching out all manner of household stuff, till they had fetched out all the stools, chairs, and other lumber, all which they sold to the country people by piecemeal. In all these great buildings there was not one iron bar left in all the windows (save only what were on fire) before night. And the last work of all was the lead; and by Thursday morning they had hardly left one gutter about the house. And what the soldiers left the fire took hold on, which made more than ordinary haste, leaving nothing but bare walls and chimneys in less than twenty hours—being occasioned by the neglect of the enemy in quenching a fire-ball of ours at first. We know not how to give a just account of the number of persons that were within. For we have not quite three hundred prisoners; and, it may be, have found a hundred slain, whose bodies, some being covered with rubbish, came not at once to our view. Only, riding to the house on Tuesday night, we heard divers crying in vaults for quarter; but our men could neither come to them, nor they to us."

The details of horror in sieges of large towns, the misery of blockades, the more sudden distress of assaults and bombardments, are generally passed over slightingly in the official narratives of such scenes. But some notion of the sufferings of the people, to whichever party they belonged, may be derived even from such a formal document as an ordinance of parliament. Taunton had been besieged three times by the royalists. It was undergoing the horrors of a siege on the 3d of July, when Fairfax, after the great victory of Naseby, came to its relief. But, a month before this, the parliament, having regard to its calamities, had ordered "that a collection be made of all well-affected persons" for the relief of "the poor distressed inhabitants of the town of Taunton," and adjacent places. This ordinance is written with remarkable unction: "It is notoriously known to all the kingdom, that the said town hath for these two years past endured all the calamities almost that war (the sharpest of all outward judgments) can bring upon a people. . . . They endured three as sharp and cruel sieges from a bloody enemy as ever any place hath suffered since the wars began; in which their houses were consumed by fire, their persons slain, the famine and the sword contendeth which should prey upon them first; poor mothers looking when the time would come that they should hear the children cry for bread, and there would be none to give them; when 'they should see them swoon in the top of every street,' as Lam. ii. 11. However, God upholds their spirits with unshaken resolution in the midst of fire and blood. . . . But yet, by these calamities and troubles, the estates of those who have escaped the sword are utterly exhausted and consumed, five hundred of their houses burned down to the ground (being one half of the town), by which almost one thousand families are turned harborless and helpless to the mercy of their neighbors, who can only melt upon them, and weep over them, but are not able to relieve them. And therefore, you that have escaped these miseries are earnestly besought to look upon this sad distressed town (sometimes the most eminent of those parts for building and situation, and, which is more, for piety and true religion), now by the just displeasure of the Lord against it raked in its own ashes, reduced almost to the extremity of misery and want, for the defence of that cause which you profess, and take upon you to maintain: listen, and hear it crying to you in the churches' lamentations, 'See if there be any sorrow like to my sorrow, wherewith the Lord hath afflicted me in the day of his fierce anger;' and do not stop your ears against their cry for pity from you, lest the Lord deal accordingly with you, and stop his ears against your cries for mercy, when you have most need of it. In such a singular and extraordinary case as this, stir up yourselves to do some extraordinary thing; do not draw out your purses only to your poor distressed brethren, but your very souls too, as the prophet speaks. This is your duty, and this will be your policy, if you desire to save your persons, houses, and estates from that heavy misery which hath exposed them to your mercy." *

With the exception of a few conflicts for the possession of garrisoned towns and detached manor-houses, the war, during the autumn of 1645, was wholly in the west. The great royalist army was utterly broken and dispersed. After the surrender of Bristol all reasonable hope was gone of once more matching the cavaliers of Rupert against the Ironsides of Cromwell. But in Scotland there was a royalist leader whose name had become a terror to the Covenanters. Wherever Montrose led his Highlanders he was victorious. As he carried the war into the Lowlands he was joined by many who had formerly dreaded to declare themselves. It was no longer a war of clanship, but a great national contest. On the 15th of August the Covenanting army, commanded by Baillie, was utterly defeated. It was the seventh great victory of Montrose, and it laid Scotland for a few weeks at his feet. Edinburgh surrendered to him. In the king's name he summoned a parliament at Glasgow. Before the surrender of Bristol, Charles had conceived the possibility of joining Montrose. The hope returned even after Bristol was lost. He decided to attempt the relief of Chester, then besieged by the parliament's forces; for at that port only could he receive succors from Ireland. He was at Hereford, anxious and undecided, when, after a week's delay, he marched, with five thousand men, over the Welsh mountains, and on the 24th of September was within view of Chester. Poyntz, the parliamentary commander, was watching the king's movements, and he suddenly came upon the rear-guard of the Royalists, at Rowton Heath. Sir Marmaduke Langdale—he who had fought at Naseby—vigorously charged the parliamentary forces; but a detachment of the besieging troops came upon his rear, and decided the day. The king retired again to the mountains. His chance of joining Montrose was gone. But at this juncture, if Charles had defeated Poyntz and relieved Chester, this last fain hope would have been destroyed. On the 24th of September, Montrose was himself a fugitive. He had advanced toward the English border, with diminished followers. His Highlanders had dispersed; his Lowland adherents had fallen off. Leslie had moved from England to encounter him. On the 13th of September, at Philiphaugh on the left bank of the Ettrick, Montrose was surprised by the veteran Covenanter. There was a thick mist. No scout gave notice of Leslie's approach. The camp of Montrose was attacked on each flank. The great leader himself was in the town of Selkirk, on the right bank of the Ettrick. He hastened upon the first alarm to cross the river with his cavalry. But it was impossible to rally the main body of his followers. He retreated to the Highlands. Instead of being the commander of a victorious army, he was now only the leader of a few bands of mountaineers. Leslie re-established the Covenanting power in the Lowlands. His victory was disgraced by a cold-blooded slaughter of prisoners, and by the subsequent execution of many of the royalist leaders. One, who was a true Scotsman in his nationality, but whose genius was too high to make him blindly partial, has thus compared his countrymen with the English during this warfare: "Greatly to the honor of the English nation—owing, perhaps, to the natural generosity and good-humor of the people, or to the superior influence of civilization—the civil war in that country, though contested with the utmost fury in the open field, was not marked by anything approaching to the violent atrocities of the Irish or the fierce and ruthless devastation exercised by the Scottish combatants. The days of deadly feud had been long past, if the English ever followed that savage custom, and the spirit of malice and hatred which it fostered had no existence in that country. The English parties contended manfully in battle, but, unless in the storming of towns, when all evil passions are afloat, they seem seldom to have been guilty of cruelty or wasteful ravage. They combated like men who have quarrelled on some special point, but, having had no ill-will against each other before, are resolved to fight it out fairly, without bearing malice." *

When Charles reached Denbigh Castle after the defeat near Chester, he rested there three days. After much debate it was decided to go to Newark, which was held by a royalist garrison of about two thousand horse and foot. The excesses of these men, in a time of so general calamity, had excited the indignation of all the country.† News now came that Montrose had recovered his defeat, and that his army was again victorious. The king again set forward with the ill-conditioned Newark garrison to the aid of Montrose. On the way they learned the truth of his final ruin. The king returned to Newark,

* Husband's "Ordinances in Parliament," 1642 to 1646, p. 651.

* Scott's "Tales of a Grandfather."
† Clarendon, vol. v. p. 289.

ut Digby, with the presumption that marked his character, went on o the north. At Sherborne, in Yorkshire, he was overtaken by the arliamentary troops, and utterly routed. Among Digby's baggage is private papers were taken ; and these, being published by order f parliament, "administered afterwards so much occasion of dis- ourse." Thus Clarendon glances at their contents. But the parlia- ient, when publishing them in the spring of 1646, took care to set orth the policy that was to be collected from this secret correspond- nce between the queen's favorite, Jermyn, and the king's chief dviser, Digby : [* "The reader, comparing cabinet with cabinet, the ing's with the Lord Digby's, will easily observe how the unnatural nemies to this their native country (imitating their general, the grand nemy to mankind) have gone about seeking how they may devour , by their restless endeavors to bring in foreign aid from Holland, 'ourland, Denmark, Portugal, Ireland, France, and from Rome itself, f shipping, arms, ammunition, men, money, horse and foot, and iat in no small proportions ; 4000 foot and 1000 horse expected from 'rance, 10,000 men from Ireland, and 10,000 more from Lorraine ; a trange conjuncture to concur in the ends pretended. The king and ope to defend the Protestant religion, Denmark and Lorraine to iaintain laws and liberties, bloody rebels in Ireland to uphold the rivileges of parliament in England ! But blessed be God, who hath iscovered the counsels of the enemies, and thereby hath in a great art opened the eyes, and undeceived not only multitudes of their rincipal adherents at home, but also foreign princes and states broad, and hath withal defeated their forces and expectations both broad and at home. This is God's work, and it is marvellous in ur eyes." *

The stormy meeting between the king and Prince Rupert at New- rk ; the half-mutinous conduct of the royal garrison there—events inutely related by Clarendon—are indicative of the fallen fortunes f the unhappy king. "He must undergo a new kind of mortifica- on from his friends, much sharper than any he had undergone from is enemies." Rupert and his brother Maurice left Charles forever. Ie was alone, with no one to counsel him. His troops were reduced o a few hundreds. Poyntz and Rossiter, the parliamentary generals, ere closing round Newark, which had so long been for him a place f security. To wait there was no longer safe. At eleven o'clock n the night of the 3d of November, the king, with four or five hun- red cavaliers, set out for Oxford. After a wearisome march, with ostile troops all around, they reached the loyal city in safety on the th. "So he finished the most tedious and grievous march that ever ing was exercised in ; having been almost in perpetual motion from he loss of the battle of Naseby to this hour, with such a variety of ismal accidents as must have broken the spirits of any man who ad not been truly magnanimous." † There is another magnanimity esides endurance of fatigue and privation without loss of heart—the iagnanimity of refusing to employ dishonorable means of averting anger and overcoming difficulty. On the day after his arrival at Oxford, the king wrote to Prince Charles, desiring him to leave Eng- and : "I have resolved," he says, "to propose a personal treaty to ie rebels at London ; in order to which a trumpet is by this time here, to demand a pass for my messengers, who are to carry my prop- sitions ; which, if admitted, as I believe it will, then my real ecurity will be your being in another country." ‡ Beaten in open arfare, the king now resorted to the more dangerous weapons of raft and intrigue. His ultimate destruction may in a great degree e attributed to the fatal course of endeavoring to win by stratagem hat he despaired of attaining by arms—a course which he pursued irough so many winding paths after the decisive summer of 1645.

During the long vacation of this year the Commons had resolved o fill up the vacancies in their house, caused by the absence of the oyalist members, by issuing out writs for the election of representa- ives to supply their places. Denzil Hollis complains of the artifices iat were employed to procure the return of members favorable to ie policy of the Independents ; but he adds, "that far the greater art of these new members deceived the expectations of these men." § Many persons of eminence came into parliament through this elec- ion. The "certain mean sort of people in the house, whom to dis- tinguish from the more honorable gentlemen they called Worsted- stocking men," § became of less importance, when Hutchinson, Ireton, Blake, Algernon Sidney, Fleetwood, Ludlow, Fairfax, and others of mark, were returned for counties and boroughs. But such men were not likely to yield the great points of difference for which they had so long fought. The Independents were unquestionably strengthened. They were fast becoming a real power, as much opposed to the nar- rower views of the Presbyterians as to the re-establishment of the sovereign without adequate securities. The controversy between the king and the parliament was becoming more perplexed. The Scot- tish army in the north was discontented through the want of pay. The parliament complained that an army which had entered England as allies should ravage the districts in which they were quartered. Charles meditated upon these distractions, and sought to take his advantage of them. But his overtures for peace were suspected to be hollow by the men who were now gradually assuming the lead in public affairs. The king on the 5th of December wrote to the Speaker of the House of Lords, offering to send a deputation to Westminster with propositions that should be "the foundation of a happy and well-grounded peace." He received no immediate answer ; and he then proposed to proceed to Westminster, to treat in person. Meanwhile a reply had been returned to his first proposal, declining to receive his negotiators. He again wrote on the 29th of December, urging the plan of a personal treaty. This proposition was also rejected. To justify this rejection certain papers that had been found in the carriage of the Catholic archbishop of Tuam, who was killed in a skirmish in October, were laid before parliament, and then published. They proved that the king had concluded a treaty of alliance with the Irish rebels, in which as the price of their landing in England with ten thousand men, under the earl of Glamorgan, popery was to be re-established in Ireland, and the Prot- estants brought under subjection. But Charles had gone farther than these papers proved. The treaty was concluded with the Irish papists by Glamorgan, under a secret authority from the king him- self to make any conditions Glamorgan pleased, which should be righteously observed. The marquis of Ormond, the lord-lieutenant, committed Glamorgan to prison ; but he produced two royal com- missions as his justification. Charles repudiated his agent in a letter to the parliament, maintaining that he had given no power to make conditions in the matter of religion or church property, but merely to raise men for his service. The parliament disbelieved the king ; and documents, then undiscovered, prove that the parliament was right.†

The overtures for pacification, so earnestly repeated by Charles, were probably held by the sagacious and incredulous men with whom he had to treat as containing in themselves evidence of the want of that straightforwardness which could alone be successful. In the remarkable collection of letters brought to light in 1855,‡ we have one to the queen, dated Oxford, January 18th, 1646, in which Charles says, "Though I have stretched my wits to persuade them to accept of my personal treaty, yet examine my words well, and thou wilt find that I have not engaged myself in anything against my grounds. For, first, I am sure that there can be no scruple as con- cerning the Church. Then, for Ireland and the militia, it is true that it may be I give them leave to hope for more than I intended, but my words are only, to endeavor to give them satisfaction in either." It has been remarked by Mr. Hallam that "Charles had unhappily long been in the habit of perverting his natural acuteness to the mean subterfuges of equivocal language." There was this folly about his cunning, that he fancied others would not examine his words well. In proposing to treat at Westminster he was clearly without any real expectation of there effecting a "happy and well-grounded peace." He was gratifying himself with the belief that he was able to triumph through the dangerous principle of "divide and govern." He writes to the queen : "Now, as to points which I expected by my treaty at London. Knowing assuredly the great animosity which is betwixt the Independents and Presbyterians, I had great reason to hope that one of the factions would so address themselves to me, that I might

* Husband, "Ordinances of Parliament," 1646, p. 869.
† Clarendon, vol. v. p. 302. ‡ Ibid., p. 277.
§ "Memoirs," p. 43.

* Mrs. Hutchinson's "Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 71.
† See *ante*, p. 464.
‡ "Charles I. in 1646. Letters of King Charles I. to Queen Henrietta Maria, edited by John Bruce, Esq." Camden Society, 1856.

without great difficulty obtain my so just ends, and questionless it would have given me the fittest opportunity. For, considering the Scots treaty that would be besides, I might have found means to have put distractions among them though I had found none."* In following out the remainder of this unhappy king's story for two years, we shall always trace this ruling principle of his actions; at every turn of his affairs having the same confident belief that the day would come when the monarchy "would spring up again as fair as ever." The root was left, he said; there were only "loppings." In seven years the very loppings "being to return as entirely to the crown as if I had entered London at a breach."†

The military events of the spring of 1646 brought the contest in the west to a termination. The remnant of the royalist army was completely demoralized. It was, says Clarendon, "terrible in plunder and resolute in running away." Lord Hopton very reluctantly accepted the command of this western army, at the express desire of the Prince of Wales. A braver man could not have been chosen; a more high-minded friend of the royal cause; a leader who carried on war in the spirit most opposed to the rapacity of those he was expected to change from brigands into soldiers. As might have been foreseen, this honorable man utterly failed when he brought these bands face to face with the orderly troops of Fairfax. Hopton had possession of Torrington, and his main body was placed on a common at its east end. When Fairfax forced the barricade, horse and foot took to flight, leaving their general and a few of his friends to shift for themselves. Shortly after Hopton collected some of his runaways, and, with accessions of strength as he went on, marched to Truro, with Fairfax closely following. Hopton would have fought another battle, but his officers of horse declared that their men would never be brought to fight, and proposed to capitulate. Fairfax offered conditions that involved no dishonor; but the general would not yield; and at last a treaty was concluded without him, and the western army was dissolved. On the 22d of March Lord Astley, marching from Worcester to join the king at Oxford, was defeated at Stow-in-the-Wold, and his three thousand cavaliers were killed, captured, or dispersed. The brave old general was himself taken prisoner. The soldiers brought him a drum to sit down upon. The parliamentary captains respectfully surrounded the veteran. "Gentlemen," he said, "you have done your work, and may now go to play—unless you will fall out among yourselves." These disasters at length determined the Prince of Wales and his council to obey the king's injunctions to leave the country. The prince's governorship in the west was no longer a protection to his person. He first sailed to Scilly. Two days after his landing he sent Lord Colepepper to France to acquaint the queen "with the wants and incommodities of the place," and to desire "a supply of men and moneys." Lady Fanshawe, whose husband acted as secretary to the council, landed in miserable plight, having been pillaged by the seamen with whom they sailed from the Land's End. The poor lady, sick, and far advanced in pregnancy, was set on shore almost dead; and from her narrative we may obtain some notion of "the incommodities of the place." She says: "When we had got to our quarters near the castle, where the prince lay, I went immediately to bed, which was so vile that my footman ever lay in a better, and we had but three in the whole house, which consisted of four rooms, or rather partitions, two low rooms and two little lofts, with a ladder to go up: in one of these they kept dried fish, which was his trade, and in this my husband's two clerks lay, one there was for my sister, and one for myself, and one among the rest of the servants. But when I waked in the morning I was so cold I knew not what to do, but the daylight discovered that my bed was near swimming with the sea, which the owner told us afterwards it never did so but at spring tide. With this, we were destitute of clothes; and meat and fuel, for half the court to serve them a month, was not to be had in the whole island; and truly we begged our daily bread of God, for we thought every meal our last. The council sent for provisions to France, which served us, but they were bad, and a little of them."‡ From Scilly, after three weeks of privation, the prince sailed for Jersey, and in the summer proceeded to France, and afterward to Holland.

Three months had elapsed since the proposals of the king had been rejected by the parliament. They were three months of repeat disaster. The royalist cause had never fallen so low. Charles deavored to carry out his hope of dividing his enemies by propitiati the Independents through their leading statesman, the young Vane. Ashburnham, in the king's name, wrote to Vane to prope that the Independents and the Royalists should unite to put do "the tyrannical domination" of the Presbyterians. It is not kno whether Vane returned an answer. The king then addressed a m sage to parliament, offering to come to Whitehall, and proposi much the same terms as had been rejected by him during the tre at Uxbridge. His great object was to produce such an effect by presence in London as would cause a popular reaction in his fav Three days after he had sent this message to the parliament he wr to Digby, "I am endeavoring to get to London, so that the conditio may be such as a gentleman may own, and that the rebels m acknowledge me king; being not without hope that I shall be able to draw either the Presbyterians or Independents to side with me exterminating the one or the other, that I shall be really king again." The leaders of both parties agreed to prevent this by a very stro ordinance, which gave the Committee of the Militia power to ra forces to prevent tumult in case of the king's coming; to apprehe any who should come with him or resort to him; and which co manded all who had ever borne arms for the king immediately depart from London, upon the penalty of being proceeded against spies. Meanwhile the army of Fairfax was advancing toward O ford. Montreuil, a special ambassador from France, had been ne tiating with the Scottish commissioners in London to induce t Scots to take up the cause of the king. His offers were receiv with civility, but with no distinct promises. He then proceeded Edinburgh, and afterward to the Scottish army. As might expected, the question of establishing the Church in England acco ing to the Scottish model was the great apparent difficulty. The r danger, which was perhaps most borne in mind, was the certainty being involved in a serious quarrel with the English parliament b separate treaty. There were already sufficient causes of disunio the principal being the sufferings of the people of the north from t long presence of the Scottish troops among them. Hollis, w extenuates the conduct of these troops, says: "I must be ve ignorant of the carriage of an unpaid army, if I did not believe th many disorders were committed; many a poor countryman exce ingly oppressed and abused by the unruly soldiers; and more by h taken and spoiled by them than would have sufficed for their p and entertainment, if it had been orderly raised and provided by t authority and care of the state, which was to pay them."† T state did not pay them promptly, and the soldiers took their main nance into their own hands. After two months of tedious negot tion Montreuil at last saw that the first advice which he had giv to the king to go to the Scottish army was not borne out by a definite promises, and he then dissuaded him from the attempt. the 22d of April Charles wrote to the queen from Oxford, compla ing that his condition was much worse than ever "by the relaps perfidiousness of the Scots." He so little suspected it from the p vious advices from Montreuil that he says, "I did not care wh hazard I undertook for the putting myself into their army. . . And that no time might be lost, I wrote a letter to Montrose to ma him march up and join with them, in case he found by Montreu by whom I sent the letter, that they were really agreed with m . . . Thou wilt as plainly see, by what Secretary Nichol sends thee, their base unworthy dealing, in retracting of almost which was promised Montreuil from London, even to the bei ashamed of my company, desiring me to pretend that my coming them was only in my way to Scotland."‡ Nearer and nearer Fairf was drawing his troops round Oxford. In a few days the blocka would be complete. Whither was the unhappy king to fly? would get privately to Lynn; he would go by sea to Scotland, Montrose were in a condition to receive him; he would make Ireland, France, or Denmark. He would go anywhere "to esch all kind of captivity."§ If he who thus breathes out his sorrows the only being in whom he has absolute confidence were a priv

* "Charles I. in 1646," p. 11. † Ibid., p. 21.
‡ "Memoirs," p. 74.

* Carte's "Ormond," quoted in Brodie and Hallam.
† "Memoirs," p. 49. ‡ "Charles I. in 1646," p. 37.
§ Ibid., p. 38.

an, who could refuse him pity? His very errors claim our pity. He has been trained to take the most dangerous view of his own position. "I am a king." "They cannot do without me." He holds is sovereignty to be an inherent possession, and not a sacred trust. He sees only rebels—not a people that he has misgoverned. But here is a solemn pathos even in his egoism: "I conjure thee," he ays to his wife in this his saddest hour; "I conjure thee, by thy constant love to me, that if I should miscarry, whether by being taken y the rebels or otherwise, to continue the same active endeavor for 'rince Charles as thou hast done for me, and not whine for my misortunes in a retired way, but, like thy father's daughter, vigorously ssist Prince Charles to regain his own." *

There were two persons in attendance upon the king at Oxford pon whom he bestowed his most secret confidences. One was his haplain, Dr. Michael Hudson; the other a groom of his bedhamber, Ashburnham, commonly called by Charles, Jack Ashburnam. Each of these has left relations of the manner of the king's scape from Oxford. After noticing some ineffectual attempts to inluce Ireton to accept and protect the king's person, upon the conitions proposed to the parliament of going to London, Ashburnham hus continues: "And now his majesty conceiving himself to be discharged from all obligation, which by any way could be fastened pon him by his parliament, or by any authority derived from them, ettled his thoughts upon his journey to the Scots army; and in order hereunto did acquaint some of his privy council, as he was pleased o tell me, with his intentions to leave Oxford, if they should approve f that course to be best for his affairs and their preservation; but id not impart the truth of his design with the Scots, conceiving that nost of them would have opposed with some unreasonable heat his onjunction with them, and therefore chose rather to put the design f London upon it." † In no situation of danger or difficulty could his unfortunate king give up his system of double-dealing and half-onfidence. The groom of the bedchamber then very briefly relates ow the journey from Oxford began and ended. Dr. Hudson, howver, has amply filled up the details. He was arrested, and brought efore the House of Commons, and his examinations present a very ircumstantial account of nine days of wandering and peril." ‡ On unday, the 26th of April, Hudson was desired by Ashburnham to ome to his chamber at eleven o'clock at night. About twelve 'clock the king came with the duke of Richmond. Ashburnham cut off his lock and some part of his beard," the lovelock, the ell-known badge of the cavalier. Hudson was then sent to call the overnor of Oxford, who arrived about two o'clock. To him the ing confided his intention to leave the city; the governor went for he keys; and just as the clock struck three they passed over Magalen Bridge. The king then commanded the governor that no gate f Oxford should be opened for five days. Onward rode the three—he king, Hudson, and Ashburnham—by Dorchester, Benson, Henley, Maidenhead, and Slough. They then turned out of the road towrd Uxbridge, and rested not until they reached a tavern at Hillingon, between ten and eleven o'clock. They encountered several parties of horse on the road; but Hudson had obtained an old pass that ad been granted to another person, and he was liberal of his money hen he came to any guard. He was the master, the king and Ashurnham were his servants. "One of Colonel Ireton's men," says Hudson, "rid in our company from Nettlebed to Slough; and seeing he give money always at the guards, asked him, the king, if his master were not one of the lords of the parliament? He answered, No; is master was one of the Lower House." During their short rest at Hillingdon, "the king was much perplexed what course to resolve pon, London or northward." He at length determined "to go orthward, and through Norfolk, where he was least known," and here to stay while Hudson ascertained from Montreuil if he had ffected any arrangement with the Scots. They slept that Monday ight at St. Alban's. Such is Hudson's account in his examination efore the parliamentary committee. But in a previous examination efore the deputy-mayor of Newcastle he stated that he was commanded by the king not to reveal the place where they lodged on Monday night; he declined to answer whether the king was in London or no; and said, "that when they turned their face about for the north, his majesty lodged at Wheathamstead, near unto St. Alban's; but the time when, he is commanded by his majesty to conceal." This would indicate far greater indecision about the movements of the king than Hudson's other narrative. It is clear that no energetic course of action presented itself to him after he had ridden over Magdalen Bridge on that spring morning. Clarendon says that the king "had wasted time in several places, whereof some were gentlemen's houses (where he was not unknown, though untaken notice of), purposely to be informed of the condition of the marquis of Montrose, and to find some secure passage that he might get to him." * On the Tuesday, according to Hudson's circumstantial narrative, he separated from the king and Ashburnham, as they rode upon their way toward Baldock; he to go in search of Montreuil, they to stay at the White Swan at Downham till he returned to them. Here they remained till the Friday, when Hudson returned with a statement that the Scots would condescend to all the demands which the king had made for the security of his person and the satisfaction of his conscience; that they would declare for him if the English parliament should refuse to restore him to his rights and prerogatives; but that they would give nothing under their hands. "I came to the king on Friday night," says Hudson, "and related all; and he resolved next morning to go to them." There is a relation from Miles Corbet and Valentine Walton, addressed to the Speaker of the House of Commons, which takes up the adventures of Charles at this point. Hudson and a friend, Ralph Skipwith, on the Saturday morning, "did ride to Southrie ferry, a private way to go toward Ely; and went, by the way, to Crimplesham, and there were the other two; one in a parson's habit, which, by all descriptions, was the king. Hudson procured the said Skipwith to get a gray coat for the doctor, as he called the king, which he did. And there the king put off his black coat and long cassock, and put on Mr. Skipwith his gray coat. The king bought a new hat at Downham, and on Saturday went into the Isle of Ely. Wherever they came they were very private, and always writing. Hudson tore some papers when they went out of the house. Hudson did inquire for a ship to go to the north, or Newcastle, but could get none." There was nothing left for Charles but to go to the Scots' army at all risks. On the Tuesday night, the 4th of May, they met Montreuil at Southwell. Commissioners from the Scottish army also met the king there. Their troops were spread about the district, surrounding the castle of Newark, which was held for the king. Ashburnham says that when Charles arrived at the Scots' army before Newark, "many lords came instantly to wait on his majesty with professions of joy, to find that he had so far honored their army as to think it worthy his presence after so long an opposition." On the 6th of May Lord Leven, the Scots' general, and the Committee of Estates at Southwell, wrote to the committee of both kingdoms in the following terms: "The earnest desire which we have to keep a right understanding between the two kingdoms moves us to acquaint you with that strange providence wherewith we are now surprised, together with our carriage and desires thereupon. The king came into our army yesterday in so private a way, that after we had carefully made search for him, upon the surmises of some persons who pretended to know his face, yet we could not find him out in sundry houses. And we believe your lordships will think it was matter of much astonishment to us, seeing we did not expect he would come into any place under our power. We conceived it not fit to inquire into the causes which persuaded him to come hither; but to endeavor that his being here might be improved to the best advantage, for promoting the work of uniformity, for settling of religion and righteousness, and attaining of peace according to the League and Covenant and Treaty, by the advice of the parliaments of both kingdoms, or their commissioners authorized for that effect." Not a night passed before the king was made to understand his position. A guard, called a guard of honor, was placed at his door. He claimed to give out the watchword for the night. "Pardon me, sire," said Leven, "I am the oldest soldier here. Your majesty will permit me to undertake that duty." The king consented to sign an order that his governor of Newark should give up the place to the Scots, for the committee of both kingdoms. They rendered it to Poyntz, the English parliamentary commander;

* "Charles I. in 1646," p. 39.
† Ashburnham's "Narrative," vol. ii. p. 72.
‡ See Peck's "Desiderata Curiosa."

* "History," vol. v. p. 394.

and very shortly after the Scottish army with the king was on its march to Newcastle.

From the 6th of May, 1646, till the 30th of January, 1647, the king remained in the hands of the Scots. It was a time of unwearied political intrigue and agitation, more complicated than ever with the great question of religion. The Presbyterian party had a considerable majority in parliament. They had carried ordinance upon ordinance for the exclusive establishment of their church. In this great point they were completely in accord with the Scots, who held the king at their disposal. But a compact and firm minority is often more really powerful than a disjointed majority. The men of the greatest intellect and energy had the strongest hold upon public opinion. The liberty of conscience which they proclaimed had produced its effect upon many who chose to think for themselves, without being fanatics, and upon more who had reached the extremes of fanaticism. The eloquent reasoning of Milton had not been published in vain. The impassioned harangues of Vane had not fallen upon barren ground. The Presbyterian rule in spiritual affairs was slowly and imperfectly established. The great hold of that church was in London. It was also established in Lancashire. In other provinces the beneficed clergy were chiefly Presbyterian; but many pulpits were filled with sectaries of various denominations, agreeing in few things beyond the common claim of the right of men to toleration; Papists only were excepted from the operation of this principle. Whatever was their particular creed, the Independents maintained the claim of every separate congregation to be a church; held that the exercise of the ministry was warranted by a call of the congregation; and denied that any spiritual powers were conferred in ordination by those who asserted their apostolical succession. But the Independents were far more powerful than the talkers in parliament, from a superiority that had grown naturally out of the struggles of four years. The army was composed of earnest men, who had fought for a cause in which all their religious enthusiasm had been called forth. They were as formidable in their opinions as citizens, as in their unequalled bravery and discipline as soldiers. The Independent leaders had the entire control of this army. While the Scottish commissioners were urging the king to adopt the Presbyterian rule of church government, and the parliamentary majority was tending to the same conclusion, the army, at the slightest signal from their chiefs, would have been ready to oppose its power to any such settlement. It had only to abide its time. For eight months there was interminable discussion and negotiation between Westminster and Newcastle. The Scots, who thought they possessed a preponderating influence in retaining the person of the king, were growing more and more unpopular in the sentiments of the English people. Petitions were sent to parliament against their exactions. They came to be regarded as enemies rather than as allies. A vote was at length carried in the Commons, in June, that their presence was no longer required, and they were requested to return home, on receiving a payment of a hundred thousand pounds, on account of what might be due to them. They made no sign of removing. Their great object was to induce Charles to consent to the abolition of Episcopacy, and to the establishment of Presbyterianism in both kingdoms. They assailed him with reiterated solicitations, and even with menaces. On the 10th of June he wrote to the queen: "I never knew what it was to be so barbarously treated before; and these five or six days last have much surpassed, in rude pressures against my conscience, all the rest since I came to the Scotch army." * They required the king to sign the Covenant himself, and command all his subjects to sign it. They sent for the learned and eloquent Henderson to convert the king. Charles maintained a theological controversy with the great preacher with equal temper and ability. But while he was asserting his devotion to the Anglican Church, and rejecting the Presbyterian form as zealously as the Scots pressed it upon him, he was writing to Glamorgan that he would place himself, if he could so by any means, in the hands of the pope's nuncio and his secret adviser in Ireland. His hatred of the Covenant was not altogether a religious conviction. He writes to the queen on the 26th of August: "Less will not serve them than the establishing of the Covenant in all my kingdoms, which, if it be, will ruin this monarchy." * Charles clung with a tenacity approaching to fanaticism to the Episcopal principle; but the maxim of his father, "No bishop, no king," was probably at the root of his inflexible resolution. The English parliament, still governed by the Presbyterian party, sent him proposals in July. He was to adopt the Covenant; he was to abolish the Episcopal Church; he was to give up the command of the military arm for twenty years; he was to exclude seventy of his adherents from a general amnesty. The queen urged him to accept even these proposals. Without an absolute rejection of these hard terms, he prepared again to come to London. The Scottish commissioners told the king that unless he accepted the conditions, "though higher in some particulars than they could have wished, he must not be expected to be received in Scotland." † The money question between the Scots and the parliament then occupied many weeks of controversy. Four hundred thousand pounds were at last voted, and a loan was raised for the immediate payment of half the amount. The terms were accepted. Another difficult question then presented itself. Which nation was to retain the king? It was at last voted "that to the parliament alone belongs the right of disposing of the king's person." In November the Scottish parliament had met, and evinced a disposition to advocate the re-establishment of Charles in both kingdoms, with honor and safety. But the General Assembly interfered. The obstinacy of the king upon the question of Episcopacy was quite sufficient to excite the most violent popular feeling, and the Scottish parliament then took another tone. The treaty was completed for the retirement of the Scottish army. On the 16th of December there was a singular procession from London to the north. Thirty-six carts, laden with two hundred cases of silver, were guarded on the road to Newcastle by an escort of infantry, under the command of Skippon. The money and the men arrived at York on the 1st of January, 1647. In three weeks the payment was made. "I am sold and bought," said the king. Nine commissioners arrived from London. On the 30th of January the Scots marched from Newcastle, and Charles remained with the English commissioners. He was treated by them with marked respect. On the 9th of February he left Newcastle, escorted by a regiment of horse, and reached Holmby House, in Northamptonshire, his appointed residence, on the 16th.

The first civil war was at an end. Oxford had been surrendered to Fairfax on the 22d of June, under the terms of a treaty which allowed the garrison to "march out of the city of Oxon with their horses and complete arms that properly belong unto them, proportionable to their present or past commands; flying colors, trumpets sounding, drums beating, matches lighted at both ends, bullet in their mouths, and every soldier to have twelve charges of powder, match and bullet proportionable." Those who desired to go to their houses or friends were to lay down their arms within fifteen miles of Oxford, and then to have passes, with the right of free quarter; and a careful provision was made for those who wished to go beyond sea to serve any foreign power. The Royalists and the parliamentary troops had met as honorable enemies; and in this surrender of the loyal city they each went their way as men whom happier times might make willing friends. When Fairfax entered Oxford he secured the Bodleian Library from spoliation, as Aubrey records. "When Oxford was surrendered (24th of June, 1646), the first thing General Fairfax did was to set a good guard of soldiers to preserve the Bodleian Library. 'Tis said there was more hurt done by the cavaliers (during their garrison), by way of embezzling and cutting off chains of books, than there was since. He was a lover of learning, and had he not taken this special care that noble library had been utterly destroyed, for there were ignorant senators enough who would have been contented to have had it so. This I do assure you from an ocular witness." All the royalist garrisons had yielded before the end of 1646. Great changes had taken place since Charles fought his first battle of Edgehill. Essex, who there brought his undisciplined troops into conflict with the cavaliers, died on the 16th of September. Other men and other influences were now to be paramount.

* "Charles I. in 1646," p. 45.

* "Charles I. in 1646," p. 58.
† "Ludlow," p. 184.

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KNIGHT'S POPULAR HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

A HISTORY OF SOCIETY AND GOVERNMENT FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO OUR OWN TIMES.

By CHARLES KNIGHT.

VOLUME IV.

CHAPTER XCV.

The king at Holmby House—Army Independents—Cromwell—The army proposed to be disbanded—Petitions from officers—Adjutators—The king removed from Holmby by Cornet Joyce—Commissioners at Triploe Heath—The army advances toward London—The king's treatment in the army—Proposals of the Independents to the king—The king rejects the proposals—Tumults in London—The army advances—The speakers and members go to the army—London submits—The king at Hampton Court—Cromwell—The intercepted letter of the king—Charles makes his escape from Hampton Court.

Holmby House (or Holdenby), a mansion within six miles of Northampton, built by Sir Christopher Hatton, no longer exists. We cannot judge of its capacity for the accommodation of a fallen king; but we have ample evidence that it was considered as a palace rather than a prison. There is an order of "the Committee of the Revenue" for fitting Holdenby House with hangings, beddings, and other wardrobe stuff and necessaries; and, with the Puritan contempt of the externals of religious worship, for melting the altar plate at Whitehall for the use of the king's table in his new abode. Seventy-six officers of the household and domestic servants are to be chosen by the earl of Northumberland, with yeomen of the Guard. The king's diet was to be supplied at the cost of 30*l.* a day; and the estimate for the whole cost of the household amounted to 3000*l.* for twenty days.* During this spring and early summer the king was not deprived of any of the trappings of royal state, nor was his liberty much controlled. He rode to Althorp, and to more distant places, to enjoy his favorite game of bowls. He read, and he played at chess. He was attended by two gentlemen selected by the parliament, Thomas Herbert and James Harrington, who became his fast friends. Of Harrington, Aubrey says, "The king loved his company, only he would not endure to hear of a commonwealth; and Mr. Harrington passionately loved his majesty. Mr. Harrington and the king often disputed about government."† To have "a genius which lay chiefly toward the politics and democratical government," as Aubrey describes the author of the "Oceana," was not then held a dangerous quality in a philosophical theorist. "Democratical government" in the abstract was not regarded as incompatible with the order of a well-regulated state. Charles might contend for the security derived from absolute monarchy, such as he believed ought to exist in England; and Harrington might point to the republics of Holland and Switzerland, without offending royalty by the comparison. Had Charles seen how the safety of the crown would be best preserved by the largest enjoyment by the subject of civil liberty and the rights of conscience, Harrington and other republicans might have been more readily compelled to believe that freedom and toleration could be best secured under the free monarchy which was the basis of the English constitution. But Charles was impracticable with his convictions of divine right; and honest advocates of democratical government were equally impracticable in regard to a due balance of constitutional power. It is time only that has reconciled these apparent anomalies, and has rendered the hereditary crown of England the best type of republican freedom in the strictest alliance with monarchical solidity. But through what perils has this consummation been accomplished! Those who would properly value what we have attained must steadily follow the difficult and uncertain steps of the people toward its attainment. Harrington at a later period is recorded to have found fault with "the constitution of our government, that it was by jumps."* He said, "When no parliament, then absolute monarchy; when a parliament, then it runs to commonwealth." It was long before the "jumps" were converted into steady progress; and monarchy and commonwealth were reconciled into a constitution whose practical excellence is best demonstrated by that slowness of its maturity which has rendered a successful imitation almost impossible.

If the Presbyterian party, with whom were the powers of the executive government, treated the king with the respect due to his great station, they had little regard to the rights of conscience which he properly asserted. He required to have chaplains of the Episcopal Church. The parliament sent two Presbyterian ministers to Holmby; but the king refused even to let them ask a blessing upon his meals. The controversy of the dominant party with the representatives of the various religious sects was growing more and more fierce. "Liberty of conscience was now the common argument and quarrel," says Clarendon. The Presbyterians held the sectaries, as well as the prelatical party, "enemies to all godliness;" and they relied upon their parliamentary majority to effect another remodelling of the army. Cromwell, on the other hand, was bringing the army into a more general dislike of the narrow views of their Presbyterian rulers. Chaplains were in his camp who contended that all attempts to fetter men to the dogmas and ceremonies of any church were "to restrain the Spirit." Cromwell preached and prayed with his officers and his men. The soldiers prayed and preached among themselves. The Ironsides, who had the Bible with them as constantly as their powder and bullet, and who in their night-watches meditated upon all the events of the Jewish history, and repeated every inspiriting verse that had reference to the fall of tyrants and the glory of the saints—these gradually got banded together in a common enthusiasm which only required an influential head to obtain a victory more difficult even than Marston Moor or Naseby. Cromwell gradually became that leader, although Fairfax was the commander of the army. The indignation of the Presbyterians against those "who were called by a new name, fanatics,"† was therefore principally directed against him who was considered their military chief. Soon after the death of the earl of Essex, Cromwell, walking with Ludlow in Sir Robert Cotton's garden, inveighed bitterly against the Presbyterian party, saying "that it was a miserable thing to serve a parliament, to whom let a man be never so faithful, if one pragmatical fellow among them rise up and asperse him, he shall never wipe it off."‡ Ludlow considers that Cromwell "had already conceived the design of destroying the civil authority and setting up for himself," when, in this conversation, he concluded by saying, "When one serves under a general he may do as much service, and yet be free from all blame and envy." This, we apprehend, is an opinion resulting from the republican convictions of Ludlow, which were firmly opposed to Cromwell's later career. Be that as it may, the rapid course of events threw a power into the hands of Cromwell

* These orders and estimates are in Peck's "Desiderata Curiosa."
† "Lives," vol. iii. p. 370.

* "Lives," vol. iii. p. 374.
† Clarendon.
‡ Ludlow, vol. i. p. 185.

which rendered the subsequent months of 1647 the most difficult and dangerous period of his life. That he should have come out of such a whirlwind of contending interests and passions with safety to himself, and without witnessing universal confusion if not anarchy, is one of the most striking proofs of the extraordinary sagacity of the man who saw, at every turn of affairs, a demand upon his common-sense rather than upon any philosophical theory, and whose dominant will was sustained by the conviction that he was chosen to do the work appointed for him by a Power higher than that of man, whose aid he invoked on every occasion in which human doubts prevailed over habitual confidence. In the sense in which the new word of opprobrium was used then, and has continued in use, Cromwell was termed, from the religious bias of his character, the most fanatical of "the fanatics." But this remarkable man's principles and conduct are fast passing out of the narrow limits of historical partisanship; and we shall therefore be careful to speak of him without the flippant prejudice with which his name has been surrounded by the continued violence of the most opposite opinions. His revilers have disagreed on every point except that of calling this great Englishman fanatic and regicide, hypocrite and tyrant.

At the period when the war had terminated, the leading men of the Independent party were in thorough agreement. As to civil rights, they held that an appeal having been made to the God of battles, and the issue having been decided against the king, he ought not to be restored except upon conditions which would render the public liberties no longer insecure. They held that such a restoration ought to be accompanied by the most complete provision for liberty of conscience. Their conviction of the king's insincerity was fatal to any hasty reacknowledgment of his authority. Their dislike of the Presbyterian exclusiveness prevented a cordial union with that party to rebuild the constitution in its ancient harmony of king and parliament. The Presbyterian majority in the houses wished to dissolve the army, from which they had to apprehend the only effectual resistance. The Independents, headed by Cromwell, Ireton, Vane, St. John, were equally determined that the army should remain intact. The city was in accord with the parliamentary majority; and in the subsequent events the two great parties seemed to resolve themselves into the city party and the army party. There is one view of this conflict—of which we have only the most obscure, prejudiced, and contradictory details—which has been so justly and forcibly put that we shall not attempt to add to its impressiveness: "Modern readers ought to believe that there was a real impulse of heavenly faith at work in this controversy; that on both sides, more especially on the army's side, here lay the central element of all, modifying all other elements and passions—that this controversy was, in several respects, very different from the common wrestling of Greek with Greek for what are called 'political objects.' Modern readers, mindful of the French revolution, will perhaps compare these Presbyterians and Independents to the Gironde and the Mountain. And there is an analogy, yet with differences. With a great difference in the situations; with the difference, too, between Englishmen and Frenchmen, which is always considerable; and then with the difference between believers in Jesus Christ and believers in Jean Jacques, which is still more considerable." *

Within three days after the king had arrived at Holmby House the Commons voted that the army should be disbanded, with the exception of the troops required for the suppression of rebellion in Ireland, and for the service of the garrisons. This motion was adopted upon a division in which there was a majority of twelve. It was also voted that there should be no officers under Fairfax of higher rank than colonel; that every officer should take the covenant, and conform to the Presbyterian Church. There were large arrears of pay due to the army, and a loan was raised in the city to satisfy a portion of them. What was proposed to be paid was very insufficient. There were murmurings among men and officers. On the 25th of March a petition, signed by fourteen officers, was presented to parliament on the subject of arrears, asking that auditors should report upon what was due to them for their service, and submitting some conditions with regard to their employment in Ireland. The anger of the parliamentary majority is expressed by a passage in the Memoirs of Hollis: "For an army, or any part of it, to join in a petition, though but for pay, when their superiors—that authority which they are to obey—require any duty to be performed, or service to be done by them, as the present relieving of Ireland was—this, I think, by the rules of war, has in all armies been held a mutiny, and the authors at least punished with death." * The house, on the 30th of March, declared that whoever had a hand in promoting this petition, or other such petitions, was "an enemy to the state and a disturber of the public peace." The declaration became in itself a cause of hostility between the army and the parliament. It was "a blot of ignominy." Deputations from the house went to the army. Officers were examined at the bar. On the 30th of April Skippon produced in his place in parliament a letter which had been brought to him by some troopers, expressing the complaints and demands of eight regiments of horse. "They saw designs upon them, and upon many of the godly party in the kingdom." Three troopers who brought the letter were examined as to the meaning of certain words which it contained. They were only the agents of their regiments, they said. Did their officers approve of their proceedings? Very few knew anything about them. The more violent Presbyterian members were very indignant. Cromwell whispered to Ludlow, "These men will never leave till the army pull them out by the ears." † A new class of malcontents had arisen, more dangerous than the officers, who said to the parliamentary commissioners, "We hope by being soldiers we have not lost the capacity of subjects, nor divested ourselves thereby of our interests in the commonwealth." The army had organized itself into a council of officers and a council of adjutators. The adjutators who came to be called agitators, were delegates named by the common soldiers. The difficulties of reconcilement are now growing very formidable. The servants are fast advancing to become masters. Meanwhile the king has written to the parliament with reference to the proposals made to him at Newcastle. He still declared against Presbytery, and his application was unheeded. The army councils grow more and more resolved to have greater concessions than the parliament is disposed to make. They are voted eight weeks' pay. A committee goes to the army at Saffron Walden to see it disbanded. That is not so easy. We want eight times eight weeks' pay, say the adjutators. There are disturbances in some of the military quarters. Will this contest end in something anarchical? Fairfax is told that if their officers refuse to take part with them in asserting their rights, they know how to meet and act without them. They petition again through their general. It is in vain that "when the house, wearied with long sitting, was grown thin, Mr. Denzil Hollis, taking that opportunity, drew up a resolution on his knee, declaring the petition to be seditious." It is in vain that there have been London petitions against the army, and that the getters-up of counter-petitions in its favor have been imprisoned. There is a great gathering of adjutators to confer with the general; and it is agreed that on the 4th of June there shall be a rendezvous of all the soldiers at Newmarket. Two days before that general assembly an event has taken place which goes much farther to decide the question between army and city than resolutions at St. Stephen's or petitions at Guildhall. A great crisis is impending. "It was privately resolved," says Clarendon, "by the principal persons of the House of Commons, that when Cromwell came the next day into the house, which he seldom omitted to do, they would send him to the Tower; presuming that if they had once severed his person from the army they should easily reduce it to its former temper and obedience. . . . When the house expected every minute his presence, they were informed that he was met out of the town by break of day, with one servant only, on the way to the army." ‡ That same morning that Cromwell left London there was a memorable scene in Northamptonshire, also about "break of day," according to Clarendon.

On the afternoon of the 2d of June the king is playing bowls on Althorpe Down. The parliamentary commissioners and his accustomed attendants are looking on. There is a man standing among them, in the uniform of Fairfax's regiment. He is asked questions as to news from the army, which he answers civilly but somewhat proudly. A report spreads that a party of cavalry is in the neighborhood. About midnight there is a tramping of horse around Holmby

* Carlyle, "Cromwell," vol. i. p. 222.

* "Memoirs," p. 77.

† Ludlow, vol. i. p. 189.

‡ "History," vol. v. p. 436.

House, and entrance is demanded by the man who was looking at the game of bowls on Althorpe Down. He was a cornet, he said, in the general's guard; his name was Joyce; he desired to speak with the king. The commissioners had directed the garrison to hold themselves in readiness to repel the presumptuous soldiers; but the men on duty greeted their old comrades, and the gates were opened. The day wore on, amid the alarm of the commissioners, who saw that armed resistance was impossible. At night Joyce requested to be taken to the king. He was in bed, but the inflexible cornet was conducted to the door of the royal apartments. By the king's desire he was at length admitted. Charles had a long conference with him, in the presence of the commissioners, who had been sent for; which ended in his cheerfully saying, "Good-night, Mr. Joyce," adding that he would readily go with him if the soldiers confirmed what the cornet had promised. The next day the king asked Joyce under what authority he acted. He was sent, he said, by authority of the army, to prevent the designs of its enemies, who would once more plunge the kingdom in blood. "Where is your commission?" said the king. "There, behind me," pointing to the soldiers. "Believe me," replied Charles, "your instructions are written in a very legible character." *

The king then said that force must be employed to remove him, unless he was promised that nothing should be required of him against his conscience or honor. "Nothing, nothing," exclaimed the men as one voice. The commissioners asked if they all agreed in what Mr. Joyce had said. "All, all." In a few hours the king and the unwilling commissioners were on their way toward the army.

While the king has been journeying toward the head-quarters of Fairfax the appointed rendezvous has taken place on Kentford Heath, near Newmarket. Another meeting of this military parliament is arranged for the 10th, at Triploe Heath, near Cambridge. The king arrives at Royston on the 7th. "Fairfax and Cromwell wait on him both together. He asks them whether they commissioned Joyce to remove him; they deny it. 'I'll not believe you,' says the king, 'unless you hang him.'" † Colonel Whalley had been sent by Fairfax, when he learned of the king's seizure at Holmby, to take him back, but Charles refused to go. When in presence of Fairfax and Cromwell he expressed the same desire to remain with the army. He preferred "the air" of Newmarket to "the air" of Holmby. Cromwell went to London, and took his place in the house. There is no very reliable account of what occurred when he who was held to be the chief manager of the great *coup d'état* appeared in his seat. Hollis represents Cromwell, as well as Ireton, Fleetwood, and Rainsborough, who were members of the house as well as officers of the army, "blaming the soldiers at that distance, as Cromwell did openly in the house, protesting, for his part, he would stick to the parliament." ‡ He then, continues the wrathful Presbyterian, "did steal away that evening, I may say run away post down to the army, and presently join in the subscription of a rebellious letter." The narrative of a more candid chronicler says, that Cromwell "got hastily and secretly out of town, and without stop or stay rid to Triploe Heath, his horse all on a foam, and there was welcomed with the shouts of the whole army, to whom he declared the actions and designs of the parliament." § Commissioners were again coming to the army on the 10th, and Cromwell has arrived a little before them. Twenty-one thousand men are drawn up on Triploe Heath; not an ordinary body of soldiers, but men, as they described themselves in one of their petitions, "who had abandoned their estates, trades, callings, and the contentments of a quiet life, for the perils and fatigues of war in defence of the public liberty." Fairfax and the commissioners ride to each regiment. The votes of parliament are first read to the general's own regiment. An officer stands forth, saying that the regiment would determine upon an answer when the votes had been submitted to a council of officers and adjutators. The men are asked if that is their answer. "All, all." This is not a tumultuous reply; they speak when leave is given. The question is also put, if any be of a contrary opinion to say "No." Not a voice is heard. The same formality is observed toward every regiment, with a similar result; and a cry goes up from each, as the commissioners pass on, of "Justice, justice." In the afternoon this army is on its march toward London; and the "rebellious letter" of which Hollis speaks is sent to the lord-mayor and aldermen. It is a remarkable letter, the composition, as Mr. Carlyle thinks, of Cromwell; signed by Fairfax, Cromwell, Ireton, and other chief officers—in number thirteen. "'We desire,' they say, 'a settlement of the peace of the kingdom and of the liberties of the subject, according to the votes and declarations of parliament, which, before we took arms, were, by the parliament, used as arguments and inducements to invite us and divers of our dear friends out, some of whom have lost their lives in this war. . . . For the obtaining of these things we are drawing near your city; professing sincerely from our hearts that we intend not evil toward you; declaring, with all confidence and assurance, that if you appear not against us in these our just desires, to assist that wicked party which would embroil us and the kingdom, neither we nor our soldiers shall give you the least offence. . . . And although you may suppose that a rich city may seem an enticing bait to poor hungry soldiers to venture far to gain the wealth thereof—yet, if not provoked by you, we do profess, rather than any such evil should fall out, the soldiers shall make their way through our blood to effect it." * This is plain speaking. The army has reached St. Alban's, and a respectful answer is conveyed thither by a deputation from the city. On the 16th the army demands the impeachment of eleven members of the Commons—Hollis, Stapleton, Massey, and eight others of the leading Presbyterians—the men of whom Cromwell spoke when he whispered about the army pulling them out by the ears. The city is in consternation. The parliament is incapable of acting with any vigor. Messages are daily going between St. Alban's and Westminster with the interminable arguments of each of these great powers. But the one possesses a strength more immediately effective than the highest ability of the pen. If the parliamentary negotiators appear obstinate, the army advances. On the 25th of June it is at Uxbridge. The shops in the city are shut. The army has received a month's pay, as it demanded. But it has continued to advance. The effect is instantaneous. On the 26th the eleven obnoxious members retire from parliament, the Commons vote for the adoption of all the proceedings of the army, and commissioners are appointed on each side to regulate the affairs of the kingdom. There is no longer any talk of defending London, and the army falls back a few miles.

For more than three months have these serious differences between parliament and army gone on. There is a pause of nearly another month, in which the kingdom does seem approaching to a settlement. We have lost sight of the monarch during the busy two months in which London lies under the shadow of that eagle's wing. Is he a guest or a prisoner amid that army, so differently composed from his own roystering cavaliers? He is certainly not an ill-used prisoner. "His majesty," says Clarendon, "sat still, or removed to such places as were most convenient for the march of the army; being in all places as well provided for and accommodated as he had used to be in any progress." All persons were allowed to resort to him—"the best gentlemen of the several counties through which he passed." His own chaplains had leave to attend upon him for his devotions, and "performed their function at the ordinary hours, in their accustomed formalities." Royalists of rank visited him without restraint; "and many good officers who had served his majesty faithfully were civilly received by the officers of the army, and lived quietly in their quarters." The king lodged at great houses in the neighborhood of the army—at the Earl of Salisbury's at Hatfield, when the troops were at St. Alban's; at Caversham, the Earl of Craven's, when the army had moved farther from London. Sir Philip Warwick has a curious passage, implying that there was some general belief that the king's disgust at the harsher treatment he had received from the Presbyterians would moderate his own desire for Episcopal uniformity, and lead him to look with approbation upon that liberty of conscience which the Independents professed and demanded: † "At Causham [Caversham] I had the honor to come into his presence, though I staid not there; but, by all I could perceive

* Warwick, p. 299. † Ibid. ‡ Hollis, p. 84.
§ "Perfect Politician," p. 22, 1680.

* "Letters of Cromwell," vol. i. p. 230.
† At p. 468, vol. iii., we gave an extract from the letter of Cromwell, in which, on the very day of the battle of Naseby, he asserts this ruling principle of his mind.

either from himself or any other, he was very apprehensive in what hands he was, but was not to let it be discerned. Nor had he given that countenance to Dr. Taylor's 'Liberty of Prophesying' which some believed he had."* The prejudices of his education and the principles of his government were too exclusive to allow Charles to admit the doctrine of toleration, although proclaimed by his own favorite chaplain. When Jeremy Taylor from his lowly retreat in Wales sent forth this plea for religious liberty into an unquiet world, he said, "I thought it might not misbecome my duty and endeavors to plead for peace, and charity, and forgiveness, and permissions mutual; although I had reason to believe that such is the iniquity of men, and they so indisposed to receive such impresses, that I had as good plough the sands or till the air as persuade such doctrines."† It was reserved for a happier age to understand and act upon these principles. Taylor had been favored by Laud, but he had broken away from Laud's narrow estimate of what was necessary for the security of an established Church. The problem that its power and dignity and usefulness might be upheld in connection with the most absolute spiritual freedom beyond its pale, required to be practically worked out for two centuries before it could be held to be solved. The reasoners in steel, who were as impatient of the domination of "New Presbyter" as of "Old Priest,"‡ were dealing more practically with this question of toleration than any previous set of men who had so advocated the rights of conscience. Few had advocated those rights, having strong religious convictions of their own. Cromwell was the great expositor of their principle, and he probably went as far as the spirit of Protestantism would then permit. Charles hated the Presbyterians, but he gave no confidence to the Independents. The king and his conqueror now sometimes met. The king had been allowed by Fairfax, with an instant attention to his request, to have an interview with his children, the dukes of York and Gloucester, and the Princess Elizabeth. Sir John Berkeley, who came over from the queen when Charles had informed her of his reception by the army, had many conferences with Cromwell, who, although "wishing that the king was more frank, and would not tie himself so strictly to narrow maxims," told Berkeley "that he had lately seen the tenderest sight that ever his eyes beheld, which was the interview between the king and his children; and wept plentifully at the remembrance of it, saying that never man was so abused as he in his sinister opinions of the king, who, he thought, was the uprightest and most conscientious man of his three kingdoms." And yet Berkeley, while he records this trait of Cromwell's character, which, after the accustomed fashion, we must call hypocrisy, writes: "I was of his majesty's sense, that men whose hands were yet hot with the blood of his most faithful subjects ought not entirely to be trusted; but thought they ought absolutely to be well dissembled with, whilst his majesty was in their hands at least, that he might the better get out of them."§

It was toward the end of June that the king and the Independents —Cromwell and Ireton, Vane and Henry Marten—appeared to have come to such an understanding as promised a termination to the miseries of the kingdom; an understanding that would have restored the king to those just rights which were compatible with the existence of civil and religious liberty. Whether such an arrangement would have endured, had it been effected, may justly be questioned. But the proposals which were made by the leaders of the army to Charles at this juncture were far more moderate than any which had been previously tendered or suggested. They were to the effect that the long parliament should be dissolved within a year; that future parliaments should be biennial, and not to be dissolved or adjourned except by their own consent, unless they had sat a hundred and twenty days; that the representation should be made more equal, by disfranchising decayed and inconsiderable towns, and giving a greater number of members to counties or other divisions of the kingdom; that the judicial power of both houses should be limited; that grand jurymen should be chosen in some equal way, and not at the discretion of the sheriff. These were national reforms, not materially affecting the royal prerogative; reforms which have been gradually established in the working of the constitution. The great question of the power of the sword was proposed to be settled, upon the principle that the royal authority over the militia should be subject to the advice of parliament and a council for ten years. The other great subject of difference, that of religion, was provided for by the proposition that an act should be passed, taking away all ecclesiastical jurisdiction extending to civil penalties; that there be a repeal of all statutes enjoining the use of the Common Prayer under penalties, as well as of those that imposed penalties for not attending the service of the Church; and, further, that the taking of the covenant should not be enforced upon any, and all penalties taken away that had been imposed upon the refusers. These propositions being received as the basis for securing the rights, liberties, peace, and safety of the kingdom, it was to be provided that "his majesty's person, his queen and royal issue, may be restored to a condition of safety, honor, and freedom in the nation, without diminution of their personal rights, or further limitation to the exercise of the legal power." How the proposals were received by the king is minutely detailed by Sir John Berkeley. Charles appears to have mainly objected to the minor condition which excepted seven of his adherents from a general amnesty, and from the privilege of compounding for their estates; and to that which stipulated that royalists should not sit in the next parliament. "I procured his majesty a sight of the army's proposals six or eight days before they were offered to him in public. His majesty was much displeased with them in general, saying, That, if they had a mind to close with him, they would never impose so hard terms upon him. I replied, That, if they had demanded less than they had done, I should have suspected them more than I now did of intending not really to serve his majesty, but only to abuse him; since it was not likely that men who had, through so great dangers and difficulties, acquired so great advantages, should ever sit down with less than was contained in the proposals; and, on the other side, never was a crown (that had been so near lost) so cheaply recovered, as his majesty's would be, if they agreed upon such terms. His majesty was of another advice, and returned, That they could not subsist without him, and therefore he did not doubt but that he should see them very shortly be glad to condescend farther; and then objected to three particular points of the proposals. The first was, The exception of seven, not named, from pardon. The second, The excluding his party from being eligible in the next ensuing parliament. And the third, That though there was nothing done against the Church-government established, yet there was nothing done to assert it. To these, I replied, That after his majesty and the army were accorded, it would be no impossible work to make them remit in the first point; and, if he could not, when his majesty was reinstated in his throne, he might easily supply seven persons beyond the seas, in such sort as to make their banishment supportable to them. To the second, That the next parliament would be necessitated to lay great burdens upon the kingdom; and it would be a happiness to the king's party to have no voice in them. To the third, That the law was security enough for the Church, and it was happy that men, who had fought against the Church, should be reduced (when they were superiors), not to speak against it. His majesty broke from me with this expression, 'Well! I shall see them glad ere long to accept more equal terms.'" The king rejected the proposals; and he did so in a manner that sufficiently showed his resolution to persevere in his course of endeavoring to profit by the dissensions of the two great parties, but to concede nothing of importance to either. Berkeley attributes his dangerous resolve to the secret advice of Ashburnham, and to "the encouraging messages which his majesty had, by my Lord Lauderdale and others, from the Presbyterian party and the city of London, who pretended to despise the army, and to oppose them to death." He says, "His majesty seemed very much excited, insomuch that, when the proposals were solemnly sent to him, and his concurrence most humbly and heartily desired, his majesty, not only to the astonishment of Ireton and the rest, but even to mine, entertained them with very tart and bitter discourses." The king said, "You cannot be without me; you will fall to ruin if I do not sustain you." Those leaders of the army who were present looked with wonder upon the scene. Berkeley at last went up to the king and whispered, "Sir, your majesty speaks as if you had some secret strength and power that I do not know of; and since your majesty hath concealed it from me, I wish you had concealed it from these men too." The king "soon recollected himself, and be-

* "Memoirs," p. 301. † "Epistle Dedicatory to Lord Hatton."
‡ "New Presbyter is but Old Priest writ large."—*Milton.*
§ "Memoirs of Sir John Berkeley," 1699.

gan to sweeten his former discourse with great power of language and behavior. But it was now of the latest." This remarkable interview took place at Woburn. The cause of this deportment of the king—the "secret strength and power" which he believed himself to possess—was the expectation that the city would be too powerful for the army. Bands of apprentices had surrounded Westminster Hall, clamorously demanding the return of the king. An engagement, signed by thousands, was entered into, pledging those who signed it to make all efforts to acomplish the king's return to London. This was at the exact period when Berkeley had shown Charles the proposals of the army, but before the interview with Ireton and the other officers. Upon the news of these proceedings in London, Fairfax and his army had moved toward the capital. The tumults grew more serious. On the 26th of July all the avenues of the houses were beset with a violent multitude. They brought a petition, which was received at the door of the Commons. No answer was returned, and shouts arose of "Let us go in." Members drew their swords, and drove back those who were crowding in the lobby. Some of the rioters climbed up to the windows of the House of Peers, and threw stones into the chamber. The door of the House of Commons was at last forced open, and a body of men rushed in, calling out "Vote, vote." They demanded that a resolution of the previous day, carried by the Independents, declaring those traitors who voted for the city "engagement," should be rescinded. The speaker left the chair, and went into the lobby, after the house had voted as the rioters desired. Ludlow thus records the scene when the speaker "was forced back into the chair by the violence of the insolent rabble." "It was thought convenient to give way to their rage; and the speaker demanding what question they desired to be put, they answered, That the king should be desired to come to London forthwith: which question being put, they were asked again what further they would have. They said that he should be invited to come with honor, freedom, and safety: to both which I gave a loud negative, and some of the members as loud an affirmative, rather out of a prudential compliance than any affection to the design on foot." * This was on a Monday. The army lay at Windsor, Maidenhead, Colnbrook, and adjacent places. The houses adjourned to Friday, the 30th of July. The speakers of the Lords and Commons have withdrawn, and many members have withdrawn with them. The eleven members whose impeachment the army had demanded have now returned. The Presbyterian party appears to be triumphant. New speakers are elected. The king has had his interview with Ireton and the council of officers, and has indiscreetly shown his reliance upon agitations which he is more than suspected of having excited. Suddenly the whole course of the political movement is changed. A train of carriages arrives from London with Lord Manchester and Mr. Lenthall, the speakers; and they are accompanied by fourteen of the Peers and about one hundred members of the Commons. † Those who remain at Westminster have not been idle. Troops are to be enlisted. The army is commanded not to advance. But it does advance. On the 3d of August Hounslow Heath, then a vast uninclosed space, is appointed for a rendezvous of this formidable force. It is now something more than a power struggling against a parliamentary majority. The speaker of the Lords and the speaker of the Commons—the sergeant-at-arms with the mace—the most energetic of the members—the visible authority and the real potency of parliament are with the army. "They appeared at the head of them," says Ludlow, "at which the army expressed great joy, declaring themselves resolved to live and die with them." There is yet a hope that the king will still endeavor to retain the only power that can really help him. It was clear that London will succumb without a blow. Fairfax and his twenty thousand pause for a day or two, communicating with the authorities of the city. With the party at Westminster and their new speakers they have no intercourse. The army is quartered about Brentford, Hounslow, Twickenham, and adjacent villages; "without restraining any provisions, which, every day, according to custom, were carried to London, or doing the least action that might disoblige or displease the city; the army being, in truth, under so excellent discipline that nobody could complain of any damage sustained by them, or any provocation, by word or deed." * Berkeley says that Cromwell, Ireton, and the rest of the superior officers of the army, knew that London would certainly be theirs; and "therefore sent an express to Mr. Ashburnham and to me, to express that, since his majesty would not yield to the proposals, yet he should, at least, send a kind letter to the army, before it were commonly known that London would submit." A meeting of the friends and advisers of the king was held at Windsor, and a letter of this nature was prepared. But Charles would not sign the letter till it was too late; and when he reluctantly sent it, "it had lost all its grace and efficacy." The city had yielded. There was no longer a present hope of profiting by dissensions between parliament and army. On the 6th of August Fairfax, surrounded by four of his regiments, and conducting the members of parliament who had fled to the army, proceeded to Westminster. At Hyde Park they were met by the lord mayor and aldermen; at Charing Cross by the common council. The Independents, now supreme in parliament, took their seats. The mace was again laid on the table. Two days after the whole army, horse, foot, and artillery, marched through Westminster and the city, and over London Bridge to their various quarters in Surrey. They marched, says Clarendon, "without the least disorder, or doing the least damage to any person, or giving any disrespective word to any man." Denzil Hollis, one of the eleven members whose little hour of supremacy had so quickly passed, describes with more than his usual bitterness this march of the Ironsides: "Sir Thomas Fairfax and the whole army marched in triumph, with laurel in their hats as conquerors, through the subdued city of London, to show it was at his mercy; which was an airy vanity I confess above my understanding, and might have raised a spirit of indignation, not so easily to have been laid. But a higher insolency of an army composed of so mean people, and a more patient humble submission and bearing of a great and populous city, but a little before so full of honor and greatness, was, I think, never heard of." The king was lodged at Hampton Court. The head-quarters of the army were at Putney.

The king remained at Hampton Court for three months. The spacious quadrangles of the old palace of Wolsey were well adapted for comfort. He had dwelt there with his young queen in the first year of their marriage; and ten years had scarcely passed since he was surrounded by his brilliant court at the Revels in the Great Hall, and had listened in freedom and security to the dramas of Shakespeare and Fletcher, of Davenant and Cartwright. Some of the old familiar faces came about him in this autumn of 1647. His children were frequently with him. "Persons of all conditions repaired to his majesty of all who had served him; with whom he conferred without reservation; and the citizens flocked thither, as they had used to do at the end of a progress." † Evelyn has this entry in his Diary of October: "On the 10th to Hampton Court, where I had the honor to kiss his majesty's hand, and give him an account of several things I had in charge, he being now in the power of those execrable villains who not long after murdered him." They were very frequently with his majesty, "those execrable villains." They were really intent upon doing him as much service as lay in their power, if he could have trusted them, and they could have trusted him. Cromwell and Ireton endeavored to serve the king, even with great danger to themselves. Charles was constantly sending messages to them at Putney by Ashburnham, as Berkeley states; Cromwell had many conferences with the king, according to Clarendon. "They had enough to do," says Berkeley, "both in the parliament and council of the army, the one abounding with Presbyterians, the other with Levellers, and both really jealous [suspicious] that Cromwell and Ireton had made a private bargain with the king." ‡ Lilburne, now in violent opposition to his old friends, was printing the most bitter denunciations against these betrayers of the people. The Presbyterians gave out that Berkeley had told Lady Carlisle that Cromwell was to be earl of Essex, which statement Berkeley explicitly denied. Silly royalists about the king tried to persuade him that it would be for his interest "to divide Cromwell and the army." These wheels within wheels required some chief motive power which Charles was incapable of furnishing. His natural want of decision of character was rendered more prominent by these complications. He had to deal with men

* "Memoirs," vol. i. p. 206.

† These numbers are given by Rushworth and Whitelocke. Hollis

who were the very opposite to himself in that simplicity of purpose which we recognize as the foundation of decision of character. Cromwell and Ireton had strong convictions of the value of democratic government; but they knew how infinite were the risks of democracy becoming universal license if the liberties of the people were attempted to be raised upon any other than the ancient foundations. They would therefore endeavor to save the king, if they could do so with security to the popular rights. None but the most prejudiced judges can trace in their actions, at this crisis, the slightest manifestation of a desire to betray the king. They were "faithful to their trust, and to the people's interest;" but they believed "that the king might have been managed to comply with the public good of his people after he could no longer uphold his own violent will." Mrs. Hutchinson, who expresses this confidence in Cromwell and Ireton, shows how the king destroyed these expectations. "Upon some discourses with him, the king uttering these words to him, 'I shall play my game as well as I can,' Ireton replied, 'If your majesty have a *game* to play, you must also give us the liberty to play ours.'" The foremost men of the Independent party still endeavored to second the reasonable wishes of the king. The Presbyterians had again pressed upon him the terms of the treaty at Newcastle, slightly modified. Charles desired a personal treaty with the parliment, and thought the proposals which had come from the army appeared a better ground of settlement. Cromwell, Vane, Ireton, and their friends strenuously supported his desire for a personal treaty. "The suspicions were so strong in the house," says Berkeley, "that they lost almost all their friends there; and the army that lay then about Putney were no less ill-satisfied."

In the course of the autumn an incident occurred which has so much of romance in it that historians have been somewhat doubtful of repeating a story so admirably calculated for stage effect. The scene is the Blue Boar Inn in Holborn. There it still stands in the parish of St. Andrew, pretty much the same as it stood in the beginning of the seventeenth century—a well-preserved specimen of an ancient hostelry. The yard is dedicated to all the purposes of traffic. The buildings of the quadrangle form stables or common tap-rooms on the ground level. On the upper floors are the sitting-rooms and dormitories, with galleries carried all round, forming a corridor to the first floor. To this quaint old place come two men in troopers' clothes on an October evening. They enter by the wicket in the inn gate, leaving an attendant in the street. These jolly troopers go into "a drinking-stall," and calling for the drawer, "sit drinking cans of beer till ten of the clock." They expect an arrival. Their watcher at the gate gives them notice that "the man with the saddle" is come. Their eyes are upon him from their drinking-stall. He goes into a stable, saddles his horse, and as he leads the steed forth, the troopers draw their swords, and tell him their duty is to search all those who go in or out. They say, however, that he looks like an honest fellow, and therefore they would only search his saddle. Into their drinking-stall they return, cut open "the skirts of the saddle," take out a letter which they suspected to be therein concealed, and send the horseman on his way. The two troopers are Cromwell and Ireton. Cromwell told the story himself to Lord Broghill, afterward Earl of Orrery, when they were serving together in Ireland. The two, with Ireton, were riding out of Youghal, when they fell into discourse about the king's death. Cromwell said that they had once "a mind to have closed with him," but something happened, and they "fell off from that design." Broghill was curious to know the reason of this change. Cromwell told him that, finding the Scots and Presbyterians were growing more powerful, and were likely to agree with the king "and leave them in the lurch," they thought it best to offer first to come in upon reasonable conditions. "But," continued Cromwell, "while our thoughts were taken up with this subject there came a letter to us from one of our spies, who was of the king's bedchamber, acquainting us that our final doom was decreed that very day; that he could not possibly learn what it was, but we might discover it if we could but intercept a letter sent from the king to the queen, wherein he informed her of his resolution: that this letter was sewn up in the skirt of a saddle, and the bearer of it would come with the saddle upon his head about ten of the clock that night to the Blue Boar in Holborn, where he was to take horse for Dover. The messenger knew nothing of the letter in the saddle. [illegible] we received this letter, and immediately upon the receipt of it Ireton and I resolved to take one trusty fellow with us, and to go in troopers' habits to that inn. We did so." Cromwell then related the adventure; and further told what the discovery was that changed their purpose of closing with the king: "We found in the letter that his majesty acquainted the queen that he was courted by both factions, the Scotch Presbyterians and the army; and that those which bade the fairest for him should have him: but yet he thought he should close with the Scots sooner than with the other. Upon this we returned to Windsor; and finding we were not like to have good terms from the king, we from that time vowed his destruction." This well-known story is told by the Reverend Thomas Morrice, as related to him by the Earl of Orrery, to whom he was chaplain. The contents of the letter thus described do not appear to us sufficiently important to have caused the resolution of Cromwell and Ireton for the king's destruction. They already knew that he was courted by both factions. They knew that "those who bade the fairest for him would have him." Orrery became a cabinet-counsellor of Charles II., and might have prudently generalized the contents of the letter which is said to have caused the final separation of Cromwell from the interests of Charles I. There is another story of a letter, which Hume thinks contradictory to the character of the king, and therefore rejects it as "totally unworthy of credit." It is thus related by Richardson, the painter: "Lord Bolingbroke told us, June 12th, 1742 (Mr. Pope, Lord Marchmont, and myself), that the second Earl of Oxford had often told him that he had seen, and had in his hands, an original letter that Charles I. wrote to his queen, in answer to one of hers that had been intercepted, and then forwarded to him; wherein she had reproached him for having made those villains too great concessions, viz., that Cromwell should be lord lieutenant of Ireland for life without account; that that kingdom should be in the hands of the party, with an army there kept which should know no head but the lieutenant; that Cromwell should have a garter, etc. That in this letter of the king's it was said that she should leave him to manage, who was better informed of all circumstances than she could be; but she might be entirely easy as to whatever concessions he should make them; for that he should know in due time how to deal with the rogues, who, instead of a silken garter, should be fitted with a hempen cord. So the letter ended; which answer as they waited for so they intercepted accordingly, and it determined his fate. This letter Lord Oxford said he had offered 500*l.* for." *

Those who carefully examine the intricate and discordant narratives of this exact period will probably come to the conclusion that there were more imperative motives for Cromwell breaking off his intercourse with the king than his own personal mortification at being promised a hempen cord instead of a silken garter. He was fast losing his influence over the army. The conqueror at Naseby was now held to be the traitor at Hampton Court. The agitators had become unmanageable. They issued pamphlets, setting forth the most extreme principles. They became violent against monarchy in general, and especially furious against those who appeared to favor the cause of Charles in any degree. Cromwell has ceased his visits at Hampton Court. He is alarmed for the king's safety; or, as some hold, he pretends to be alarmed. His cousin, Colonel Whalley, commands the guard about the king. Cromwell writes to him in November, "There are rumors abroad of some intended attempt on his majesty's person. Therefore, I pray, have a care of your guards. If any such thing should be done, it would be accounted a most horrid act." Charles yields to the fears natural enough in his helpless condition. He has unhappy dreams. His night-lamp going out is a presage of evil. About the 3d of November Berkeley and Ashburnham, who had been removed from about the king's person, meet at Ditton at the desire of Major Legg, who waited in the king's bedchamber. They tell Berkeley "that his majesty was really afraid of his life by the tumultuous part of the army, and was resolved to make his escape." Berkeley afterward saw the king, and was asked to assist in the project. Where to go was yet a question. It was no especial weakness in Charles, but a credulity belonging to the age, that William Lilly, the astrologer, was consulted by a female agent

* "I have been informed that a memorandum nearly conformable to Richardson's anecdote is extant, in the handwriting of Lord Ox-

of the king, who paid a heavy sum to the "Sidrophel," who was ready to prophesy for all parties. Some plan was at last determined upon. On the evening of the 11th of November the commissioners and Colonel Whalley, missing the king at supper, went into his chamber and found him gone. A newspaper of the time, the *Moderate Intelligencer*, has a far more interesting notice of the event (as was the way of newspapers even then) than the official entries of Lords' Journals and Commons' Journals: "November 11.—This day will be famous in after times because toward the end of it his majesty escaped a kind of restraint under which he was at Hampton Court: and, according to the best relation, thus: He, as was usual, went to be private a little before evening prayer; staying somewhat longer than usual, it was taken notice of; yet at first without suspicion; but he not coming forth suddenly, there were fears, which increased by the crying of a greyhound again and again within; and upon search it was found the king was gone; and by the way of Paradise, a place so called in the garden; in probability suddenly after his going in, and about twilight. He left a paper to the parliament, another to the commissioners, and a third to Colonel Whalley." The faithful greyhound of Charles I. whining for the absence of his master is a pretty contrast to Froissart's story of the unfaithful greyhound of Richard II.; "who always waited upon the king, and would know no man else:" but who, in the hour of his adversity, "left the king and came to the Earl of Derby, Duke of Lancaster, and made to him the same friendly countenance and cheer as he was wont to do to the king."

CHAPTER XCVI.

Narratives of the king's escape—He goes to the Isle of Wight—The Levellers in the army—Their meeting suppressed—Berkeley's unsuccessful mission to Fairfax and Cromwell—Scotch and English commissioners at Carisbrook—Parliament declares against any further treaty with the king—Royalist reaction—Riots in London—Revolts in many districts—The king attempts to escape from Carisbrook—Insurrections quelled—Cromwell in Wales—Scottish army in England—Cromwell's march from Wales—Battle of Preston—Cromwell in Edinburgh—Note on the party spirit during the royalist reaction.

THERE are two minute relations of the circumstances that immediately succeeded the flight of the king from Hampton Court—the narratives of Berkeley and Ashburnham. Each of these was written with the intention of justifying its author from the charge of having betrayed the king, which the royalists affirmed; and for this purpose they were circulated in manuscript after the Restoration.* Each tries to fix the unfortunate issue of the adventure upon the other adviser of the king. The interest of this controversy has long since passed; and we may therefore accept Clarendon's opinion "that neither of them were, in any degree, corrupted in their loyalty or affection to the king, or suborned to gratify any persons with a disservice to their master."† In the main points of the story both these companions of the flight of Charles do not materially differ.

The night of Thursday the 11th of November was dark and stormy. Berkeley and Ashburnham were waiting with horses by the Thames' side, and when Charles came out, accompanied by Major Legg, they immediately rode toward Oatlands. Cromwell had been sent for, upon the escape being discovered; and at midnight he wrote a letter to the Speaker of the Commons announcing the withdrawal of the king, who "had left his cloak behind him in the gallery of the private way, and had passed by the back-stairs and vault, toward the water-side." The four rode "through the forest,"‡ the king being their guide; but they lost their way, and were busied in discussions about the ultimate course they were to pursue. Ashburnham says that previous to their departure the king had told him "he had some thoughts of going out of the kingdom, but for the shortness of the time to prepare a vessel to transport him; and for the other reasons I had sent him by Major Legg he was resolved to go to the Isle of Wight." At daybreak of that dark November morning they were at Sutton in Hampshire, where they had sent a relay of horses; and they immediately continued their way toward Southampton. As they walked down a hill with their horses in their hands they again discussed what to do; and then Berkeley says he heard for the first time anything of the Isle of Wight. It was arranged that the king and Legg should proceed to a house of Lord Southampton at Titchfield; that Berkeley and Ashburnham should go into the Isle of Wight to Colonel Hammond, the governor. Robert Hammond was connected with the royalist as well as with the parliamentary party. One of his uncles was chaplain to the king. Through the friendship of Cromwell he had himself married a daughter of Hampden. The two companions of the king slept at Lymington, and the next morning reached Carisbrook. They delivered to Hammond a message of the king, that he had been under the necessity of providing for his own safety, but would confide himself to the governor of the island, as one who had prosecuted the war against him without any animosity to his person, asking if he would promise protection to his majesty and his attendants to the best of his power. Berkeley says that Hammond grew so pale and fell into such a trembling that he expected him to fall from his horse, exclaiming, "O gentlemen, you have undone me by bringing the king into this island, if you have brought him." After much discussion Hammond engaged "to perform whatever could be expected from a person of honor and honesty;" and, being then partly informed where the king was, proposed to go with them. They reached Cowes, and here took boat to Titchfield, Hammond having the captain of Cowes Castle with him. The scene which followed is related by Ashburnham, as if it were something very creditable to himself and to the king. The king was alarmed, and said that he was sure the governor would make him a prisoner; and then Ashburnham said, "I was happy that I had provided an expedient; so that if he would say what other course he would steer, I would take order that the governor should not interrupt him. His majesty asked me how that could possibly be, since the governor was come with us? I answered that his coming made any other way more practicable than if he had stayed behind. He then told me that he had sent to Hampton for a vessel to transport him into France, and was in good hope to be supplied, and that he expected news of it every moment, but very earnestly pressed to know how I would clear him of the governor. I answered that I was resolved and prepared to kill him and the captain with my own hands." The valiant Jack Ashburnham who, in his fever of loyalty, proposed to slay the man whom he believed worthy of all confidence, was not discarded by the king upon this proof that he had a treacherous nature. His relation thus continues: "His majesty walking some few turns in the room, and, as he was afterward pleased to tell me, weighing what I had proposed to him, and considering that if the ship should not come it would not be many hours before some, in pursuance of him, would seize him, the consequence whereof he very much apprehended, resolved he would not have execution done upon the governor, for he intended to accept of what he had proposed and to go with him, and therefore commanded he should be called up, Sir John Berkeley being not yet come to the king." There was no news of the expected ship; orders had arrived at Southampton that the port should be closed; and in two hours the king was in a boat sailing to the Fair Isle. That night he slept at Carisbrook Castle.

The inevitable tendency of all revolutions to call into action violent bodies of men professing principles that strike at the foundation of secure and orderly government was now clearly visible. The Levellers had become conspicuous in the army—those, according to Clarendon, who declared "that all degrees of men should be levelled, and an equality should be established, both in titles and estates, throughout the kingdom."* The historian of the Rebellion doubts "whether the raising of this spirit was a piece of Cromwell's ordinary witchcraft, in order to some of his designs, or whether it grew among the tares which had been sowed in that confusion." Had Clarendon lived through a period of sixty years of far more terrible revolutions in another kingdom, he would have known that it needs no "witchcraft" to evoke such a spirit out of the passions of the enthusiastic and the rapacity of the dishonest. Whatever the historian believes of Cromwell's witchcraft, he does full justice to his human powers of "dexterity and courage," by which "he totally subdued

* Berkeley's Narrative was printed in 1699; Ashburnham's not till 1830.

† "History," vol. v. p. 497.

‡ The route from Oatlands into Hampshire would lead through

that spirit in the army" which would otherwise "have produced all imaginable mischief in the parliament, army, and kingdom." Four days after the king has quitted Hampton Court, Cromwell is dealing very summarily—in "a rough and brisk temper," as Clarendon has it—with some of those against whom he had warned Colonel Whalley in regard to the safety of Charles's person. A rendezvous is appointed at Corkbush field, between Ware and Hertford, for seven regiments. But there are nine regiments on the ground. Harrison's regiment of horse and Lilburn's of foot have come without orders. Lilburn himself has been sent to the Tower; but being permitted to ride out, for his health, has come to the rendezvous. His regiment is without its officers, for the agitators have expelled all above the rank of lieutenant, with the exception of one captain. They have papers in their hats, of "Liberty for England, their rights for the soldiers." Fairfax and Cromwell read to the seven regiments a remonstrance against the proceedings of the agitators, and they are received with acclamations. Fairfax addresses Harrison's cavalry, and the troopers exclaim that they will live and die with their general, and they tear the inscriptions from their hats. Lilburn's regiment reply to Fairfax with derisive shouts. Cromwell exclaims, "Take that paper from your hats." They refuse. He rushes into the ranks; orders fourteen of the mutineers to be seized; a drum-head court-martial is assembled, and three are condemned to death. The council of officers order that they shall draw lots which shall determine the fate of one. The immediate execution of that one restored the army to its wonted discipline. But such remedies cannot frequently be repeated. The most violent of the fanatics are preaching against the severity exercised toward their "saints." The Presbyterians look coldly upon the energy of the great military Independent; the republican politicians begin to fear and distrust him. Ludlow cries "No," when a vote of thanks to Cromwell is proposed in parliament. They do not see as clearly as he does the line which separates liberty from anarchy.

Colonel Hammond, according to Berkeley's relation, had many private conferences with the king, and was earnest that some authorized person should proceed from Charles to the generals who had put down the violence of the agitators. Berkeley set out with letters from the king, and also from the governor, and arrived at the headquarters at Windsor. He delivered his letters to Fairfax, at a general meeting of officers. Being desired to withdraw, he was soon afterward called in, and was sternly told by Fairfax that they were the parliament's officers, and must refer the king's letters to the parliament. Cromwell and Ireton looked coldly upon him, as well as other officers with whom he was acquainted. His servant went out to find some one to whom Berkeley could speak; and a general officer sent him a message to meet him in a close behind the Garter Inn, at twelve at night. They met; and his friend urged him to persuade the king to escape; for that it was resolved to seize his person and bring him to trial. The agitators, he said, were not quelled; and had been repeatedly with Cromwell and Ireton to tell them that they would bring the whole army to the conviction that the king should be brought to trial. The general further said that he hazarded his own life in this interview; for it was agreed that no one should speak with Berkeley, under pain of death. Cromwell had despaired of bringing the army to his sense, and must make his peace with those who were most opposed to the king. "He was reinstated in the fellowship of the faithful." Berkeley the next day sent Colonel Cook to Cromwell, to say that he had letters and papers for him from the king. "He sent me word, by the same messenger, that he durst not see me, it being very dangerous to us both; and bid me be assured that he would serve his majesty as long as he could do it without his own ruin; but desired that I would not expect that he should perish for his sake." Cromwell was on the edge of a precipice. There was a belief that he was privy to the escape of the king. Ludlow, the republican, says, "It was visible that the king made his escape by the advice of Cromwell." It is certainly not improbable that Cromwell, knowing the dangers of the king, might sincerely desire that he might escape out of the kingdom. The notion of Hollis, that he recommended the flight to the Isle of Wight "because he had there provided a jailer," is irreconcilable with the facts. Charles during the first month might have escaped from Carisbrook without any difficulty had proper means been supplied. A ship only was wanting. Berkeley went back to the king to recommend this course, which he had urged by letter; but the false hope of dealing with another party again prevailed over the natural fears of Charles for his own life. Berkeley's first words to the king were, "Why was he still in the island, where he could not long promise himself the liberty he now had?" Charles replied "that he would have a care of that, time enough; and that he was to conclude with the Scots, because from their desire to have him out of the army's hands they would listen to reason." The Scottish commissioners came to Carisbrook toward the end of December. It had been voted in the House of Lords at the end of November that propositions should again be offered to the king in the shape of four bills, far more stringent as to the power of parliament and the militia than the offers at any previous time, but leaving the religious question untouched. The Scottish commissioners in London had secretly advised the king to reject these bills. Their own proposals were, that a Scottish army should come into England to restore him to his rights, provided that he confirmed the Presbyterian establishment in England for a period of three years, and then the constitution of the Church to be finally settled. "In that season of despair," says Clarendon, "they prevailed with him to sign the propositions he had formerly refused; and having great apprehensions, from the jealousies they knew the army had of them, that they should be seized upon and searched on their return to London, they made up their precious contract in lead, and buried it in a garden in the Isle of Wight, from whence they easily found means afterward to receive it."* Having concluded this dangerous alliance, Charles delivered his answer to the English commissioners. He had in vain endeavored to prevail upon Lord Denbigh and the others to take back his determination in a sealed envelope. He rejected the propositions. That evening the gates of Carisbrook Castle were closed; guards surrounded the fortress; and the greater number of the king's servants, including Berkeley and Ashburnham, were ordered to quit the island. An escape meditated for the next night was no longer practicable. The commissioners of the parliament returned to Westminster, to proclaim what was, in truth, the complete triumph of the republicans. The last manœuvre of the unfortunate king rendered his difficult condition utterly desperate. Ludlow, speaking of the English and Scottish negotiations at Carisbrook, says, "While these two sorts of commissioners were one day attending the king as he walked about the castle, they observed him to throw a bone before two spaniels that followed him, and to take great delight in seeing them contending for it; which some of them thought to be intended by him to represent that bone of contention he had cast between the two parties."† It was a delight that was to come to a fatal issue. Cromwell wrote to Colonel Hammond on the 3d of January, "The House of Commons is very sensible of the king's dealings, and of our brethren's [the Scots], in this late transaction." He tells his "dear Robin" that "now, blessed be God, I can write and thou receive freely." He alludes to some struggle of the governor in favor of his unhappy prisoner—"thou in the midst of thy temptation, which, indeed, by what we understand of it, was a great one." The letter-writer exultingly communicates the result of the proceedings at Carisbrook: "The House of Commons has this day voted as follows: 1st. They will make no more addresses to the king; 2d. None shall apply to him without leave of the two houses, upon pain of being guilty of high treason; 3d. They will receive nothing from the king, nor shall any other bring anything to them from him, nor receive anything from the king." The Lords adopted the resolution after some debate. Unless there be some speedy change, the end will be accomplished that the majority in parliament contended for, "to settle the commonwealth without the king." That majority in the Commons was a very formidable one—141 to 91; and their resolution is justly described by Mr. Hallam as "a virtual renunciation of allegiance."

But, however, the notion of a sovereign representative assembly as the government suited for England might please the political enthusiasts and the military fanatics, the great body of quiet people, who desired the protection of the law under a limited monarchy, were not prepared to endure that a democracy should be thrust upon them at the point of the sword. Discontent was very generally spread. Murmurings would shortly grow into revolts. Cromwell, who saw better than most men the inevitable result of political and religious

* "Rebellion," vol. v. p. 530. † "Memoirs," vol. i. p. 232.

discords, while the supreme authority was so unsettled, tried to effect some reconciliation between Presbyterians and Independents. The dinner at which Cromwell assembled them was given in vain. "One would endure no superior, the other no equal." Ludlow, who thus describes the result of this attempt, relates more minutely the proceedings of another meeting at which he was present. The grandees of the house and army, of whom he terms Cromwell the head, "would not declare their judgments either for a monarchical, aristocratical, or democratical government, maintaining that any of them might be good in themselves, or for us, according as Providence should direct us." The Commonwealth's men boldly declared against monarchy; that the king had broken his oath, and dissolved their allegiance; maintained that he had appealed to the sword, and should be called to account for the effusion of blood; after which an equal Commonwealth, founded upon the consent of the people. The discussion, solemn as it was, had a ludicrous termination. "Cromwell," says Ludlow, "professed himself unresolved; and having learned what he could of the principles and inclinations of those present at the conference, took up a cushion and flung it at my head, and then ran down the stairs; but I overtook him with another, which made him hasten down faster than he desired."* Cromwell told Ludlow the next day that "he was convinced of the desirableness of what was proposed, but not of the feasibleness of it." There was a meeting some time after, conducted in a very different mood by Cromwell—a meeting of officers of the army at Windsor Castle, as reported by Adjutant-General Allen. These zealous men spent one whole day in prayer. They were exhorted by Cromwell to a thorough consideration of their actions as an army, and of their ways as private Christians. They became convinced that the Lord had departed from them, through "those carnal conferences which they held in the preceding year with the king and his party." They, with bitter weeping, took sense and shame of their iniquities. They came to a clear agreement that it was their duty to go forth and fight the enemies that had appeared against them. They finally came to a resolution, "That it was our duty that, if ever the Lord brought us back again in peace, to call Charles Stuart, that man of blood, to an account for that blood he had shed, and mischief he had done to his utmost, against the Lord's cause and people in these poor nations."† These men, not hypocrites, not wholly fanatics, are very terrible in their stern resolves. They will go forth to fight "the enemies that had appeared against them"—and then! There is a reaction in many quarters in England. The Scots are preparing to invade. A second civil war is fast approaching.

When the parliament passed their resolution to receive no more communications from the king, and to forbid all correspondence with him, they published a declaration imputing all the misfortunes of his reign to himself personally, and not to evil counsellors, as had been the custom before monarchy had lost its respect even in the eyes of those who were opposed to its evil government. Clarendon ascribes the partial reaction of public opinion in a great degree to what he calls "this monstrous declaration." But he wholly misconceives or misrepresents the temper of the people when he sets forth "a universal discontent and murmuring of the three nations, and almost as general a detestation both of parliament and army, and a most passionate desire that all their follies and madness might be forgotten in restoring the king to all they had taken from him, and in settling that blessed government they had deprived themselves of."‡ Nations have sometimes unaccountable fits of oblivion; but the memory of eleven years of the unmitigated despotism of "that blessed government" was too deeply written upon the volume of the people's brain, though Edward Hyde might choose to forget it. Nevertheless, the nation was tired of its distractions. It wearied for some permanent settlement that might end the hoarse disputes and subtle intrigues of parliament and army, of Presbyterian and Independent; that might free the possessors of rank and property from the dread of wild men with notions of social equality; that might restore industry to its healthful functions, and put an end not only to the cost of a standing military force, but to its fearful resistance to civil power. The desire of the peaceful portion of the nation was feebly heard amid the surrounding clamor. The attempt to express their impatience of existing evils by riot and revolt was necessarily a vain attempt. This spirit was displayed in the city of London, at the beginning of April. Cromwell and some of the other leaders attend a common council; but they find the Presbyterians indisposed to listen to what they call "their subtleties." The next day there is a formidable riot. It is Sunday. The Puritan strictness in religious observances, and in minor matters, has come to be less respected than before the close of the war. Royalists, amid their contempt for what they deem fanaticism, are now mixing again in the ordinary intercourse with the despised roundheads. The theatre is now not wholly proscribed. Evelyn writes in his diary, "5th February, saw a tragic comedy acted in the cockpit, after there had been none of these diversions for many years during the war." On that Sunday, the 9th of April, there are apprentices playing at bowls in Moorfields during church time. They are ordered to disperse by the militia guard; but they fight with the guard, and hold their ground. Soon routed by cavalry, they raise the old cry of "Clubs;" are joined by the watermen, a numerous and formidable body; fight on through the night; and in the morning have possession of Ludgate and Newgate, and have stretched chains across all the great thoroughfares. There are forty hours of this tumult, in which the prevailing cry is "God and King Charles." At last a body of cavalry arrive from Westminster; there is an irresistible charge of the men who had rode down far more terrible assailants, and that movement is at an end. But in many towns there are similar riots. In Wales some Presbyterian officers of the parliamentary army, with Colonel Poyer at their head, have raised a far more formidable insurrection. Pembroke Castle is in their hands. They soon have possession of Chepstow Castle. The gentry have proclaimed the king. It is a Presbyterian royalist insurrection, allied in principle with the purposes of the moderate Presbyterians of Scotland, who are organizing their army for the march into England. The Welsh outbreak is somewhat premature, but nevertheless it is very formidable. It is alarming enough to demand the personal care of Lieutenant-General Cromwell. He leaves London on the 3d of May, with five regiments. The Londoners are glad to be freed from his presence; for a rumor has been spread that the army at Whitehall are about to attack and plunder the city. Petitions were addressed to the Commons that the army should remove farther, and that the militia should be placed under the command of Skippon. The reaction gave the Presbyterians again the command in parliament, and it was voted on the 28th of April that the fundamental government of the kingdom, by king, lords, and commons, should not be changed; and that the resolutions forbidding all communication with the king should be rescinded. Popular demonstrations immediately followed the departure of Cromwell. Surrey gentlemen, freeholders, and yeomen came to Westminister with a petition that the king should be restored with all the splendor of his ancestors. A broil ensued between the parliamentary guard and these petitioners, who asked the soldiers, "Why do you stand here to guard a company of rogues?" Several of the Surrey men and one of the guard were killed. The royalists of Kent organized themselves in a far more formidable shape. They secured Sandwich and Dover, appointed as general Goring earl of Norwich, and assembled at Rochester to the number of seven thousand. Troops were raised for the royal service in the eastern and midland counties. More dangerous to the ruling powers than all these demonstrations was the defection of the fleet. Clarendon has thus described the mariners of his time: "The seamen are in a manner a nation by themselves; a humorous, brave, and sturdy people; fierce and resolute in whatsoever they are inclined to; somewhat unsteady and inconstant in pursuing it; and jealous of those to-morrow by whom they are governed to-day." If Clarendon's description be correct, it must be taken solely with reference to a reign when the maritime power of England had been allowed to fall to the lowest condition. It could not apply to the sailors of Drake and Frobisher. Less could it apply to the sailors of Blake and Penn. The unsteadiness and the inconstancy, the jealousy of the government under which they served, belonged to a period when the government had long been indifferent to the national honor. These characteristics altogether passed away when the first thought of the English fleet was how "not to be fooled by the foreigner." The sailors of 1648 put their admiral on shore, and carried their ships to Holland, to

* "Memoirs," p. 239.
† Somers' Tracts, given in Carlyle's "Cromwell," vol. i.
‡ "Rebellion," vol. vi. p. 1.

place them under the command of the Prince of Wales, who appeared in the Channel—and did nothing. The royalists were in the highest exultation. They expected the king soon to be again at their head. The earl of Holland had turned once more to what he thought would be the winning side; and his mansion at Kensington was again the resort of cavaliers. But the king does not appear among them. An attempt at escape from Carisbrook has a second time failed. On the 6th of April Cromwell had written to Hammond, "Intelligence came to the hands of a very considerable person that the king had attempted to get out of his window; and that he had a cord of silk with him whereby to slip down, but his breast was so big that the bar could not give him passage. This was done in one of the dark nights about a fortnight ago. A gentleman with you led him the way and slipped down. The guard, that night, had some quantity of wine with them. The same party assures that there is aquafortis gone down from London to remove that obstacle which hindered, and that the same design is to be put in execution on the next dark nights." He then points out that "Master Firebrace" was the gentleman assisting the king; and mentions Captain Titus, and two others, who "are not to be trusted." It is probably to this time that the statement of Clarendon must be referred, when he says that the king "from thenceforth was no more suffered to go out of the castle beyond a little ill garden that belonged to it." His pleasant walks, upon the beautiful green ramparts looking out upon the sea beyond the fertile valleys about Carisbrook, were at an end. If the local traditions are to be trusted, the barred windows of his apartment had no prospect beyond the spacious courtyard. On the 31st of May Hammond wrote to the parliament that the king had again nearly effected his escape. Another dread now came over the Presbyterian party. They would negotiate with the king; but they would take strong measures against the royalists. All papists and malignants were banished from London under more severe penalties than before. Fairfax was directed to proceed with all his forces against the insurgents in Kent and Essex and the other counties around London. They issued new ordinances against heresy, which affected the Independents; and against swearing, which touched the cavaliers very nearly. The general and the army marched into Kent; dispersed the insurgents after an obstinate fight at Maidstone; and by rapid successes, wherever else there was resistance, put down the rising spirit. Lord Goring, after having led several thousand men to Blackheath, expecting assistance in London, was compelled to see the desertion of his followers, and he crossed the Thames into Essex. There the contest was more prolonged. Lord Capel and Sir Charles Lucas had collected a large force, with which they intended to march from Colchester upon London. Fairfax invested the town; and for two months there was a renewal of the former work of blockade and siege, until the place was surrendered on the 27th of August. The triumph of Fairfax was tarnished by an exception to his usual humanity. Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle were tried by court-martial, and were shot. The earl of Holland and the young duke of Buckingham broke out in revolt at Kingston-upon-Thames, when the main army of the parliament was investing Colchester. There was an action near Kingston, in which they were defeated; and passing into Hertfordshire, the remnant was cut up at St. Neot's by a detachment from the army of Fairfax, and Holland was taken prisoner. In all these movements we see the absence of any supreme organizing power. They were isolated efforts, which were quickly suppressed. Whatever miseries England had still to endure, it was freed from the misery of a long partisan warfare. In Wales, where the resistance to the parliament was more concentrated, the presence even of Cromwell was not at first successful. He is before Pembroke, but he has no artillery to make short work of the siege. It was not till the 10th of July that the town and castle of Pembroke were surrendered to him. Six days before the capitulation the Scottish army entered England, under the duke of Hamilton. He was joined by five thousand English, under Sir Marmaduke Langdale. The English general, Lambert, was retreating before them, having been directed by Cromwell to avoid an engagement, and to fall back. Two days after the surrender of Pembroke, Cromwell was on his march from the west. He waited not for orders. He knew where he was wanted. At this juncture a charge of treason had been preferred against him by Major Huntington, an officer of the army, which had been countenanced by some members of both houses. He was accused of endeavoring, by betraying the king, parliament, and army, to advance himself. The occasion was not opportune for such an attempt. When he left London he was equally distasteful to the Presbyterians and the Commonwealth's men—who, with some, went by the general name of Levellers. Mrs. Hutchinson says, "The chief of these Levellers following him out of the town, to take their leaves of him, received such professions from him, of a spirit bent to pursue the same just and honest things that they desired, as they went away with great satisfaction, till they heard that a coachful of Presbyterian priests coming after them, went away no less pleased: by which it was apparent he dissembled with one or the other, and by so doing lost his credit with both."* The Presbyterians suppressed their dislike to Cromwell in terror of the Scoto-royalist invasion. The Commonwealth's men were compelled to lay aside their jealousies. Ludlow speaks plainly about this: "Some of us who had opposed the lieutenant-general's arbitrary proceedings, when we were convinced he acted to promote a selfish and unwarrantable design, now thinking ourselves obliged to strengthen his hands in that necessary work which he was appointed to undertake, writ a letter to him to encourage him, from the consideration of the justice of the cause wherein he was engaged, and the wickedness of those with whom he was to encounter, to proceed with cheerfulness, assuring him that, notwithstanding all our discouragements, we would readily give him all the assistance we could."

The Scottish army that entered England could not be regarded as the army of the Scottish nation. The treaty which had been concluded with the king at Carisbrook gave satisfaction only to a portion of the Presbyterians. The Scottish parliament, influenced by the duke of Hamilton and others, who professed moderate principles of ecclesiastical government, gave the engagements of that treaty their zealous support, especially that clause which provided that a military force should be sent to England to reinstate the king in his authority. They were in consequence called the "Engagers." But the clergy generally proclaimed that Charles had not conceded enough for the establishment of their form of worship in England to warrant a war for his assistance. The marquis of Argyle, and other powerful chiefs who had fought against Montrose, were burning with resentment against the royalists of their own country, and were strenuously opposed to what was meant as an aid to the royalists of England. An army was, however, raised, and the Engagers, with a raw and ill-disciplined force, crossed the border.

The march of Cromwell, from the extremity of South Wales to the heart of Lancashire, was accomplished with a rapidity which belongs only to the movements of great commanders. He had to gather scattered forces on his way, and to unite himself with Lambert in Yorkshire. He was determined to engage with an enemy whose numbers were held to double his own. Through the whole breadth of South Wales, then a pastoral country, but now presenting all the unpicturesque combinations of mining industry, he advanced to Gloucester. This forced march of some hundred and fifty miles through Wales was an exhausting commencement. "Send me some shoes for my poor tired soldiers," wrote Cromwell to the Executive Committee in London. At Leicester he received three thousand pairs of shoes. At Nottingham he confers with Colonel Hutchinson, and leaves his prisoners with him. His cavalry have pushed on, and have joined Lambert at Barnard Castle. All Cromwell's forces have joined the northern troops by the 12th of August. The Scots, who, having passed Kendal, had debated whether they would march direct into Yorkshire, and so on toward London, have decided for the western road. The duke of Hamilton thinks he is sure of Manchester. Sir Marmaduke Langdale is their guide through the unknown ways into Lancashire, and leads the vanguard. There is very imperfect communication between the van and the rear of this army. On the 16th of August the duke is at Preston. The same night Cromwell is at Stonyhurst. Langdale, to the left of Hamilton's main body, has ascertained that the dangerous enemy is close at hand, and sends notice to the duke. "Impossible," exclaims Hamilton; "he has not had time to be here." The next morning Cromwell has fallen upon

* "Memoirs," p. 129. Mrs. Hutchinson refers this to the time when "he was sent down, after his victory in Wales, to encounter Hamilton in the north." This is an evident mistake, for Cromwell marched from Pembroke by Gloucester and Warwick

Sir Marmaduke, and utterly routed him, "after a very sharp dispute." Hamilton's army is a disjointed one. His cavalry, in considerable numbers, are at Wigan, under the command of Middleton. When the affair was settled with Langdale, there was a skirmish close by Preston town between Hamilton himself and some of Cromwell's troopers. The duke was separated from his main force of infantry, under Baillie, but rejoined them only to see the bridge of the Ribble won by the enemy in a general battle. Cromwell describes the first four hours' fighting in a country all inclosure and miry ground, as "a hedge dispute." This being ended, the Scots were charged through Preston; and then not only was the bridge of the Ribble won, but the bridge of Darwen. Night was approaching, which put an end to any further fighting on the 17th. The Scottish generals in a council of war determined to march off, as soon as it was dark, without waiting for Middleton and his cavalry. The weather was rainy; the roads heavy; their men were wet, weary, and hungry. They left their ammunition behind, and the next morning were at Wigan Moor, with half their number. No general engagement took place that day, and the Scots held Wigan. Cromwell writes, "We lay that night in the field close by the enemy, being very dirty and weary, and having marched twelve miles of such ground as I never rode in all my life, the day being very wet." The next day the Scots moved toward Warrington; and after some hard fighting General Baillie surrendered himself, officers, and soldiers, as prisoners of war. The duke, with three thousand horse, was gone toward Nantwich. His course was undetermined. The country people were hostile. His own men were mutinous. He surrenders to Lambert, and is sent prisoner to Nottingham. The Scottish army was now utterly broken and dispersed. The news of Hamilton's complete failure in the invasion of England was the signal for the great Presbyterian party that had opposed the policy of the engagers to rise in arms. Argyle assembled his Highland clans. In the Western Lowlands large bodies of peasantry, headed by their preachers, marched to Edinburgh. The memory of this insurrection has endured to this hour in the name of *Whig*. It was called "the Whiggamore Raid," from the word used in the west of Scotland when the carter urges forward his horses with *Whig, whig* (get on); as the English carter says, *Gee, gee* (go). Argyle was restored to power. The most zealous Covenanters were again at the head of the executive authority. Cromwell entered Scotland on the 20th of September, and was received at Edinburgh, not as the man to whose might their brave countrymen had been compelled to yield, but as the deliverer from a royalist faction that might again have put the national religion in peril.

NOTE ON THE PARTY-SPIRIT DURING THE ROYALIST REACTION.

We have shown the temper of the Presbyterians and Commonwealth's men toward Cromwell when he was fighting in Wales and Lancashire. There was a general confusion of political principles in the dread of individual supremacy. May says that the chief citizens of London, and others called Presbyterians, wished good success to the Scots no less than the malignants did. Mr. Hallam has observed that "the fugitive sheets of this year, such as the 'Mercurius Aulicus,' bear witness to the exulting and insolent tone of the royalists. They chuckle over Fairfax and Cromwell as if they had caught a couple of rats in a trap." As a curious specimen of the "fugitive sheets," we give an extract from "The Cuckow's Nest at Westminster; printed at Cuckow-time in a hollow tree, 1648."* The chief wit consists in a dialogue between Queen Fairfax and Lady Cromwell. Fairfax had been ill, and was reported to have died:

"*Enter* QUEEN FAIRFAX *and* MADAM CROMWELL.

"*Mrs. Cromwell.* Cheer up, madam, he is not dead, he is reserved for another end; these wicked malignants reported as much of my Noll, but I hope it is otherwise; yet the profane writ an epitaph, as I think they call it, and abused him most abominably, as they will do me, or you, or any of the faithful saints, if we but thrive by our occupations in our husbands' absence; if we but deck our bodies with the jewels gained from the wicked, they point at us, and say, those are plunder. But the righteous must undergo the scoffs of the wicked; and let them scoff on. I thank my Maker, we lived, before these holy wars were thought on, in the thriving profession of brewing, and could, of my vails of grain and yeast, wear my silk gown, and gold and silver lace too, as well as the proudest minx of them all. I am not ashamed of my profession, madam.

"*Qu. Fair.* Pray, Mrs. Cromwell, tell not me of gowns or lace, nor no such toys! Tell me of crowns, sceptres, kingdoms, royal robes; and, if my Tom but recovers, and thrives in his enterprise, I will not say, pish, to be queen of England. I misdoubt nothing, if we can but keep the wicked from fetching Nebuchadnezzar's home from grass in the Isle of Wight. Well, well, my Tom is worth a thousand of him, and has a more kingly countenance; he has such an innocent face, and a harmless look, as if he were born to be emperor over the saints.

"*Mrs. Cromwell.* And is not Noll Cromwell's wife as likely a woman to be queen of England as you? yes, I warrant you, is she; and that you shall know, if my husband were but once come out of Wales. It is he that has done the work, the conquest belongs to him. Besides, your husband is counted a fool, and wants wit to reign; every boy scoffs at him: my Noll has a head-piece, a face of brass, full of majesty, and a nose will light the whole kingdom to walk after him. I say he will grace a crown, being naturally adorned with diamonds and rubies already; and, for myself, though I say it, I have a person as fit for a queen as another."

The dialogue is broken off by a servant running in, and exclaiming, "Oh, madam, cease your contention, and provide for your safeties; both your husbands are killed, and all their forces put to the sword; all the people crying like mad, Long live King Charles!"

* Reprinted in "Harleian Miscellany," 8vo, vol. vi.

CHAPTER XCVII.

Treaty of Newport—Concessions of the king—Remonstrance of the army—Cromwell's letter to Hammond—The king carried to Hurst Castle—Members ejected from the Commons' House—the king removed to Windsor—Ordinance for the king's trial—The High Court of Justice appointed—The king before the High Court—The king sentenced to death—The king after his condemnation—The king's execution.

WHEN the news of Cromwell's victory at Preston came to the Isle of Wight, "the king said to the governor that it was the worst news that ever came to England." Colonel Hammond replied, that if Hamilton had beaten the English he would have possessed himself of the thrones of England and Scotland. "You are mistaken," said the king; "I could have commanded him back with a wave of my hand."* It was evil news to the king that the last appeal to arms had failed. The parliament now looked with as much alarm as the king might entertain at the approaching return of that victorious army of the north. The Lords, especially, saw that their own power was imperilled by the dangers that beset the crown; and they united with those who now constituted a majority in the Commons, to conclude a treaty with the king. There were violent debates; but it was at length agreed that commissioners should proceed to the Isle of Wight. The discussions were to take place in Newport. The commissioners for the treaty arrived there on the 15th of September. Clarendon says that those who wished ill to the treaty interposed every delay to prevent it being concluded during the absence of Cromwell; and that those who wished well to it pressed it forward for the same reason. Yet there were men left behind who had formed as strong resolutions against the restoration of Charles to power as Cromwell himself. Ludlow had been to Fairfax at Colchester while the treaty was debated in parliament, to urge upon him that it was not intended by those who pressed it on most vehemently, that the king should be bound to the performance of it; but that it was designed principally to use his authority to destroy the army. Fairfax was irresolute. Ireton agreed with Ludlow that it was necessary for the army to interpose; but did not think that the time was come for such a demonstration. With an army ready to step in to break through the meshes of any agreement disapproved by them—with a king who in the midst of the negotiation was secretly writing, "my great concession this morning was made only to facilitate my approaching escape"—the treaty of Newport can scarcely be regarded as more than "a piece of dramaturgy which must be handsomely done."† For the opening of the last act of this tragic history the scene on the bank of the Medina is as impressive as any pageant, "full of state and woe," that the imagination could devise to precede a solemn catastrophe.

A house has been prepared in Newport for the king's reception; and its hall has been fitted up for this great negotiation, which might extend to forty days. The first day was the 18th of September. The king is seated under a canopy at the upper end of the hall. The

* Ludlow, vol. i. p. 261. † Carlyle.

parliamentary commissioners are placed round a table in advance of the royal chair. These are fifteen in number—five peers, and ten members of the Lower House. Behind the king are ranged many of his most confidential friends and advisers; of whom there are four peers, two bishops, and other divines; five civilians; and four of his trusted attendants. Sir Philip Warwick, who was one of the privileged number, says: "But if at any time the king found himself in need to ask a question, or any of his lords thought fit to advise him in his ear to hesitate before he answered, he himself would retire into his own chamber; or one of us penmen, who stood at his chair, prayed him from the lords to do so." The king was in a position favorable to the display of his talent for discussion; and he left upon the assembly during these tedious debates a deep impression of his abilities, his knowledge, and his presence of mind. Nor could the sympathies of even the most prejudiced of his auditors on this occasion be withheld from his general appearance and deportment. His hair had become gray; his face was careworn; "he was not dejected," writes Clarendon, "but carried himself with the same majesty he had used to do." Certainly if it be held somewhat an unequal trial to place one man to contend alone against fifteen disputants, some of extraordinary ability, such as Vane; on the other hand the rank of him who was thus pleading for what he believed to be his inalienable rights—his misfortunes—his display of mental powers, for which few had given him credit—would produce impressions far deeper than if the advisers around his canopy had been allowed to argue and harangue, each after his own fashion. "One day," says Warwick, "while I turned the king's chair when he was about to rise, the earl of Salisbury came suddenly upon me, and said, 'The king is wonderfully improved;' to which I as suddenly replied, 'No, my lord, he was always so; but your lordship too late discerned it.'" Vane bore testimony to the talent of Charles; but he considered his "great parts and abilities" as a reason for very stringent terms. In this manner was the prolonged discussion of Newport conducted, from the 18th of September to the 29th of November, the original term of forty days for the duration of the treaty having been three times extended. All was in vain. Charles had conceded the questions of military command and of nomination to the great offices of state; he had even consented to acknowledge the legitimacy of the resistance to his power. But he had not conceded enough upon the question of religion to satisfy the more violent of the Presbyterians. There was unwise pertinacity on both sides, in the hour of a coming storm that would sweep away this paper-fabric of a Newport treaty like straws in a whirlwind. The commissioners had no absolute power to conclude a treaty; the parliament discussed every point with a scrupulosity that foreboded no good result. Warwick records a speech of the king to Mr. Buckley, one of the commissioners, which shows how impracticable was a speedy agreement. "Consider, Mr. Buckley, if you call this a treaty, whether it be not like the fray in the comedy, where the man comes out and says, there has been a fray, and no fray; and being asked how that could be, why, says he, there hath been three blows given, and I had them all. Look, therefore, whether this be not a parallel case. Observe whether I have not granted absolutely most of your propositions, and with great moderation limited only some few of them; nay, consider whether you have made me any one concession, and whether at this present moment you have not confessed to me, that though upon any proposition you were all concurrently satisfied, yet till you had remitted them up to your superiors you had not authority to concur with me in any one thing."* The conferences were broken up, after the most violent demonstrations had been made to parliament of the temper of the army. On the 28th of November the commissioners left Newport with the definitive propositions. In forty-eight hours it had become evident that two months had been wasted in vain contentions; that an inexorable fate was driving on to a dismal end of the long struggle between king and people.

Warwick has recorded that, during the progress of the treaty, "every night, when the king was alone about eight of the clock, except when he was writing his own private letters, he commanded me to come to him; and he looked over the notes of that day's treaty, and the reasons upon which it moved; and so dictated the heads of a dispatch, which from time to time he made concerning the treaty, unto his present majesty, then prince." Clarendon drew up his minute account of the negotiation from these papers; and he gives a long and very interesting extract of a letter from the king to Prince Charles, which he says, "deserves to be preserved in letters of gold." The sentiments which it breathes are certainly high-minded; but they also proclaim to what an extent the king was a self-deceiver. He writes, "By what hath been said, you see how long we have labored in search of peace." He had solemnly promised during the negotiations that all hostilities in Ireland for his cause should be put an end to. At the very same time he wrote to the earl of Ormond, "Obey my wife's orders, not mine, until I shall let you know I am free from all restraint; nor trouble yourself about my concessions as to Ireland; they will lead to nothing." Charles goes on to say to his son, "Censure us not for having parted with so much of our own right; the price was great, but the commodity was security to us, peace to our people." In his heart he felt that he had really not parted with anything. "We were confident," he says, "another parliament would remember how useful a king's power is to a people's liberty; of how much thereof we divested ourself, that we and they might meet once again in a due parliamentary way, to agree the bounds of prince and people." The unhappy monarch appears to have forgotten that "the bounds of prince and people" were agreed, "in a due parliamentary way," by the Petition of Right; and that from the day in 1629 when he declared that he would depart from that due way, making the free monarchy of England absolute, the terrible misfortunes that he had endured during seven years of civil war were the price that he had to pay for eleven previous years of despotism. He draws a true lesson from the tyranny of others: "These men, who have forced laws which they were bound to preserve, will find their triumphs full of troubles." His prayer for his subjects "that the ancient laws, with the interpretation according to the known practice, might once more be a hedge about them," might have been more opportune when the ancient hedge was first broken down by the ministers of his own aggressions. But with all this forgetfulness of the errors of the past, its sad lessons are not wholly forgotten when he says, "Give belief to our experience, never to affect more greatness or prerogative than that which is intrinsically and really for the good of subjects, not the satisfaction of favorites."*

A week before the termination of the conferences at Newport, the army from St. Alban's sends a "Remonstrance" to the Commons, an unmistakable document, calling upon the parliament to bring the king to trial, and to decree that the future king should be elected by the representatives of the people. It was distinctly intimated that if the parliament neglected the interests of the nation, the army would take the matter into their own hands. There was naturally a great commotion in the house; and the debate upon this "Remonstrance" was adjourned for a week. At about the end of that time the commissioners from Newport have made their report; and after twenty-four hours of debate it is voted that the king's concessions offered a ground for a future settlement. On the 25th of November the army of Fairfax is at Windsor. Cromwell had returned from Scotland to the north of England on the 11th of October. He is busily engaged in military affairs. The royalist governor of Pontefract refuses to surrender. A party from the garrison have sallied out on the 29th of October and assassinated the parliamentary Colonel Rainsborough in his lodging at Doncaster. The northern army is badly off for shoes, stockings, and clothes, as Cromwell writes; but they are all full of zeal, and petition the general of the army against the treaty at Newport, which petition Cromwell forwards to Fairfax on the 20th of November, saying, "I find in the officers of the regiments a very great sense of the sufferings of this poor kingdom; and in them all a very great zeal to have impartial justice done upon offenders." There are nevertheless doubts and misgivings in the breasts of some army men, as we may judge from a letter of Oliver to that "ingenuous young man," his friend Colonel Hammond, at Carisbrook, who has expressed his dissatisfaction at the principle that "it is lawful for a lesser part, if in the right, to force a numerical majority." The king told Sir Philip Warwick that the governor was such a rogue that he could not be in worse hands. Though the governor was faithful to his trust, he yet had a conscientious doubt whether the

* "Memoirs," p. 333.

* Clarendon, vol. vi. p. 190, 191.

army had a right to determine the great question at issue. The letter of Cromwell is dated from Pontefract on the 25th of November. It is altogether so characteristic of this extraordinary man, and moreover so strikingly illustrative of the nature of the principles by which he and many others were driving forward to perpetrate acts of violence and illegality, under a belief that they were moved by holy and just inspirations, that we may not unprofitably peruse one or two of its more striking passages :

"You say : 'God hath appointed authorities among the nations, to which active or passive obedience is to be yielded. This resides, in England, in the parliament. Therefore active or passive resistance,' etc. Authorities and powers are the ordinance of God. This or that species is of human institution, and limited, some with larger, others with stricter bands, each one according to its constitution. But I do not therefore think that the authorities may do anything, and yet such obedience be due. All agree that there are cases in which it is lawful to resist. If so, your ground fails, and so likewise the inference. Indeed, dear Robin, not to multiply words, the query is, Whether ours be such a case? This ingenuously is the true question. To this I shall say nothing, though I could say very much : but only desire thee to see what thou findest in thy own heart to two or three plain considerations. *First*, Whether *Salus Populi* be a sound position? *Secondly*, Whether in the way in hand, really and before the Lord, before whom conscience has to stand, this be provided for ; or if the whole fruit of the war is not like to be frustrated, and all most like to turn to what it was, and worse? And this, contrary to engagements, explicit covenants with those who ventured their lives upon those covenants and engagements, without whom perhaps, in equity, relaxation ought not to be? *Thirdly*, Whether this army be not a lawful power, called by God to oppose and fight against the king upon some stated grounds ; and being in power to such ends may not oppose one name of authority, for those ends, as well as another name, since it was not the outward authority summoning them that by *its* power made the quarrel lawful, but the quarrel was lawful in itself? If so, it may be, acting will be justified *in foro humano*. But truly this kind of reasonings may be but fleshly, either with or against : only it is good to try what truth may be in them. And the Lord teach us." . . . "We in this northern army were in a waiting posture ; desiring to see what the Lord would lead us to. And a declaration [Remonstrance] is put out, at which many are shaken : although we could perhaps have wished the stay of it till after the treaty, yet seeing it is come out, we trust to rejoice in the will of the Lord, waiting his further pleasure. Dear Robin, beware of men ; look up to the Lord. Let him be free to speak and command in thy heart. Take heed of the things I fear thou hast reasoned thyself into ; and thou shalt be able through him, without consulting flesh and blood, to do valiantly for him and his people." . . . "Dost thou not think this fear of the Levellers (of whom there is no fear) 'that they would destroy nobility,' etc., has caused some to take up corruption, and find it lawful to make this ruining hypocritical agreement, on one part? Hath not this biased even some good men? I will not say the thing they fear will come upon them ; but if it do, they will themselves bring it upon themselves. Have not some of our friends, by their passive principle (which I judge not, only I think it liable to temptation as well as the active, and neither of them to be reasoned into, because the heart is deceitful), been occasioned to overlook what is just and honest, and to think the people of God may have as much or more good the one way than the other? Good by this man, against whom the Lord hath witnessed : and whom thou knowest!"

On the 25th of November, the day on which Cromwell's letter is dated, Colonel Hammond was directed to give up his post in the Isle of Wight to another officer, and return to the army. The king had remained in the house at Newport in which the treaty was conducted, when the commissioners quitted the town. On the evening of the 29th of November the king was surrounded by several of the noblemen and others who had been with him during the conferences. A report came to them that troops had landed in the island ; and the fact was ascertained by one of Charles's attendants, Colonel Cook. He had ridden to Carisbrook and to the coast. When he returned about midnight the king's house was surrounded by soldiers ; and its very passages were filled with armed men, their matches lighted. Cook entered the king's apartments, wet and wearied. The king's friends were persuading him to attempt to escape, at all risks ; and Cook told him that horses were at hand and a vessel off the coast. Charles now hesitates to break his parole ; yet he had given it to Hammond, and had attempted to break it on several occasions. The resignation of despair had now come over the unhappy king. He went to bed. At daybreak there was an alarm at his door. A colonel was there with a guard ; and when the door was opened the king was told by him that he had orders to remove him to Hurst Castle. They could not have named a worse place, said Charles. He apprehended assassination ; and this castle at the mouth of the Solent, which Warwick describes as "a place which stood on the sea, for at every tide the water surrounded it, and contained only a few dog-lodgings for soldiers," was more fitted for a deed of darkness than Berkeley or Pontefract, where deposed kings had perished. On that 30th of November the parliament had voted that they would not take the "Remonstrance" of the army into consideration. The army is at Windsor. On Saturday, the 2d of December, it is on its march to London ; and before night is quartered in Whitehall, St. James's, and the suburbs. That Sunday must have been a day of fear and anxious curiosity. Presbyterian preachers setting forth the atrocity of the seizure of the king. Zealous soldiers, gifted with the power of eloquence, haranguing crowds in the parks. "For Tophet is ordained of old ; yea, for the king it is prepared," was the text of many a field-preaching of that Sabbath. On the Monday the Commons are debating all day—they are debating till five o'clock on Tuesday morning, the 5th—whether the king's concessions in the treaty of Newport are a ground of settlement. The practiced orators have been heard again and again on this great question. There is an old man among them—one who has only been a member three weeks—who boldly stands up for the cause of fallen majesty. He is no royal favorite, he says. The favors he has received from the king and his party were the loss of his two ears, his pillorings, his imprisonments, his fines. It was Prynne, who spoke for hours ; with honest energy, but with no great prudence when he described the army at their very doors as "inconstant, mutinous, and unreasonable servants." Yet, whatever might have been the effect of this learned man's courageous effort for reconciliation, the very recital of his ancient sufferings must have revived in some a bitter recollection of past tyrannies, and a corresponding dread of their return. The house decided, by one hundred and twenty-nine to eighty-three that the king's concessions are a ground of settlement. There was another assembly on the same day whose resolutions at that moment were of more importance even than a vote of the Commons. "Some of the principal officers of the army came to London with expectation that things would be brought to this issue, and, consulting with some members of parliament and others, it was concluded, after a full and free debate, that the measures taken by the parliament were contrary to the trust reposed in them, and tending to contract the guilt of the blood that had been shed upon themselves and the nation ; that it was therefore the duty of the army to endeavor to put a stop to such proceedings."* They went about this work in a very business-like manner. "Three of the members of the house and three of the officers of the army withdrew into a private room to attain the ends of our said resolution ; when we agreed that the army should be drawn up the next morning, and guards placed in Westminster Hall the Court of Requests, and the Lobby ; that none might be permitted to pass into the house but such as continued faithful to the public interests. To this end we went over the names of all the members, one by one. . . . Commissary-General Ireton went to Sir Thomas Fairfax, and acquainted him with the necessity of this extraordinary way of proceeding."† Lieutenant-General Cromwell is still in the north.

What was thus deliberately resolved on the 6th of December was as promptly effected on the 7th. An order is given that the trained bands of the city shall withdraw from their accustomed duty of guard at Westminster. Colonel Rich's regiment of horse take up a position on that morning in Palace Yard. Colonel Pride's regiment of foot throng Westminster Hall, and block up every entrance to the House of Commons. Colonel Pride has a written list of names in his hand—the names of those against whom the sentence of exclusion has been passed. As the members of the house approach, Lord Grey of

* Ludlow, "Memoirs," vol. i. p. 269. † Ibid., p. 270.

Groby, who stands at the elbow of Colonel Pride, gives a sign or word that such a one is to pass, or to be turned back. Forty-one were ordered that day to retire to "the Queen's Court." It is easier to imagine than to describe the indignation expressed by the ejected. They are kept under restraint all the day, and in the evening are conducted to a tavern. There were two taverns abutting upon and partly under the hall, known as "Heaven" and "Hell," very ancient places of refreshment much used by the lawyers in term-time; mentioned by Ben Jonson; and which, with a third house called "Purgatory," are recited in a grant of the time of Henry VII.* To "Hell," perhaps without the intention of a bad joke, these forty-one of the parliamentary majority were led, and lodged for the night. The process went on for several days, till some hundred members are disposed of. Before the minority have obtained an entire ascendancy, Colonel Pride is questioned for his conduct, but no satisfaction is given. The house makes a show of disapprobation; but the sergeant-at-arms has brought a message that the excluded members are detained by the army; and business proceeds as if the event were of small consequence. Cromwell has arrived on the night after the sharp medicine known as "Pride's purge" has been administered; and "lay at Whitehall, where, and at other places, he declared that he had not been acquainted with this design; yet since it was done he was glad of it, and would endeavor to maintain it."† Vane, who had spoken vehemently in the great debate of the 4th, against accepting the king's concessions as a ground of settlement, even boldly proclaiming himself for a republic, appears to have taken no part in the illegal proceedings which laid the parliament at the feet of the army. He retired to his estate, and did not come again to parliament till a month after the final blow against monarchy had been struck. "Young Vane" has had justice done to his lofty capacity in being classed with the "great men" who "have been among us"—"hands that penned and tongues that uttered wisdom."‡ Yet his conduct in this crisis can scarcely be attributed to his high-mindedness; and probably Mrs. Hutchinson points to him in saying, "I know upon certain knowledge that many, yea, the most part of them, retreated not for conscience, but for fear and worldly prudence, foreseeing that the insolence of the army might grow to that height as to ruin the cause and reduce the kingdom into the hands of the enemy; and then those who had been most courageous in their country's cause should be given up as victims. These poor men did privately animate those who appeared most publicly."§ The parliamentary minority, being now almost unanimous in their resolve to overthrow the existing government, though perhaps not yet agreed as to the mode of accomplishing this as far as regarded the person of the king, voted to rescind all the votes which had recently passed as to the grounds of a settlement. Another act of military power soon marshalled the way to a resolution of such doubts.

The drawbridge of Hurst Castle is lowered during the night of the 17th of December, and the tramp of a troop of horse is heard by the wakeful prisoner. He calls for his attendant Herbert, who is sent to ascertain the cause of this midnight commotion. Major Harrison is arrived. The king is agitated. He has been warned that Harrison is a man chosen to assassinate him. He is reassured in the morning, in being informed that the major and his troop are to conduct him to Windsor. Two days after the king sets out, under the escort of Lieutenant-Colonel Cobbett. At Winchester he is received in state by the mayor and aldermen; but they retire alarmed on being told that the house has voted all to be traitors who should address the king. The troop commanded by Cobbett has been relieved on the route by another troop, of which Harrison has the command. They rest at Farnham. Charles expresses to Harrison, with whose soldierly appearance he is struck, the suspicions which had been hinted regarding him. The major, in his new buff coat and fringed scarf of crimson silk, told the king "that he needed not to entertain any such imagination or apprehension; that the parliament had too much honor and justice to cherish so foul an intention; and assured him that whatever the parliament resolved to do would be very public, and in a way of justice, to which the world should be witness; and would never endure a thought of secret violence." This, adds Clarendon, "his majesty could not persuade himself to believe; nor did imagine that they durst ever produce him in the sight of the people, under any form whatsoever of a public trial."* The next day the journey was pursued toward Windsor. The king urged his desire to stop at Bagshot, and dine in the Forest at the house of Lord Newburgh. He had been apprised that his friend would have ready for him a horse of extraordinary fleetness, with which he might make one more effort to escape. The horse had been kicked by another horse the day before, and was useless. That last faint hope was gone. On the night of the 23d of December the king slept, a prisoner surrounded with hostile guards, in the noble castle which in the days of his youth had rung with Jonson's lyrics and ribaldry; and the Gypsy of the Masque had prophesied that his "name in peace or wars, nought should bound."† But even here he continued to cherish some of the delusions which he had indulged in situations of far less danger. He was still surrounded with something of regal pomp. He dined, as the ancient sovereigns had dined, in public—as Elizabeth, and his father, and he himself had dined, seated under a canopy, the cup presented to him on the knee, the dishes solemnly tasted before he ate. These manifestations of respect he held to be indicative of an altered feeling. But he also had an undoubting confidence that he should be righted, by aid from Ireland, from Denmark, from other kingdoms: "I have three more cards to play, the worst of which will give me back everything." After three weeks of comparative comfort the etiquette observed toward him was laid aside; and with a fearful sense of approaching calamity in the absence of "respect and honor, according to the ancient practice," he exclaimed, "Is there anything more contemptible than a despised prince?"

During the month in which Charles had remained at Windsor there had been proceedings in parliament of which he was imperfectly informed. On the day he arrived there it was resolved by the Commons that he should be brought to trial. On the 2d of January, 1649, it was voted that, in making war against the parliament, he had been guilty of treason; and a High Court was appointed to try him. One hundred and fifty commissioners were to compose the court—peers, members of the Commons, aldermen of London. The ordinance was sent to the upper house, and was rejected. On the 6th a fresh ordinance, declaring that the people being, after God, the source of all just power, the representatives of the people are the supreme power in the nation; and that whatsoever is enacted or declared for law by the Commons in parliament hath the force of a law, and the people are concluded thereby, though the consent of king or peers be not had thereto. Asserting this power, so utterly opposed either to the ancient constitution of the monarchy, or to the possible working of a republic, there was no hesitation in constituting the High Court of Justice in the name of the Commons alone. The number of members of the court was now reduced to one hundred and thirty-five. They had seven preparatory meetings, at which only fifty-eight members attended. "All men," says Mrs. Hutchinson, "were left to their free liberty of acting, neither persuaded nor compelled; and as there were some nominated in the commission who never sat, and others who sat at first but durst not hold on, so all the rest might have declined it if they would, when it is apparent they should have suffered nothing by so doing."‡ Algernon Sidney, although bent upon a republic, opposed the trial, apprehending that the project of a commonwealth would fail if the king's life were touched. It is related that Cromwell, irritated by these scruples, exclaimed, "No one will stir. I tell you, we will cut his head off with the crown upon it." Such daring may appear the result of ambition, or fear, or revenge, or innate cruelty, in a few men who had obtained a temporary ascendency. These men were, on the contrary, the organs of a widespread determination among thousands throughout the country, who had long preached and argued and prophesied about vengeance on "the great delinquent;" and who had ever in their mouths the text that "blood defileth the land, and the land cannot be cleansed of the blood that is shed therein, but by the blood of him that shed it."§ They had visions of a theocracy, and were impatient of an earthly king.

* Gifford. Notes to "Alchemist," Jonson's Works, vol. iv. p. 174.
† Ludlow, vol. i. p. 272. ‡ Wordsworth.
§ "Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 158.

* "Rebellion," vol. vi. p. 223. † "Gypsies Metamorphosed."
‡ "Memoirs," p. 158.
§ Ludlow uses this text from Numbers, chap. 35, in explaining his convictions.

Do we believe, as some, not without reasonable grounds, may believe, that the members of the High Court of Justice expressed such convictions upon a simulated religious confidence? Do we think that, in the clear line of action which Cromwell especially had laid down for his guidance, he cloaked his worldly ambition under the guise of being moved by some higher impulse than that of taking the lead in a political revolution? Certainly we do not. The infinite mischiefs of assuming that the finger of God directly points out the way to believers, when they are walking in dangerous and devious paths, may be perfectly clear to us, who calmly look back upon the instant events which followed upon Cromwell's confidence in his solemn call to a fearful duty. But we are not the more to believe, because the events have a character of guilt in the views of most persons, that such a declared conviction was altogether, or in any degree, a lie. Those were times in which, more for good than for evil, men believed in the immediate direction of a special Providence in great undertakings. The words, "God hath given us the victory," were not with them a mere form. If we trace amid these solemn impulses the workings of a deep sagacity—the union of the fierce resolves of a terrible enthusiasm with the foresight and energy of an ever-present common-sense—we are not the more to conclude that their spiritualism, or fanaticism, or whatever we please to call their ruling principle, was less sincere by being mixed up with the ordinary motives through which the affairs of the world are carried on. Indeed, when we look to the future course of English history, and see—as those who have no belief in a higher direction of the destiny of nations than that of human wisdom can alone turn away from seeing—that the inscrutable workings of a supreme Power led our country in the fulness of time to internal peace and security after these storms, and in a great degree in consequence of them, can we refuse our belief that the tragical events of those days were ordered for our good? Acknowledging that the overthrow of a rotten throne was necessary for the building up of a throne that should have its sole stable foundation in the welfare of the people, can we affirm that the men who did the mightier portion of that work—sternly, unflinchingly, illegally, yet ever professing to "seek to know the mind of God in all that chain of Providence"—are quite correctly described in the statute for their attainder, as "a party of wretched men, desperately wicked, and hardened in their impiety"?

On the 19th of January Major Harrison appeared again at Windsor with his troop. There was a coach with six horses in the courtyard, in which the king took his seat; and once more he entered London, and was lodged at St. James's Palace. The next day the High Court of Justice was opened in Westminster Hall. An engraving, on which is inscribed "The pageant of this mock tribunal is thus represented to your view by an eye-and-ear witness of what he saw and heard there," furnishes a clearer notion of the arrangements than many words can convey. The king came from St. James's in a sedan; and after the names of the members of the court had been called, sixty nine being present, Bradshaw, the president, ordered the sergeant to bring in the prisoner. Silently the king sat down in the chair prepared for him. He moved not his hat, as he looked sternly and contemptously around. The sixty-nine rose not from their seats, and remained covered. It is scarcely eight years since he was a spectator of the last solemn trial in this hall—that of Strafford. What mighty events have happened since that time! There are memorials hanging from the roof which tell such a history as his saddest fears in the hour of Strafford's death could scarcely have shaped out. The tattered banners taken from his cavaliers at Marston Moor and Naseby are floating above his head. There, too, are the same memorials of Preston. But still he looks around him proudly and severely. Who are the men that are to judge him, the king, who "united in his person every possible claim by hereditary right to the English as well as the Scottish throne, being the heir both of Egbert and William the Conqueror?"* These men are, in his view, traitors and rebels, from Bradshaw, the lawyer, who sits in the foremost chair calling himself lord-president, to Cromwell and Marten in the back seat, over whose heads are the red-cross of England and the harp of Ireland, painted on an escutcheon, while the proud bearings of a line of kings are nowhere visible. Under what law does this insolent president address him as "Charles Stuart, king of England," and say, "The Commons of England being deeply sensible of the calamities that have been brought upon this nation, which are fixed upon you as the principal author of them, have resolved to make inquisition for blood?" He will defy their authority. The clerk reads the charge, and when he is accused therein of being tyrant and traitor, he laughs in the face of the court. "Though his tongue usually hesitated, yet it was very free at this time, for he was never discomposed in mind," writes Warwick. "And yet," it is added, "as he confessed himself to the bishop of London that attended him, one action shocked him very much: for while he was leaning in the court upon his staff, which had a head of gold, the head broke off on a sudden. He took it up, but seemed unconcerned, yet told the bishop it really made a great impression upon him." It was the symbol of the treacherous hopes upon which he had rested—golden dreams that vanished in this solemn hour. Again and again contending against the authority of the court, the king was removed, and the sitting was adjourned to the 22d. On that day the same scene was renewed; and again on the 23d. A growing sympathy for the monarch became apparent. The cries of "Justice, justice," which were heard at first, were now mingled with "God save the king." He had refused to plead; but the court nevertheless employed the 24th and 25th of January in collecting evidence to prove the charge of his levying war against the parliament. Coke, the solicitor-general, then demanded whether the court would proceed to pronouncing sentence; and the members adjourned to the painted chamber. On the 27th the public sitting was resumed. When the name of Fairfax was called, a voice was heard from the gallery, "He has too much wit to be here." The king was brought in; and, when the president addressed the commissioners, and said that the prisoner was before the court to answer a charge of high treason, and other crimes brought against him in the name of the people of England, the voice from the gallery was again heard, "It's a lie—not one half of them." The voice came from Lady Fairfax. The court, Bradshaw then stated, had agreed upon the sentence. Ludlow records that the king "desired to make one proposition before they proceeded to sentence; which he earnestly pressing, as that which he thought would lead to the reconciling of all parties, and to the peace of the three kingdoms, they permitted him to offer it: the effect of which was, that he might meet the two houses, in the painted chamber, to whom he doubted not to offer that which should satisfy and secure all interests." Ludlow goes on to say, "Designing, as I have been since informed, to propose his own resignation, and the admission of his son to the throne upon such terms as should have been agreed upon."* The commissioners retired to deliberate, "and being satisfied, upon debate, that nothing but loss of time would be the consequence of it, they returned into the court with a negative to his demand." Bradshaw then delivered a solemn speech to the king, declaring how he had through his reign endeavored to subvert the laws and introduce arbitrary government; how he had attempted, from the beginning, either to destroy parliaments or to render them subservient to his own designs; how he had levied war against the parliament, by the terror of his power to discourage forever such assemblies from doing their duty, and that in this war many thousands of the good people of England had lost their lives. The clerk was lastly commanded to read the sentence, that his head should be severed from his body; "and the commissioners," says Ludlow, "testified their unanimous assent by standing up." The king attempted to speak; "but being accounted dead in law, was not permitted."

On the 29th of January the court met to sign the sentence of execution, addressed to "Colonel Francis Hacker, Colonel Huncks, and Lieutenant-Colonel Phayr, and to every one of them." This is the memorable document:

"Whereas Charles Stuart, king of England, is and standeth convicted, attainted and condemned of high treason and other high crimes; and sentence upon Saturday last was pronounced against him by this court, to be put to death by the severing of his head from his body; of which sentence execution remaineth to be done:

"These are therefore to will and require you to see the said sentence executed, in the open street before Whitehall, upon the morrow, being the thirtieth day of this instant month of January, between the hours of ten in the morning and five in the afternoon with full effect. And for so doing, this shall be your warrant.

* Blackstone, book i. c. iii. p. 196, Kerr's edition.

* "Memoirs," vol. i. p. 280.

"And these are to require all officers and soldiers, and others the good people of this nation of England, to be assisting unto you in this service.

"Given under our hands and seals,

"JOHN BRADSHAW.
"THOMAS GREY.
"OLIVER CROMWELL."
And fifty-six others.

The statements of the heartless buffonery and the daring violence of Cromwell, at the time of signing the warrant, must be received with some suspicion. He smeared Henry Marten's face with the ink of his pen, and Marten in return smeared his, say the narratives. Probably so. With reference to this anecdote it has been wisely observed, "Such 'toys of desperation' commonly bubble up from a deep flowing stream below."* Another anecdote is told by Clarendon: that Colonel Ingoldsby, one who signed the warrant, was forced to do so with great violence, by Cromwell and others; "and Cromwell, with a loud laughter, taking his hand in his, and putting the pen between his fingers, with his own hand writ 'Richard Ingoldsby,' he making all the resistance he could." Ingoldsby gave this relation, in the desire to obtain a pardon after the restoration; and to confirm his story he said, "if his name there were compared with what he had ever writ himself, it could never be looked upon as his own hand." Warburton, in a note upon this passage, says, "The original warrant is still extant, and Ingoldsby's name has no such mark of its being wrote in that manner."

The king knew his fate. He resigned himself to it with calmness and dignity, with one exceptional touch of natural human passion, when he said to Bishop Juxon, although resigning himself to meet his God, "We will not talk of these rogues, in whose hands I am; they thirst for my blood, and they will have it, and God's will be done. I thank God, I heartily forgive them, and I will talk of them no more." He took an affectionate leave of his daughter, the Princess Elizabeth, twelve years old; and of his son, the Duke of Gloucester, of the age of eight. To him he said: "Mark, child, what I say; they will cut off my head, and perhaps make thee king; but thou must not be king so long as thy brothers Charles and James live." And the child said, "I will be torn in pieces first." There were some attempts to save him. The Dutch ambassador made vigorous efforts to procure a reprieve, while the French and Spanish ambassadors were inert. The ambassadors from the States nevertheless persevered, and early in the day of the 30th obtained some glimmering of hope from Fairfax. "But we found," they say in their dispatch, "in front of the house in which we had just spoken with the general, about two hundred horsemen; and we learned, as well on our way as on reaching home, that all the streets, passages, and squares of London were occupied by troops, so that no one could pass, and that the approaches of the city were covered with cavalry, so as to prevent any one from coming in or going out. . . . The same day, between two and three o'clock, the king was taken to a scaffold covered with black, erected before Whitehall."†

To that scaffold before Whitehall Charles walked, surrounded by soldiers, through the leafless avenues of St. James's Park. It was a bitterly cold morning. Evelyn records that the Thames was frozen over. The season was so sharp that the king asked to have a shirt more than ordinary, when he carefully dressed himself. He left St. James's at ten o'clock. He remained in his chamber at Whitehall, for about three hours, in prayer, and then received the sacrament. He was pressed to dine, but refused, taking a piece of bread and a glass of wine. His purposed address to the people was delivered only to the hearing of those upon the scaffold, but its purport was that the people "mistook the nature of government; for people are free under a government, not by being sharers in it, but by due administration of the laws of it."‡ His theory of government was a consistent one. He had the misfortune not to understand that the time had been fast passing away for its assertion. The headsman did his office, and a deep groan went up from the surrounding multitude.

It is scarcely necessary that we should offer any opinion upon this tremendous event. The world had never before seen an act so daring conducted with such a calm determination; and the few moderate men of that time balanced the illegality, and also the impolicy of the execution of Charles, by the fact that "it was not done in a corner," and that those who directed or sanctioned the act offered no apology, but maintained its absolute necessity and justice. "That horrible sentence upon the most innocent person in the world, the execution of that sentence by the most execrable murder that was ever committed since that of our blessed Saviour,"* forms the text which Clarendon gave for the rhapsodies of party during two centuries. On the other hand, the eloquent address of Milton to the people of England has been in the hearts and mouths of many who have known that the establishment of the liberties of their country, duly subordinated by the laws of a free monarchy, may be dated from this event: "God has endued you with greatness of mind to be the first of mankind, who, after having conquered their own king, and having had him delivered into their hands, have not scrupled to condemn him judicially, and, pursuant to that sentence of condemnation, to put him to death."† In these times in England, when the welfare of the throne and the people are identical, we can, on the one hand, afford to refuse our assent to the blasphemous comparison of Clarendon (blasphemy more offensively repeated in the church service for the 30th of January) and at the same time affirm that the judicial condemnation which Milton so admires was illegal, unconstitutional, and in its immediate results dangerous to liberty. But feeling that far greater dangers would have been incurred if "the caged tiger had been let loose," and knowing that out of the errors and anomalies of those times a wiser revolution grew, for which the first more terrible revolution was a preparation, we may cease to examine this great historical question in any bitterness of spirit, and even acknowledge that the death of Charles, a bad king, though in some respects a good man, was necessary for the life of England, and for her "teaching other nations how to live." We must accept as just and true Milton's admonition to his countrymen in reference to this event, which he terms "so glorious an action," with many reasonable qualifications as to its glory; and yet apply even to ourselves his majestic words: "After the performing so glorious an action as this, you ought to do nothing that is mean and little, not so much as to think of, much less to do anything, but what is great and sublime. Which to attain to, this is your only way: as you have subdued your enemies in the field, so to make appear, that unarmed, and in the highest outward peace and tranquillity, you of all mankind are best able to subdue ambition, avarice, the love of riches, and can best avoid the corruptions that prosperity is apt to introduce (which generally subdue and triumph over other nations), to show as great justice, temperance, and moderation in the maintaining your liberty as you have shown courage in freeing yourselves from slavery."

CHAPTER XCVIII.

Proclamation against a new king—The Icon Basilikê—Council of State appointed—Trial and execution of royalists—The Levellers—Levellers in the army suppressed—Trial of Lilburne—Charles II. at St. Germain's—Ireland—Cromwell lord lieutenant—Cromwell's campaign—Drogheda—Wexford—Cromwell's account of the slaughters—Waterford—Rupert driven from the coast—Surrender of Cork—Cromwell's policy in Ireland—Cromwell returns to London.

On the afternoon of Tuesday, the 30th of January, the sergeant-at-arms, accompanied by pursuivants and surrounded by cavalry, appears at Cheapside. Trumpets sound, and crowds gather about, to hear a proclamation, that whoever shall proclaim a new king, without authority of parliament, shall be deemed a traitor. An hour only has passed since the last king, upon the scaffold at Whitehall,

"bowed his comely head
Down as upon a bed."‡

What a night of curiosity and fear in the public haunts and private chambers of the great city! That afternoon the House of Commons order "that the post be stayed until to-morrow morning, ten of the clock." That post, which under the parliament has become gen

* Forster. "Life of Marten," p. 314.
† Dispatch from the Ambassador Extraordinary of the States General; in the Appendix to Guizot's "English Revolution."
‡ Warwick, p. 345.

* "Rebellion," vol. vii. p. 236.
† "Defensio pro populo Anglicano." ‡ Andrew Marvel.

eral, instead of being irregularly dispatched upon a few roads, is now a weekly conveyance of letters into all parts of the nation. On that morning of the 31st it will go out of London with letters and little newspapers that will move terror and pity throughout the land. A few will rejoice in the great event; some will weep over it; others will vow a fearful revenge. "The more I ruminate upon it," writes Howell seven weeks afterward, "the more it astonisheth my imagination and shaketh all the cells of my brain; so that sometimes I struggle with my faith, and have much ado to believe it yet" * There was, at the time of the king's execution, a book being printed which was to surround his life with the attributes of a saint, and to invest him in death with the glory of a martyr. The "Icon Basiliké, or Portraiture of his Sacred Majesty, in his Solitudes and Sufferings, purported to be written by Charles the First himself. Milton who was directed by the parliament to answer this Icon, or Image, treats it in his "Iconoclastes, or Image-breaker," as if the king had "left behind him this book as the best advocate and interpreter of his own actions;" but at the same time Milton is careful to add, "as to the author of these soliloquies, whether it were the late king, as is vulgarly believed, or any secret coadjutor (and some stick not to name him) it can add nothing, nor shall take from the weight, if any be, of reason which he brings." The question of the authorship of this book has now passed out of the region of party violence; the controversy on that matter has almost merged, as a literary problem, into the belief that it was written by Dr. Gauden, afterward Bishop of Exeter. This divine probably submitted it to Charles during his long sojourn in the Isle of Wight; he published it as the work of the king; but he claimed the authorship after the restoration. Mr. Hallam remarks upon the internal evidence of its authenticity that "it has all the air of a fictitious composition. Cold, stiff, elaborate, without a single allusion that bespeaks the superior knowledge of facts which the king must have possessed, it contains little but those rhetorical commonplaces which would suggest themselves to any forger." But these "rhetorical commonplaces" are the best evidence, not of the genuineness of the book, but of the skill of the author. They were precisely what was required to make "attachment to the memory of the king become passion, and respect, worship"—so M. Guizot describes the effect of the Icon. It was an universal appeal to the feelings, in a style moving along with a monotonous dignity befitting royalty, though occasionally mingled with cold metaphors. It set forth the old blind claims to implicit obedience—or as Milton has it, maintained "the common grounds of tyranny and popery, sugared a little over"—amid the manifestations of a sincere piety and a resigned sadness. In one year there were fifty editions of this book sold. "Had it appeared a week sooner it might have preserved the king," † thinks one writer. That may be doubted. But it produced the effect which those so-called histories produce which endeavor to fix the imagination solely upon the personal attributes and sorrows of kings and queens, instead of presenting a sober view of their relations to their subjects. Sentiment with the majority is always more powerful than reason; and thus Milton's "Iconoclastes" being a partisan's view of Charles's public actions—a cold though severe view, in the formal style of a state paper—produced little or no effect upon the national opinions, and is now read only for the great name of the author.

On the 6th of February the Commons, now reduced to little more than a hundred members, by their vote declared the House of Lords "useless and dangerous." On the 7th another vote was recorded: "It hath been found by experience, and this house doth declare, that the office of a king, in this nation, and to have the power thereof in any single person, is unnecessary, burthensome, and dangerous to the liberty, safety, and public interest of the people of this nation, and therefore ought to be abolished." The body of King Charles, on this day, when the abolition of the royal office had been thus decreed, was removed to Windsor. On the 8th the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hertford, and the Earls of Southampton and Lindsey arrived at the castle, "to perform the last duty to their dead master, and to wait upon him to his grave." Amid a fall of snow the corpse was borne from the great hall of the castle to St. George's Chapel; and it was deposited "in a vault, where two coffins were laid near one another, supposed to contain the bodies of King Henry VIII. and Queen Jane Seymour." * The governor of the castle forbade the Church service to be performed, through his bigoted resolve that, the Common Prayer having been put down, he would not suffer it to be read in the garrison where he commanded.

A due provision for the exercise of the executive authority was speedily made by the parliament, in the appointment of a council of state, consisting of forty-one persons. This council comprised the three chief judges, the three commanders of the army, five peers, and thirty members of the house. It was required of the individuals composing the council that each should sign a document expressing approbation of the proceedings by which the monarchy had been overthrown. Twenty-two refused to enter into such an engagement. There were violent debates; but moderation ultimately prevailed. The past was to remain unnoticed, in a pledge of fidelity for the future. Sir Henry Vane has left his testimony to the course which he took under these circumstances; "When required by the parliament to take an oath, to give my approbation, *ex post facto*, to what was done, I utterly refused, and would not accept of sitting in the council of state, upon those terms, but occasioned a new oath to be drawn, wherein that was omitted." † Vane became an active member of the council. He and others who had refused to sanction the deeds of the regicides did not shrink from laboring with them in the public service. Bradshaw was chosen president of the council, and Milton was appointed its Latin secretary. The members chosen saw the necessity of holding together in the great duty of saving the country from intestine commotion and foreign assault. The courts of law were reopened; the command of the navy was put into able hands, who soon made the flag of England respected in every sea. But although the vigilance of the council was sufficient for the repression of anarchy, with a powerful army at its command, it was not sufficient for establishing a willing obedience to the parliamentary act, "That the people of England, and of all the dominions and territories thereunto belonging, are and shall be, and are hereby constituted, made, established, and confirmed, to be a commonwealth, or free state." It was the 30th of May before the commonwealth was proclaimed in the city, and the late king's statues thrown down at the Exchange, and at the portico of St. Paul's. The lord mayor had been deprived of his office, and a new chief magistrate appointed, before the scruples of the municipal body could be overcome. There was a like indisposition among the beneficed clergy, the members of the universities, and many civil functionaries, to accept the oath of fidelity as the condition of retaining office or privilege. But those who refused were exempt from any punishment, and thus the new government gradually acquired consistency by its abstinence from any measures of general violence. There was one striking exception to its course of moderation. Five state prisoners, royalists whom the fortune of war had thrown into the hands of the parliament, were to be sacrificed to what was called justice upon delinquents. The Duke of Hamilton, who had been in confinement since his defeat at Preston; the Earl of Holland, to whom an opportunity of changing his side was not again to be permitted; the Earl of Norwich; Lord Capel; and Sir John Owen, were brought to trial before a new High Court of Justice, in sittings which lasted from the 10th of February to the 6th of March. Of these royalist leaders Lord Capel was the most eminent in courage and ability, and therefore the most dreaded by the republicans. On the day after the house had resolved upon bringing these adherents of the late king to trial, Lord Capel made his escape from the Tower by dropping from his window into the ditch of the fortress; but he was discovered the same evening, and conveyed back to his prison. The High Court condemned all the five to be beheaded. The honest Welsh squire, Sir John Owen, gave the court thanks, saying "it was a very great honor to a poor gentleman of Wales to lose his head with such noble lords, and swore a great oath that he was afraid they would have hanged him." ‡ The court, however, referred the execution of the sentence to the decision of parliament. For the Duke of Hamilton's reprieve there were few

* "Letters," vol. iii. p. 36. † Laing.

* "Herbert's Memoirs." Charles II. caused a search to be made for the vault, when the parliament had voted a large sum for a public interment. The search was fruitless, and the king put the money in his pocket. George IV. wished to gratify a reasonable curiosity, and the vault with its coffins was readily found.

† Speech on his trial; given in Mr. Forster's Life.

‡ Clarendon, vol. vi. p. 256.

votes. The sentence of Lord Holland was confirmed by a majority of one. The Earl of Norwich was saved by the casting vote of the speaker, Lenthall. Cromwell spoke upon the petition in favor of Lord Capel. He bore testimony to his high qualities; but his affection for the public, he said, weighed down his private friendship—"the question now is, whether you will preserve the most bitter and the most implacable enemy you have." When Cromwell alluded to private friendship, he looked back upon the time when Capel was the first in the long parliament to complain of grievances. He was reserved for execution, with Hamilton and Holland. Owen escaped through the intervention of Colonel Hutchinson. Mrs. Hutchinson relates the circumstance in a very interesting passage: "While there was such mighty labor and endeavor for these lords, Colonel Hutchinson observed that no man spoke for this poor knight, and sitting next to Colonel Ireton, he expressed himself to him and told him, that it pitied him much to see that, while all were laboring to save the lords, a gentleman that stood in the same condemnation should not find one friend to ask his life; and so, said he, am I moved with compassion that, if you will second me, I am resolved to speak for him, who, I perceive, is a stranger and friendless. Ireton promised to second him, and accordingly inquiring further of the man's condition, whether he had not a petition in any member's hands, he found that his keepers had brought one to the clerk of the house, but the man had not found any one that would interest themselves for him, thinking the lords' lives of so much more concernment than this gentleman's. This the more stirred up the colonel's generous pity, and he took the petition, delivered it, spoke for him so nobly, and was so effectually seconded by Ireton, that they carried his pardon clear." * The three condemned noblemen were executed on the 9th of March in Palace Yard. Capel, as Whitelocke records, carried himself "much after the manner of a stout Roman." Public indignation was loudly expressed against this severity. The time was not yet arrived when political offences against the reigning power could be dealt with mercifully. But the English republicans of 1649 abstained from any more such blood-shedding, the case of Colonel Poyer excepted. He was tried by court-martial, and shot in Covent Garden. After these demonstrations of power the public excitement appears generally to have calmly settled down into a submission to the new order of things, in spite of the violent demonstrations of the famous John Lilburne. He published several pamphlets, one being entitled "England's new chains discovered," and he was committed to the Tower, to be tried in due time. Meanwhile, while the men of station and property, the nobles and the gentry, the citizens and the yeomen, are settling into their accustomed course of life, a spirit is getting loose which appears to be born of all great revolutions, and which in modern times has rendered revolutions very terrible to the apprehensions of all those who have anything to lose. The "Levellers" of 1649 were, in a small way, the precursors of the "Socialists" of 1849. At St. Margaret's Hill, and at St. George's Hill, in Surrey—a sandy district, now "a silent sea of pines"—appeared a band of thirty men, headed by one formerly in the army who called himself a prophet. They took possession of the ground, and began digging it, and dibbling beans, in that sowing-time. They said they should shortly be four thousand in number; that the should pull down park-pales and lay all open. The residents near these Surrey hills were alarmed, and requested Fairfax to send a troop of horse for their protection. The Diggers, as they called themselves, were brought before the general; when the prophet declared that a vision had appeared to him, and said, "Arise, and dig and plough the earth, and receive the fruits thereof;" that their intent was to restore the creation to its former condition; that they only meant to meddle with what was common and untilled; but that the time was at hand when all men shall willingly come in and give up their lands and estates, and submit to this community of goods.† These men, and many others who were adverse to the existing republic, having various schemes of perfectibility, came to be known by the general name of Levellers. They were only really formidable when they had arms in their hands. But it required the utmost vigilance and decision to encounter the mutinous temper which was again breaking forth among the military class. The civil war had burst out again in Ireland, and it was decided that twenty-eight regiments should be sent thither, under the command of Lieutenant General Cromwell. The regiments to go are chosen by lot; but the common men have no inclination for the service. Lilburne's pamphlets are circulating among them. They are brooding over bi wild declamations in their London and country quarters. A troop of Whalley's regiment lies at the Bull Inn, at Bishopsgate; and although not ordered for Ireland, they refuse to leave London; rise in open mutiny. Their conduct is sufficiently alarming to demand the instant presence of Fairfax and Cromwell. The ringleaders are seized and tried by court-martial. Five are condemned; and one is the next day shot in St. Paul's Churchyard—a strange place for a military execution; but not so strange when compared with the use to which the grand old Gothic cathedral was now applied. It had become a stable for cavalry. "It was a bitter taunt of the Italian who passing by Paul's Church and seeing it full of horses, 'Now I perceive,' said he, 'that in England men and beasts serve God alike.'" The same amusing letter-writer says, "The air of this city is not sweet, specially in the heart of the city, in and about Paul's Church where horse-dung is a yard deep." So amid this filth was troope Lockyer shot; and in a week after this tragedy of the 27th of April thousands of people are following his corpse to the grave—a corps "adorned with bunches of rosemary, one half-stained in blood"—thousands of men and women, rank and file, with sea-green and black ribbons on their hats and on their breasts. Something there is very serious in this, not only to the commonwealth but to any stable order of society. Lilburne, not under much restraint in the Tower sends out another pamphlet full of crude notions of what the people were to do to establish a perfect government upon Bible principles under which all men were to gather unheard-of happiness. A review takes place in Hyde Park, where some of the men wear the sea-green ribbon, the symbol of disaffection; but Cromwell frightens or pacifies them. Lilburne is now committed to close confinement. But there are portions of the army in distant quarters, and at Banbury two hundred men are in revolt; at Salisbury a thousand. Fairfax and Cromwell march with all haste to Salisbury. The mutineers have hurried away to join their companions in Oxfordshire. Fairfax and Cromwell are rapidly on their track, having marched fifty miles in one day. The mutineers halt at Burford. It is midnight when Cromwell comes suddenly upon their quarters. A few shots are fired, but there is no escape for these men, who are without a head to guide them. There is no slaughter; but the principle of military obedience is sustained, now and henceforward, by justice mingled with mercy. A court-martial has been held, and ten out of every hundred of the mutineers have been set aside for death. They are placed on the leads of the church, while a cornet and two corporals are shot. They are awaiting their own fate, when Cromwell calls them before him in the church. He speaks to them in one of his peculiar harangues, apparently so involved, but always keeping the main point in view. The men weep. They are pardoned. In a few weeks they are on their way to serve in Ireland. "Levelling, in the practical civil or military provinces of English things, is forbidden to be." † Cromwell had said to the Council of State, "You must make an end of this party or it will make an end of you." He accomplished the work with a moderation that shows that severity is not more powerful than mercy, in the generality of cases. The nation felt that it had escaped a great danger. There was a solemn thanksgiving-day; the House of Commons was invited to a civic feast; and Fairfax and Cromwell were presented with services of plate by the corporation of London. The terror of anarchical disturbances had almost wholly passed away. The Council of State labored to reconcile differences; to render the administration of the law more speedy and certain; to remove the impediments to a free exercise of religious observances among various denominations of Protestants. Evelyn heard the Common Prayer read in St. Peter's Church at Paul's wharf, and listened to a sermon from Archbishop Usher, in Lincoln's Inn Chapel. But still there was danger to be apprehended in the intrigues of the more restless of the cavaliers with the remnant of the Levellers; and unnatural as was such an alliance, one of these wrote to Lord Cottington, who was with Charles in France, "His majesty's friends have no possibility of embodying, unless the Levellers lead the way." Their hopes rested upon Lilburne, who was

* "Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 164. † Whitelocke.

* Howell, vol. iii. Letter xix. † Carlyle, vol. ii. p. 29.

again busy with his pamphlets. Conciliation was tried in vain with this man, who possessed none of the qualifications for a popular leader but those of reckless vanity and indomitable courage. The parliament at length resolved to send him to trial. He was to be tried by a common jury, though a commission of members of parliament was appointed to determine his sentence. That office was spared them by his acquittal. Toward the close of the second day's proceedings at Guildhall, Lilburne, who had defended himself with great spirit, suddenly addressed the jury with these solemn words: "You are my sole judges, the keepers of my life, at whose hands the Lord will require my blood. And therefore I desire you to know your power, and consider your duty, both to God, to me, to your own selves, and to your country; and the gracious assisting spirit and presence of the Lord God Omnipotent, the governor of heaven and earth, and all things therein contained, go along with you, give counsel and direct you to do that which is just, and for his glory." And then all the spectators cried out, "Amen! Amen!" The chief justice charged the jury, amid the dread of a popular disturbance. After three quarters of an hour the verdict was that John Lilburne was not guilty of all the treasons, or of any of the treasons charged upon him. A shout went up from all the people as the shout of one voice; bonfires were lighted throughout the city; and after a vain attempt to hold him in custody Freeborn John was set free. This event took place in October. It is satisfactory to contrast the independence of a jury at this revolutionary period with the servile compliance to the behests of power by juries in the Tudor and Stuart times. Amid the manifold evils of the civil war the people had learned to know the foundations of their liberties; and in the case of Lilburne and his Levellers, jurors were not carried away by a panic about property to yield to the desire of the government without a just sense of their own responsibility. Though in succeeding days of corrupt rulers juries were again the worst instruments of tyranny, the verdict of twelve men was to become the ultimate safeguard for an honest judgment in times of political excitement, when ministers have been as disposed to stretch the laws as subjects have been inclined to regard even their wholesome administration with jealousy and impatience.

Six months have elapsed since the death of Charles I. Charles II. is an exile at St. Germain's. He has Hyde and other experienced counsellors about him; and he has also more agreeable associates in adversity—frivolous and profligate courtiers who encourage his indolence and sensuality. English royalists resort to him, and to the queen dowager, who consoled herself in the society of Lord Jermyn for the loss of her husband and her great station. The course of life of mother and son was regarded with complacency even by royalists of sober conduct. The staid Mr. Evelyn, on the 19th of August, "went to St. Germain's to kiss his majesty's hand; in the coach, which was my Lord Wilmot's, went Mrs. Barlow, the king's mistress and mother to the Duke of Monmouth, a brown, beautiful, bold, but insipid creature." The next day he went to Paris, "to salute the French king and the queen dowager." The French king was Louis XIV., then a boy of about eleven years old; and at that time there was a brief suspension to the civil war of La Fronde. Though the Stuarts had an asylum at the French court there was no substantial aid to be expected in that quarter. Previous to his residence at St. Germain's Charles had been at the Hague, under the protection of his brother-in-law, the Prince of Orange. He had been proclaimed king of Scotland, at Edinburgh, on the 5th of February, and commissioners had come to him from the Scottish parliament to invite his return to his kingdom. They did not offer him an unconditional invitation. He was to proceed to Scotland, without Montrose and those other friends who were obnoxious to the Presbyterians; and he was to agree to the Covenant of 1638. He was urged by the sounder Scotsmen about him to accept the terms. He was counselled by Montrose to win his dominions by the sword. The great leader of the Scottish ultra-royalists was consistent. His one idea was to revenge the death of Charles I.:

> "I'll sing thine obsequies with trumpet sounds,
> And write thine epitaph in blood and wounds."

So wrote Montrose when he heard of the execution of his master, and so he continued to believe was his own destiny in connection with the son. The followers of Montrose carried out his feverish notions of loyalty by an act which can only find its defence in political fanaticism. On the 3d of May, while the Scottish commissioners were at the Hague, Dr. Isaac Dorislaus, a native of Holland, who had assisted as counsel at the trial of Charles I., and who had been sent by the parliament as one of the embassy to the United Provinces, was murdered in his inn by six men in masks. They were Scotsmen, of the party of Montrose. This event was not calculated to smooth the difficulties of Charles's position with the Presbyterian commissioners; and he dismissed them, with a negative upon their proposals. At this period he was also especially urged by the Marquis of Ormond to show himself in Ireland, where three fourths of the nation were his faithful adherents. It is not easy to describe the state of parties in Ireland at this time. The majority of the people and their leaders were violent papists—those with whom Charles I. had so often and so fatally intrigued to punish his rebellious subjects and establish the Anglican Church. The Protestant portion of the population, English or Irish, lived in dread and hatred of those who had perpetrated the frightful massacre of 1641; and they, in common with some of the more moderate Catholics, had no disposition to welcome the king for whom the large body of papists had declared. Ormond rallied under his banner any leader who was a royalist, and who would join this strange confederacy of Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Catholics of the Pale, Catholics of wild regions beyond the Pale—some for freedom of religion—most for exterminating all creeds but their own. Ormond had concluded a special treaty with the Irish Catholics, on the part of Charles II., by which they agreed to maintain a large army to serve against the commonwealth of England, on condition that the free exercise of the Catholic worship should be permitted. Ireland appeared thus on the point of being separated from English control; ready to take a prominent part in another English civil war. The king had been proclaimed. Dublin, Belfast, and Londonderry were the only garrisons held by English commanders; and Prince Rupert was in St. George's Channel with a formidable fleet. At this juncture it was determined that Cromwell should proceed to Ireland with full military and administrative powers—General-in-Chief and Lord Lieutenant.

It was the 10th of July when Cromwell left London, "in that state and equipage as the like hath hardly been seen," said the newspapers. He proceeded to Bristol, and there he remained several weeks. Whether he lingered there to watch the course of events in London, or to make the requisite preparations for a difficult enterprise, is not very clear. Before he left London, one of the French ministers wrote to Cardinal Mazarin, "It can hardly be possible that Cromwell, who, according to the belief of many, carries his ideas beyond even the suggestions of the most undisciplined ambition, can resolve to abandon this kingdom to the mercy of the plots which may be formed in his absence, and which his presence can prevent from being so much as undertaken."* Cromwell by the end of July had gone toward Milford Haven; and he embarked on the 13th of August. Meanwhile the news had reached him of a great victory obtained over the forces of the Marquis of Ormond, who was besieging Dublin. Before the end of July a portion of Cromwell's army had landed; and thus reinforced, Lieutenant-General Jones, the governor of Dublin, had sallied forth and utterly routed the besiegers at the village of Rathmines. Cromwell himself arrived in Dublin on the 15th of August. He was received, say the contemporary narratives, with the firing of guns and the acclamations of the people. The multitude that gathered about him was very great. They were anxious to see one "whom before they had heard so much of." He spoke to the crowd, "in an humble posture, having his hat in his hand," telling them "that as God had brought him thither in safety, so he doubted not but, by his divine providence, to restore them all to their just liberties and properties;" promising the favor and gratitude of the parliament of England to "all those whose hearts' affections were real for the carrying on of the great work against the barbarous and blood-thirsty Irish, and their adherents and confederates; for the propagating of the gospel of Christ, the establishing of truth and peace, and restoring that bleeding nation to its former happiness

* Letter of June 14th, 1649; "Archives des Affaires Étrangères de France," quoted by M. Guizot, in "History of Cromwell," vol. i. p. 88.

and tranquillity." "Answer was returned by many hundreds that they would live and die with him." *

It is clear from this speech that Cromwell was preparing for some terrible work; and it is also manifest that the Protestant people of Dublin were well disposed to second his endeavors against "the barbarous and blood-thirsty Irish." It was in the minds of many that the time was come to avenge the massacre which had desolated so many homes. But the Lord Lieutenant contemplated no general waste and destruction; and he issued a proclamation requiring all officers and soldiers, at their utmost perils, "not to do any wrong or violence toward country people, or persons whatsoever, unless they be actually in arms or office with the enemy." The farmers and others were invited to come to the camp and sell their commodities for ready money. Nevertheless the Lord Lieutenant went forth to fight in a sterner mood than he ever showed in the English civil wars. He went to try his strength, not only against the hordes of half-savage men who, during the whole course of the war between the king and the parliament, had been burning and plundering and murdering, with slight regard to any common principle of action, but he went to do battle wherever, under the banner of the royalists, were gathered Catholics, English, or Irish—Protestants, English, Scotch, or Irish—captains who had fought at Naseby, or wild chieftains who came from their woods to exercise all the cruelties of partisan warfare. Ireland was in such a condition that the coming of this man in his wrath was eventually a real blessing. To follow this Irish war through its terrible details would be as wearisome as repulsive. But it has a strange interest, as recorded in the letters of the chief instrument in events which were decisive as to the future destiny of that kingdom, so long unhappy, so capable of happiness.

Tredah, now called Drogheda, in Leinster, was garrisoned by three thousand men under the command of Sir Arthur Ashton, an old English royalist, who had lost a leg, and whose troops were chiefly English. Cromwell, setting down before the place, summoned the governor to surrender. The governor refused. In a similar summons sent afterward to the commander in Dundalk, Cromwell writes, "I offered mercy to the garrison at Tredah in sending the governor a summons before I attempted the taking of it, which being refused brought their evil upon them. If you, being warned thereby, shall surrender your garrison to the use of the parliament of England, which by this I summon you to do, you may prevent effusion of blood. If, upon refusing this offer, that which you like not befalls you, you will know whom to blame." † We give this brief threat before we recount "their evil" at Drogheda, to show that the horrible "effusion of blood" there was not the effect of any sudden impulse. On the 10th of September, then, surrender having been refused, the place was stormed, after bombardment. The first attacking party were driven back. The second, headed by Cromwell himself, carried all the intrenchments. "Being thus entered," writes the general to the president of the Council of State, "we refused them quarter, having, the day before, summoned the town. I believe we put to the sword the whole number of the defendants. I do not think thirty of the whole number escaped with their lives. Those that did are in safe custody for the Barbadoes." He then relates that Trim and Dundalk have surrendered; and adds, with reference to the slaughter of Drogheda, where only one officer escaped, "The enemy upon this were filled with much terror. And truly I believe this bitterness will save much effusion of blood, through the goodness of God." We look with horror upon such wholesale butchery; and yet its perpetrator was in his nature the very opposite of cruel. He feels that some defence is necessary for such severities; and in a more detailed dispatch to the speaker he repeats his belief "that it will tend to prevent the effusion of blood for the future; which are the satisfactory grounds to such actions, which otherwise cannot but work remorse and regret." We must follow this resolute man to Wexford. There, again, was a terrible slaughter; but it was not set about with a deliberate purpose. It was such a slaughter as has too often been the result of a storm by an infuriated soldiery. There had been negotiations for the surrender of the castle and town, upon merciful and honorable conditions, going on from the 3d to the 11th of October. The castle was surrendered; but the town being supposed to hold out, and armed men advancing toward the castle the troops of Cromwell stormed it; and "when they were come int the market-place, the enemy making a stiff resistance, our force brake them; and then put all to the sword that came in their way." Cromwell then adds to this account, "It hath not, without cause been deeply set upon our hearts, that, we intending better to thi place than so great a ruin, hoping the town might be of more use t you and your army, yet God would not have it so; but by an un expected providence, in his righteous justice, brought a just judg ment upon them, causing *them* to become a prey to the soldier, wh in their piracies had made prey of so many families, and now wit their bloods to answer the cruelties which they had exercised upo the lives of divers poor Protestants." This confidence that an ac cidental and unnecessary slaughter was a divine judgment is consist ent with the whole character of Cromwell's mind. He did not ex press such opinions without a strong conviction. The slaughter a Drogheda, set about with a stern determination to make such a be ginning of the war as should shortly bring it to an end, was perfectl comprehensible by Cromwell's contemporaries. Ludlow, no frien of Cromwell, remarks of this "extraordinary severity," that he pre sumes "it was used to discourage others from making opposition." Another writer of the time says, "Yet cruelty could not be laid t his charge, for, like a politic state physician, he here opens one vei to preserve the whole body of the nation from a lingering war; an by this course likewise he wrought such a terror in the enemy tha ever after he made but short work of any siege, and in small tim reduced the whole nation." † The Jacobite historian of the next ag denounces "the execrable policy of that Regicide, which had th effect he proposed." An enlightened and truly pious minister o our own day writes of this Irish campaign, "For nine years a mos insane war has been raging. Cromwell, by merciful severity, con cludes it in nine months." ‡ The view which dispassionate person take of these events will always be a mixed one. They will regar them somewhat, but not altogether, in the spirit of M. Guizot, whe he says, "It is the ordinary artifice of bad passions to impute th cruel satisfaction with which they glut themselves, either to som great idea whose accomplishment they are earnestly pursuing, or t the absolute necessity of success;" and they will feel with this writer whose philosophy is so connected with a vast experience, that "hu man fanaticism also lies, or allows itself to be deluded by pride when it pretends to be the executor of the high decrees of divine jus tice." § But while they remember many incidents of later times i which "bad passions" and "human fanaticism" have perpetrate cruelties and injustice, they will not, without due examination of th character of Cromwell, agree with M. Guizot, that "he was dete mined to succeed rapidly, and at any cost, from the necessities of hi fortune, far more than for the advancement of his cause;" or admi that "he denied no outlet to the passions of those who served him." M. Guizot, well read as he is in English history, is pointing these re marks nearer home—a mode of expressing political opinions whic may be safe in its immediate purposes, but not altogether consisten with historical impartiality.

Charles II. was at St. Germain's when he received the news of Or mond's defeat before Dublin. In the heroic vein, which little suite his nature, he exclaimed, "Then must I go there to die." He wen as far as Jersey, where the news of the fall of Drogheda reached him It produced the same effect upon his spirits as upon the courtiers h had left at St. Germain's. In Evelyn's Diary of the 15th of Octobe we have this entry: "Came news of Drogheda being taken by th rebels, and all put to the sword; which made us very sad, forerun ning the loss of all Ireland." Cromwell marched on, taking town after town, until he met with a stout resistance at Waterford; an the weather being very tempestuous, he went into winter quarters But his rapid marches from fortress to fortress have changed th whole aspect of affairs. General Blake has interrupted the operation of Prince Rupert in the Irish seas. Cork Harbor is now the victual ling place for the fleet, instead of Milford Haven. Rupert, with th ships which he has commanded since the revolt of the sailors i 1648, has taken refuge in Kinsale, instead of making rich prizes o

* "Perfect Politician," p. 53, ed. of 1680 (originally printed on 1660).
† Carlyle (from an autograph), vol. ii. p. 48.

* "Memoirs," vol. i. p. 303. † "Perfect Politician," p. 56.
‡ "Lectures on Great Men," by the late Frederic Myers, M.A., p 259, 1856. § "History of Cromwell," vol. i. p. 98.

English merchantmen. Lady Fanshawe, who at this time was at Cork, writes that Cromwell "so hotly marched over Ireland that the fleet with Prince Rupert was forced to set sail." This was an indirect consequence, in a little time after, of Cromwell's hot marches. A more immediate consequence was the submission of Youghal and of Cork to the authority of the parliament. There is a passage in the Memoirs of Lady Fanshawe which presents a vivid picture of the mode in which such warlike operations affect individuals; an interesting episode amid graver matters of wars and bitter hatreds. The poor lady had been residing at Red Abbey, in Cork, for six months with her husband, who was waiting "his majesty's commands how to dispose himself." Sir Richard Fanshawe had gone for a day to Kinsale. His wife, by the fall of a stumbling horse, had broken her left wrist, which was ill set, and put her to great pain. She was in bed on a night early in November: "At midnight I heard the great guns go off, and thereupon I called up my family to rise, which I did as well as I could in that condition. Hearing lamentable shrieks of men, women, and children, I asked at a window the cause; they told me they were all Irish, stripped and wounded, and turned out of the town, and that Colonel Jefferies, with some others, had possessed themselves of the town for Cromwell. Upon this I immediately wrote a letter to my husband, blessing God's providence that he was not there with me, persuading him to patience and hope that I should get safely out of the town, by God's assistance, and desired him to shift for himself, for fear of a surprise, with promise that I would secure his papers. So soon as I had finished my letter I sent it by a faithful servant, who was let down the garden wall of Red Abbey, and, sheltered by the darkness of the night, he made his escape. I immediately packed up my husband's cabinet, with all his writings, and near 1000*l.* in gold and silver, and all other things, both of clothes, linen, and household stuff that were portable, of value; and then, about three o'clock in the morning, by the light of a taper, and in that pain I was in, I went into the market place, with only a man and maid, and passing through an unruly tumult with their swords in their hands, searched for their chief commander, Jefferies, who, while he was loyal, had received many civilities from your father.* I told him it was necessary that upon that change I should remove, and I desired his pass that would be obeyed, or else I must remain there: I hoped he would not deny me that kindness. He instantly wrote me a pass, both for myself, family, and goods, and said he would never forget the respect he owed your father. With this I came through thousands of naked swords to Red Abbey, and hired the next neighbor's cart, which carried all that I could remove; and myself, sister, and little girl Nan, with three maids and two men, set forth at five o'clock in November, having but two horses among us all, which we rid on by turns. In this sad condition I left Red Abbey, with as many goods as were worth 100*l.* which could not be removed, and so were plundered. We went ten miles to Kinsale, in perpetual fear of being fetched back again; but, by little and little, I thank God, we got safe to the garrison, where I found your father the most disconsolate man in the world, for fear of his family, which he had no possibility to assist: but his joy exceeded to see me and his darling daughter, and to hear the wonderful escape we, through the assistance of God, had made. But when the rebels went to give an account to Cromwell of their meritorious act, he immediately asked them where Mr. Fanshawe was. They replied, he was that day gone to Kinsale. Then he demanded where his papers and his family were. At which they all stared at one another, but made no reply. Their general said, 'It was as much worth to have seized his papers as the town; for I did make account to have known by them what these parts of the country are worth.'"

The policy of Cromwell in Ireland was all throughout most intelligible and consistent; and we are not to conclude from the course of events during two centuries that it was not a wise policy. He wrote to the parliament, "I hope, before long, to see Ireland no burden to England, but a profitable part of the commonwealth." He sought to make it profitable by freeing it, in the first place, from ecclesiastical tyranny, and thus fitting it for civil freedom. In a most remarkable declaration, which he composed in his winter quarters, "in answer to certain late declarations and acts, framed by the Irish popish prelates and clergy in a conventicle at Clonmacnoise," he makes a furious onslaught upon the principle which, he says, begins to be exploded, "that people are for kings and churches, and saints are for the pope or churchmen." He goes on in this impassioned strain: "How dare you assume to call these men your flocks, whom you have plunged into so horrid a rebellion, by which you have made them and the country almost a ruinous heap? And whom you have fleeced, and polled, and peeled hitherto, and make it your business to do so still. You cannot feed them. You poison them with your false, abominable, and antichristian doctrines and practices. You keep the Word of God from them; and instead thereof give them your senseless orders and traditions." He tells them, when they allege against him, as a design to extirpate the Catholic religion, his letter to the governor of Ross—in which he says, "If by liberty of conscience you mean a liberty to exercise the mass, that will not be allowed of"—that by the rebellion of 1641 alone did they recover the public exercise of the mass, which had not been heard of for eighty years. He will not have the mass; but "as for the people, what thoughts they have in matters of religion in their own breasts I cannot reach; but shall think it my duty, if they walk honestly and peaceably, not to cause them in the least to suffer for the same; and shall endeavor to walk patiently, and in love toward them, to see if at any time it shall please God to give them another or a better mind." This is indeed a very limited toleration; but we must acknowledge that in those times it was the only practical toleration. He would not relax the old penal laws against one form of worship; but he would not apply new penal laws to force men into another form of worship against their consciences. The priests accused him of massacre, destruction, and banishment. He replies, "Give us an instance of one man since my coming into Ireland, not in arms, massacred, destroyed, or banished, concerning the massacre or the destruction of whom justice hath not been done, or endeavored to be done." He rises into absolute eloquence when he sets forth the motives which have brought him and his army to Ireland: "We are come to ask an account of the innocent blood that hath been shed; and to endeavor to bring to an account—by the blessing and presence of the Almighty, in whom alone is our hope and strength—all who, by appearing in arms, seek to justify the same. We come to break the power of a company of lawless rebels, who having cast off the authority of England, live as enemies to human society; whose principles, the world hath experience, are, to destroy and subjugate all men not complying with them. We come, by the assistance of God, to hold forth and maintain the lustre and glory of English liberty in a nation where we have an undoubted right to do it; wherein the people of Ireland (if they listen not to such seducers as you are) may equally participate in all benefits; to use their liberty and fortune equally with Englishmen, if they keep out of arms." *

Cromwell did not seek any long repose from his military labors. On the 15th of February, 1650, he writes to the speaker, "Having refreshed our men for some short time in our winter quarters, and health being pretty well recovered, we thought fit to take the field." The house send the lord lieutenant their thanks for all he had done, and resolve that he "have the use of the lodgings called the Cockpit, of the Spring Garden and St. James's House, and the command of St. James's Park." His return to London was desired; but he had work to do, and rather turned a deaf ear to the wishes of the parliament. It is not necessary that we should follow his course of success during the spring of 1650. His boldest and most sagacious stroke of policy was that of proclaiming throughout the country that the men who had been in arms, and were now scattered and utterly destitute, had full liberty to serve abroad. The ministers in London of France and Spain availed themselves of this permission, and forty-five thousand men of Ireland were levied for the service of these powers. Clarendon speaks with bitterness of heart of this wise expedient for freeing the land from those who would have been the principal hindrance to its quiet settlement. The king's lieutenant, he says, could not, after all the promises and contracts of the confederate Roman Catholics, draw together a body of five thousand men, while "Cromwell himself found a way to send above forty thousand men out of that

* Lady Fanshawe addressed her Memoir to her only son.

* This document, which Mr. Carlyle terms "one of the remarkablest state papers ever published in Ireland since Strongbow, or even St. Patrick, appeared there," occupies sixteen pages of the Cromwell Letters, p. 103 to 119, vol. ii.

country for service of foreign princes; which might have been enough to have driven him from thence, and to have restored it to the king's entire obedience." Cromwell left Ireton as deputy to complete the work which he had begun, and he arrived himself in London on the 31st of May, ready for other services to the commonwealth.

CHAPTER XCIX.

Charles II. negotiates with the Scottish parliament—His commission to Montrose — Montrose in Scotland—Execution of Montrose—Charles goes to Scotland—War with Scotland—Cromwell general—Cromwell's advance—His danger—Position of the two armies at Dunbar—Battle of Dunbar—Charles crowned at Scone — Perth taken by Cromwell—Charles and the Scotch army in England—The battle of Worcester—Escape and adventures of Charles—Charles returns to France—Note—Whitelocke's description of Cromwell's army, in a conversation with Christina, Queen of Sweden.

Charles II., essentially different in character from his father, had inherited that quality of his family which mainly led to the tragedies of Fotheringay and Whitehall. He was a double-dealer. When the affairs of Ireland became hopeless, he listened to the proposals of the parliament of Scotland. He received an envoy from the Presbyterian authorities while at Jersey, and appointed them to meet him at Breda to conclude a treaty for his reception in Scotland. He was urged by his warmest friends to close with their offers, although there was no relaxation of the terms upon which the support of the great religious party, speaking the voice of the Scottish nation, was offered to him. While he was thus negotiating with the parliament, he gave Montrose a commission to levy troops in foreign countries, and wage war against the powers with whom he was bargaining. He wrote to the mortal enemy of the Covenanters, "I entreat you to go on vigorously, and with your wonted courage and care, in the prosecution of those trusts I have committed to you; and not to be startled with any reports you may hear, as if I were otherwise inclined to the Presbyterians than when I left you. I assure you I am upon the same principles I was, and depend as much as ever upon your undertaking and endeavors for my service." Urged thus, and by his own passionate loyalty, the exile of Philiphaugh was indefatigable in gathering followers, though with no great success. In the autumn of 1649 he had collected about twelve hundred men at Hamburg and Gottenburg, and he dispatched a portion of them, who perished at sea. A second body arrived safely at Kirkwall. With five hundred more Montrose himself landed in the Orkneys early in March, 1650. He then crossed to the northern extremity of the main land; and, says Clarendon, "quickly possessed himself of an old castle, which, in respect of the situation in a country so impossible for an army to march in, he thought strong enough for his purpose: thither he conveyed the arms, ammunition, and troops which he had brought with him." Caithness, in which district he landed, has numerous ruins of old castles—grim monuments of days of cruel feuds and lawless rapine. Here Montrose was come with his threatening banners—one of the two royal ones exhibiting the bleeding head of Charles I., with the motto, "Judge and revenge my cause, O Lord;" and his own banner painted with a naked arm and a sword dripping with gore. Onward he marched into Sutherland. Few adherents joined him. The natives fled from him as from a public enemy, of whose military excesses the Scots had received terrible lessons. Some cavalry, under the command of Colonel Strachan, were proceeding against Montrose, in advance of a main body of troops under David Leslie; and they came suddenly upon him near a pass in the parish of Kincardine. The place is now called Craigchonichen, or the Rock of Lamentation. Here Montrose's last battle was soon ended. His Orkney recruits quickly ran; his Germans and his Scottish companions fought valiantly, but without effect. The ill-compacted force was wholly broken; and he himself fled from the field, throwing away his ribbon and George, and changing clothes with a peasant. Wandering among the Highlands for many days, he was at last taken on the 3d of May.

Clarendon's narrative of the last enterprise of Montrose and its fatal termination is regarded as one of the finest passages of his history. It should be read as a whole * to do justice to its merits as composition. The facts which it relates, compared with other relations, lie in a short compass. After his capture, Montrose and the other Scottish prisoners were delivered to David Leslie; the foreigners were set at liberty. There was a ferocious exultation over the fall of the capital enemy of the Covenanters, which showed itself in such acts of meanness as carrying him from town to town in the unseemly garb with which he was disguised, and thus exposing him to the jeers of the populace. An act of attainder had been passed by the parliament against Montrose in 1644; and upon that act he was now sentenced to death, before he reached Edinburgh. When he arrived at the Watergate of the city he was delivered to the magistrates, and was conveyed to the Tolbooth, bound with cords, in an open cart, the common hangman riding before the cart, and wearing the livery of the fallen marquis. Thirty-four of his officers, tied together, formed part of the cavalcade. The great object of popular curiosity sat serene amid his indignities; and his proud composure moved pity in the beholders, instead of the demonstrations of hate which were anticipated. Argyle looked upon his illustrious enemy from a window in the house of the earl of Moray.† From the first scene of this tragedy to the last, Montrose acted his heroic part to perfection. His demeanor was somewhat more theatrical than the mode in which the highest species of heroism would care to exhibit itself; but it was well calculated to dazzle those who are most taken with the showy virtues. When he alighted from the cart he gave the hangman a reward "for driving his triumphal chariot so well." When he was brought, two days after, before the parliament, he was splendidly dressed; and looked around him with an air of studied haughtiness and contempt. The Chancellor Loudon spoke bitterly to him—"he had committed many horrible murders, treasons, and impieties, for all which he was now brought to suffer condign punishment." When permitted to speak, Montrose said that "since the king had honored them so far as to treat with them, he had appeared before them with reverence, and bareheaded, which otherwise he would not willingly have done. He had done nothing of which he was ashamed or had cause to repent." He had withdrawn himself from the first covenant, when he saw that it was intended to take away the king's just power and lawful authority. He had never taken the second covenant. He defended himself from the charge of cruelty; and maintaining that having again entered the kingdom by his majesty's command, he advised them to consider well of the consequence before they proceeded against him. His sentence was then pronounced: that on the morrow, the 21st of May, he should be hanged on a gallows thirty feet high; that his head should then be cut off and set on Edinburgh Tolbooth; and that his legs and arms should be hung up in other towns of the kingdom. After he was conveyed back to prison he was beset by ministers and magistrates, who only stirred his spirit to its loftiest mood. He told them that he had rather his head were stuck upon the Tolbooth than that his picture should be hung in the king's bed-chamber; that troubled him not that his limbs should be exposed in other towns; "and that he heartily wished that he had flesh enough to be sent to every city in Christendom, as a testimony of the cause for which he suffered." In the same spirit he went to the scaffold. When the hangman, by way of adding to his indignities, hung about his neck the narrative of his military exploits, "the marquis smiled at the new instance of their malice, and thanked them for it, and said he was prouder of wearing it than ever he had been of the Garter." Clarendon's character of the great chieftain is not an unmixed eulogium: "He was a gentleman of a very ancient extraction, many of whose ancestors had exercised the highest charges under the king in that kingdom, and had been allied to the crown itself. He was of very good parts, which were improved by a good education; he had always a great emulation, or rather a great contempt, of the Marquis of Argyle (as he was too apt to contemn those he did not love), who wanted nothing but honesty and courage to be a very extraordinary man, having all other good talents in a very great degree. Montrose was in his nature fearless of danger, and never declined any enterprise for the difficulty of going through with it, but exceedingly

* "Rebellion," vol. vi. p. 408 to 422.

† Guizot: upon the authority of a letter of the French agent to Mazarin.

affected those which seemed desperate to other men, and did believe somewhat to be in himself above other men, which made him live more easily toward those who were, or were willing to be, inferior to him (toward whom he exercised wonderful civility and generosity), than with his superiors or equals. He was naturally jealous, and suspected those who did not concur with him, in any way, not to mean so well as he. He was not without vanity, but his virtues were much superior, and he well deserved to have his memory preserved, and celebrated among the most illustrious persons of the age in which he lived."

Charles came to a conclusion with the Scottish commissioners at Breda before the death of Montrose, although he was acquainted with the failure of his rash expedition. He consented to every proposition. He was to swear to be faithful to the covenant; he was to submit himself to the advice of the parliament and the Church; he was never to permit the exercise of the Catholic religion in any part of his dominions. He even denied that he had authorized the enterprise of Montrose. When he heard of his friend's execution he manifested a disposition to draw back; but his courtiers "persuaded the king, who was enough afflicted with the news, and all the circumstances of it, that he might sooner take revenge upon that people by a temporary complying with them and going to them." Upon this righteous principle "his majesty pursued his former resolution of embarking for Scotland." This is Clarendon's account, who makes no remark in his history upon this miserable policy. But he says, in a private letter to Secretary Nicolas, "If the king puts himself into the hands of the Scots, they cannot justly be accused of deceiving him; for, on my conscience, they will not use him worse than they promise, if he does all they require him to do in this last address. I wish, with all my heart, they who advise the king to comply, and join with them, would deal as clearly, and say that the king should now take the covenant, and enjoin it to others, and all observe it; but to say he should put himself into their hands, and hope to be excused taking it, and be able to defend others from submitting to it—or that he and we should take it and break it afterwards—is such folly and atheism that we should be ashamed to avow or think it." Such was the political morality by which Charles was guided when he was twenty years old—a season of life in which deliberate untruth and purposed treachery are rarely the governing principles of actions. We have little sympathy for him in his humiliations and adversities among the Scots. We rejoice to know that, before he had landed in Scotland on the 16th of June, he was compelled to sign the covenant; that few of his English friends were permitted to be about him; and that if he were still free to listen to the ribaldry of Buckingham and Wilmot, he had to do daily penance in being compelled to attend the long prayers and longer sermons of the clergy who were placed about him. Charles probably cared little for these restraints; for he had a good table, horses to ride, and the outward shows that belong to a king; but it has been sensibly conjectured that the gloomy austerity of these preachers "strengthened that indifference to religion and that proneness to dissipation by which his whole life was unhappily distinguished." *

Cromwell had arrived in London on the 31st of May. He was received with every honor that parliament and city could bestow, and by the enthusiastic acclamations of the people. He did not despise popular applause, but he knew something of its intrinsic value. To the remark, "What a crowd come to see your lordship's triumph," he replied, "If it were to see me hanged how many more would there be!" He was soon called to other serious work. The parliament has been preparing forces for a war with Scotland, having no great hope of repose in the presence there of a covenanted king. The Scots are also making some preparation for a war with England, the ministers of the commonwealth not having taken in good part their remonstance as to the course of civil and religious policy, and their negotiations with Charles. It is a question which shall strike the first blow. Fairfax was unwilling to invade the Scots; although, says Ludlow, "we labored to persuade him of the reasonableness and justice of our resolution to march into Scotland, they having already declared themselves our enemies, and by public protestation bound themselves to impose that government upon us which we had found necessary to abolish." * Cromwell pressed that Fairfax, notwithstanding his resolution, should be continued as general of the army, "professing for himself that he would rather choose to serve under him in his post than to command the greatest army in Europe." A committee, upon Cromwell's motion, was appointed to confer with the general; and Ludlow adds that the lieutenant-general "acted his part so to the life that I really thought he was in earnest." Ultimately Fairfax resigned his commission, receiving a large pension, and Cromwell was called to the great office. "I really thought he was in earnest," says Ludlow. There is another version from one who took a part in these events: "To speak the truth of Cromwell, whereas many said he undermined Fairfax, it was false; for in Colonel Hutchinson's presence he most effectually importuned him to keep his commission, lest it should discourage the army and the people in that juncture of time, but could by no means prevail, although he labored it almost all the night with most earnest endeavors. But this great man was then as unmovable by his friends as pertinacious in obeying his wife; whereby he then died to all his former glory, and became the monument of his own name, which every day wore out." † And so Cromwell set forth to lead an army into Scotland, declaring in a private conversation with Ludlow, "that he looked upon the design of the Lord on this day to be the freeing of his people from every burden, and that he was now accomplishing what was prophesied in the 110th Psalm: from the consideration of which he was often encouraged to attend the effecting those ends." On the 26th of June the act was passed for constituting "Oliver Cromwell Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief of all the forces raised and to be raised within the commonwealth of England." On the 29th he left London. On the 22d of July, with about sixteen thousand horse and foot, he marched through Berwick; and setting his foot on Scottish ground he addressed a "large discourse" to his troops, "as a Christian and a soldier:" "I exhort you," he said, "to be wary and worthy, for sure enough we have work before us. But have we not had God's blessing hitherto? Let us go on faithfully, and hope for the like still." "The most dangerous of hypocrites," cries Hume. "I have asked myself," says one who has studied Oliver somewhat more deeply than the popular sceptic, "if anywhere in modern European history, or even in ancient Asiatic, there was found a man practising this mean world's affairs with a heart more filled by the idea of the highest?" ‡

Charles, as a measure of policy, was taken to the Scottish camp. It was composed of men of very different opinions, and of no opinions at all, in matters of religion; and the young king soon ingratiated himself with royalists of loose thoughts and irregular lives. The Presbyterian leaders weeded the camp of those they called malignants, and compelled Charles to sign a declaration against popery and heresy, condemning the evil deeds of his father and the idolatry of his mother, and protesting and promising all that he had been required to subscribe for the parliament and the Church. He winced, refused, consented; and then sent a message to Ormond that the declaration was extorted from him, and that he remained firm to his first principles as a true child of the Church of England, and a true cavalier.

The advance of Cromwell into Scotland was met by a vigorous measure on the part of Leslie. The population of the border districts were commanded to leave their villages, to drive their cattle from the fields, and to go with their goods toward Edinburgh. From every Presbyterian pulpit the English army was denounced as composed of sectaries and blasphemers, who would put all the men to the sword, and abuse the women with frightful tortures. The country was bare of all supplies; and Cromwell was compelled to march by the coast, to receive provisions from English vessels. At Dunbar he got "some small pittance from our ships." On the 29th he was encamped at Musselburgh. Leslie's army was lying between Edinburgh and Leith, "intrenched by a line flankered from Edinburgh to Leith." There was a sharp skirmish on that day; but Cromwell writes, "I did not think it advisable to attempt upon the enemy, lying as he doth." He conjectured that they desired to tempt him to attack them in their fastness; or else hoping that his

* Cook, "History of the Church of Scotland," quoted by Sir Walter Scott.

* "Memoirs," vol. ii., p. 314.
† Hutchinson's "Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 172.
‡ Carlyle, vol. ii. p. 157.

army would famish for want of provisions—"which," he coolly adds, "is very likely to be, if we be not timely and fully supplied." The Scottish army has a very secure position, intrenched from Leith to the Calton Hill; well supplied, and the city protected. For a month there is little done besides letters and declarations passing between the two armies. There was more skirmishing and manœuvring toward the end of August, when Cromwell had marched westward of Edinburgh toward Stirling; but on the 30th he fell back to Musselburgh, and on the 31st retired to Dunbar. Leslie followed him. On the 1st of September the English army was lying round the old fortress, near their ships. Cromwell is in a position of no common danger. On the 2d he writes to Sir Arthur Haselrig, at Newcastle or elsewhere, "The enemy hath locked up our way at the pass at Copperspath, through which we cannot get without almost a miracle. He lieth so upon the hills that we know not how to come that way without great difficulty; and our lying here daily consumeth our men, who fall sick beyond imagination. . . . Whatever becomes of us, it will be well for you to get what forces you can together. . . . The only wise God knows what is best." Oliver has written this letter of the 2d; he has gone into the town of Dunbar about four o'clock to take some refreshment; and he comes back to his camp, which extends from Belhaven Bay to Brockmouth House—occupying the peninsula "about a mile and a half from sea to sea." On the Doon Hill, on the edge of Lammermoor, Leslie's army of twenty thousand men is strongly placed. At Brockmouth House a rivulet which skirts the Doon Hill enters the sea. "It runs in a deep grassy glen, which the South country officers in the old pamphlets describe as 'a deep ditch, forty feet in depth, and about as many in width'—ditch dug out by the little brook itself, and carpeted with greensward, in the course of long thousands of years. It runs pretty close by the foot of Doon Hill: forms, from this point to the sea, the boundary of Oliver's position; his force is arranged in battle order along the left bank of this Brockburn and its grassy glen."* Early on the morning of the 2d Leslie's horse had come down from the hill, and occupied the right bank of the rivulet. On that autumn afternoon Cromwell, walking in the garden of Brockmouth House, sees the whole Doon Hill alive with the movement of Leslie's main force—coming down to the edge of the Brock, and occupying the confined ground which lies between it and the hill. The right wing has moved out to the open space. The quick military eye sees that one false move has changed the whole aspect of affairs. He tells his plan to Lambert and Monk: Attack the right wing with our whole force; drive it into the narrow space where the main force lies; let the men stand to their arms all night, and begin the attack before dawn. The night is wet. The Scots are lying in the harvest-fields among the corn-sheaves; they have no tents; they have put out their matches, all but two in a company. To the left, by the pass over the Brock, several regiments march quickly, by break of day. At six o'clock in the morning Lambert, the major-general, had joined with his force to lead the attack. It was a fierce contest, in which the advanced guard was repulsed; but it was not long before the infantry had broken the Scottish lines "at push of pike." Cromwell writes, "The best of the enemies' horse being broken through and through, in less than an hour's dispute, their whole army being put into confusion, it became a total rout." There were three thousand slain on the field, and ten thousand taken prisoners. The prisoners were a serious trouble. Four or five thousand were dismissed. As many were sent to Newcastle. Cromwell on the 9th wrote to Haselrig, the governor of that town, "I hope your northern guests are come to you by this time. I pray you let humanity be exercised toward them; I am persuaded it will be comely." These poor creatures were not treated as the general desired. Many died from eating raw cabbages at Morpeth; many of pestilence in Durham. Others were sent to New England; and John Cotton, the minister of Boston there, writes to Oliver in 1651, describing that they were then kindly used, having been sold for a limited servitude in a country where their labor was welcome, and not ill-rewarded.

The dispatch of Cromwell on the 4th of September, in which he addresses to the speaker of the parliament a minute account of the victory of Dunbar, contains a remarkable paragraph, singularly illustrative of the character of the writer, and of his influence over the authority under which he is serving. He points out that this victory is "one of the most signal mercies God hath done to England and his people." He is writing with all the horrors of the recent battle around him; having just proclaimed that the inhabitants may come to the field with carts to carry away their wounded countrymen. But in the very thick of this turmoil he tasks his mind to tell the parliament that success calls upon them to do their duty at home. "Disown yourselves, but own your authority; and improve it to curb the proud and the insolent, such as would disturb the tranquillity of England, though under what specious pretence soever. Relieve the oppressed, hear the groans of poor prisoners in England. Be pleased to reform the abuses of all professions; and if there be any one that makes many poor to make a few rich, that suits not a commonwealth." This is extraordinary language from a servant to his master, and he takes an extraordinary occasion to use it. Ludlow speaks of this advice as very seasonable; and the victory itself not more welcome than the general's letter to the parliament, urging them "to do real things for the common good." Cromwell had left London, two months before, with these convictions full in his mind. He had told Ludlow during the short interval between his return from Ireland and his departure for Scotland, "That it was his intention to contribute the utmost of his endeavors to make a thorough reformation of the clergy and the law: but, said he, the sons of Zeruiah are yet too strong for us; and we cannot mention the reformation of the law but they presently cry out, we design to destroy property: whereas the law, as it is now constituted, serves only to maintain the lawyers, and to encourage the rich to oppress the poor."* We have here the first clear indication that this remarkable man felt that he had other work before him than directing such attacks as those of the gray dawning of the 3d of September. Before the days of Dunbar and Worcester, Milton's "chief of men" had decided that

> "peace hath her victories,
> No less renown'd than war;"

and that upon him was laid the task of their achievement.

On the 5th of September Cromwell marched away from the old fortress of Dunbar and the Burn of Brock. He had now the command of ample supplies, for Edinburgh and the country around were in his power, with the exception of Edinburgh Castle. Charles, with the Scottish authorities, had retired to Perth. Leslie was gathering the wreck of his army about him at Stirling. The young king, utterly wearied with the Presbyterian statesmen and ministers, who had sent away all his cavaliers except Buckingham, attempted to escape from them to join his more ardent friends in the Highlands. He got away fifty miles from Perth, but was quickly brought back. The Presbyterian leaders then somewhat relaxed their intolerant demeanor toward Charles; but this gave offence to the more violent. The Presbyterian party became divided; and the royalists obtained a higher influence in the direction of the national policy. Charles, without further question of his real intentions, was crowned at Scone on the 1st of January, 1651. Cromwell was not warring upon the Scottish people, but was endeavoring to conciliate the religious party, by attending the sermons of their ministers, and expressing no resentment at their attacks upon himself. He has not been idle in his rougher work. After a three months' blockade, and then a bombardment, Edinburgh Castle was surrendered to him on the 18th of December. Cromwell has little to do to make himself master of Scotland on the south of the Forth—some battery of detached castles, and some skirmishes with mosstroopers. On the 4th of February the army marched toward Stirling, but returned without any result, driven to the good quarters of Edinburgh by terrible storms of sleet and snow. The lord-general became seriously ill through this exposure. On the day after Dunbar he wrote to his wife, "I assure thee I grow an old man, and feel infirmities of age marvellously stealing upon me." In March, in reply to the solicitude expressed by the Council of State, he says, "I thought I should have died of this fit of sickness; but the Lord seemeth to dispose otherwise." In May his illness assumes a more dangerous appearance. The parliament give him liberty to return home. But on the 5th of June he is

* Carlyle. The description of this battle-field, from which we derive our brief details, is a masterpiece of that true picturesque which is derived from accurate observation.

* "Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 319.

out again ; and at the end of the month is vigorously prosecuting the campaign. The Scottish army was intrenched at Stirling. The king had been invited to take its command in person. Cromwell, on the 2d of August, had succeeded in possessing himself of Perth. At that juncture the news reached him that the royal camp at Stirling was broken up on the 31st of July, and that Charles was on his march southward, at the head of eleven thousand men, his lieutenant-general being David Leslie. Argyle was opposed to this bold resolution, and had retired to Inverary. The letter which Cromwell wrote to the parliament upon the receipt of this intelligence is frank and manly. He anticipated blame in leaving the road to England free for invasion, and he thus meets the certain imputation of neglect : " I do apprehend that if he goes for England, being some few days' march before us, it will trouble some men's thoughts ; and my occasion some inconveniences ; which I hope we are as deeply sensible of ; and have been, and I trust shall be, as diligent to prevent as any. And indeed this is our comfort, that in simplicity of heart, as toward God, we have done to the best of our judgments, knowing that if some issue were not put to this business, it would occasion another winter's war : to the ruin of your soldiery, for whom the Scots are too hard in respect of enduring the winter difficulties of this country ; and to the endless expense of the treasure of England in prosecuting this war. It may be supposed we might have kept the enemy from this by interposing between him and England. Which truly I believe we might : but how to remove him out of this place, without doing what we have done, unless we had had a commanding army on both sides of the river of Forth, is not clear to us ; or how to answer the inconveniences afore mentioned, we understand not. We pray therefore that (seeing there is a possibility for the enemy to put you to some trouble) you would, with the same courage, grounded upon a confidence in God, wherein you have been supported to the great things God hath used you in hitherto—improve, the best you can, such forces as you have in readiness, or as may on the sudden be gathered together, to give the enemy some check, until we shall be able to reach up to him ; which we trust in the Lord we shall do our utmost endeavor in."

Cromwell was not mistaken in supposing that the march of Charles toward England would " trouble some men's thoughts." There were " pale and unmanly fears" in some who directed the nation's councils. " Some raged and uttered discontents against Cromwell, and suspicions of his fidelity." Mrs. Hutchinson so describes this time of alarm. But bolder spirits went in earnest, upon Cromwell's advice, to gather forces together " to give the enemy some check, until we shall be able to reach up to him." Charles had the advantage of the start in this race for a kingdom. He took the western road by Carlisle ; and when on English ground issued a proclamation offering pardon to those who would return to their allegiance—excepting from his promised amnesty Bradshaw, Cromwell, and Cook. He was also proclaimed king of England, at the head of his army ; and similar proclamation was made at Penrith and other market-towns. Strict discipline was preserved ; and although the presence of Scots in arms was hateful to the people, they were not outraged by any attempts at plunder. " I dare say," writes Lord Lauderdale, " we have not taken the worth of a sixpence." Charles, however, had few important accessions of strength. Lord Howard of Escrick came with a troop of horse, and was knighted. The earl of Derby, coming to join him, was defeated at Wigan, and taken prisoner ; but he then escaped. There was no general rising in his favor. There was no eager surrender of walled towns to the king. The gates of Shrewsbury were shut against him. At Warrington his passage of the Mersey was opposed by Lambert and Harrison, who had got before him with their cavalry. Cromwell was coming on with his main force, having left six thousand men under Monk in Scotland. On the 22d of August Charles reached Worcester, the parliamentary garrison having evacuated the city. He there set up his standard. On that day nine years his father had set up his standard at Nottingham. With the same solemnity attached to this act, a summons went forth for all male subjects of due age to gather round the banner of their sovereign lord, at the general muster of his forces on the 26th of August. An inconsiderable number of gentlemen came, with about two hundred followers. Meanwhile Cromwell had marched rapidly from Scotland with ten thousand men. As he advanced through Yorkshire, and onward by Nottingham, Coventry, Stratford, Evesham, the militias of the counties joined him with a zeal which showed their belief that another civil war would not be a national blessing. On the 28th of August the general of the commonwealth was close to Worcester, with thirty thousand men.

Clarendon has described, in general terms, the advantages which Worcester offered as a resting-place for the royalist army, and as a point at which a resolute stand might be made : " Worcester was a very good post, seated almost in the middle of the kingdom, and in as fruitful a country as any part of it ; a good city served by the noble river of Severn from all the adjacent counties ; Wales behind it, from whence levies might be made of great numbers of stout men. It was a place where the king's friends might repair, if they had the affections they pretended to have ; and it was a place where he might defend himself, if the enemy would attack him, with many advantages, and could not be compelled to engage his army in a battle, till Cromwell had gotten men enough to encompass him on every side : and then the king might choose on which side to fight, since the enemy would be on both sides the river, and could not come suddenly to relieve each other." * No doubt these were very sagacious considerations ; but Charles had to deal with a commander who thought that skill and daring might overcome disadvantages of position. Cromwell's dispatch to the parliament, written at ten o'clock of the night of the battle, tells the story of his strategy with sufficient precision to be intelligible : " Being so weary, and scarce able to write, yet I thought it my duty to let you know thus much. That upon this day, being the 3d of September (remarkable for a mercy vouchsafed to your forces on this day twelvemonth in Scotland), we built a bridge of boats over Severn, between it and Teme, about half a mile from Worcester, and another over Teme, within pistol-shot of our other bridge. Lieutenant-General Fleetwood and Major-General Dean marched from Upton on the south-west side of Severn up to Powick, a town which was a pass the enemy kept. We passed over some horse and foot, and were in conjunction with the lieutenant-general's forces. We beat the enemy from hedge to hedge till we beat him into Worcester. The enemy then drew all his forces on the other side the town, all but what he had lost ; and made a very considerable fight with us, for three hours' space ; but in the end we beat him totally, and pursued him to his royal fort, which we took—and indeed have beaten his whole army." We see from this rapid narrative that the lord-general did not regard the risk of his forces being " on both sides the river." Clarendon says, " Cromwell had used none of the delay and circumspection which was imagined ; but directed the troops to fall on in all places at once." About noon, according to the same authority, " everybody being upon the post they were appointed, and the enemy making such a stand that it was concluded he meant to make no attempt then, and if he should he might be repelled with ease, his majesty, a little before noon, retired to his lodging to eat and to refresh himself, where he had not been near an hour when the alarm came that both armies where engaged." Another account says that Charles, and his council of war, from the top of the cathedral, had beheld the building of the bridge of boats over Teme, and the bridge of boats over Severn ; and then came down to attack Cromwell's men on the side from which he had crossed. But Cromwell was soon back again over his bridge of boats, and now the battle raged with desperate fury. " Indeed, it was a stiff business," writes pithy Oliver. Clarendon briefly describes this fight, and quickly comes to the catastrophe : " In no other part was there resistance made ; but such a general consternation possessed the whole army that the rest of the horse fled, and all the foot threw down their arms before they were charged. When the king came back into the town he found a good body of horse which had been persuaded to make a stand, though much the major part passed through upon the spur. The king desired those who stayed, that they would follow him, that they might look upon the enemy, who, he believed, did not pursue them. But when his majesty had gone a little way he found most of the horse were gone the other way, and that he had none but a few servants of his own about him. Then he sent to have the gates of the town shut, that none might get in one way, nor out the other : but all was confusion ; there were few to command, and none to obey : so that the king stayed till very many of the enemy's horse were entered the

* " Rebellion," vol. vi. p. 500.

town, and then he was persuaded to withdraw himself." The 3d of September was a night of terror in the district round Worcester—the Scottish horsemen flying in every direction—their foot-soldiers scattered among the harvest-fields, or hiding in woods from the fury of the country people. Baxter, who dwelt in Kidderminster, has described a scene at his own doors: "I was newly gone to bed when the noise of the flying horse acquainted us of the overthrow: and a piece of one of Cromwell's troops that guarded Bewdley bridge having tidings of it, came into our streets, and stood in the open market-place before my door, to surprise those that passed by. And so when many hundreds of the flying army came together, when the thirty troopers cried stand, and fired at them, they either hasted away, or cried quarter, not knowing in the dark what number it was that charged them: and so as many were taken there, as so few men could lay hold on: and till midnight the bullets flying toward my door and windows, and the sorrowful fugitives hasting by for their lives, did tell me the calamitousness of war."*

The prisoners taken at the battle of Worcester, and in the subsequent flight, exceeded seven thousand. They included some of the most distinguished leaders of the royalists in England and Scotland. Upon the entry of Charles into England the parliament had declared his adherents to be rebels and traitors to the commonwealth. Upon this principle courts-martial were held upon nine of the most distinguished of the prisoners; and three, among whom was the earl of Derby, were executed. The duke of Hamilton, also a prisoner, died of his wounds. But there was one who escaped from the slaughter of Worcester, for whose apprehension a reward was proclaimed throughout the country—a reward of a thousand pounds to the person who should "bring in to the parliament Charles Stuart, son of the late tyrant." The narrative of Charles Stuart's hidings and escapes during six weeks has been transmitted to us in many trustworthy accounts—one of which, in Magdalen College, Cambridge, purports to be "dictated to Mr. Pepys by the king himself." This escape is one of those episodes of history which relieves its weighter details, and which has a peculiar interest as exhibiting the faithfulness of high and humble to the sanctity of misfortune—a faithfulness as much to be ascribed to natural generosity under great temptation to selfishness as to any passionate loyalty to the fallen prince. Not only was a large reward offered for his apprehension, but it was proclaimed that those who should knowingly conceal him or his adherents should be held "as partakers and abettors of their traitorous and wicked practices and designs."

Charles, on the night of the battle, when he had ridden in hot haste from Worcester, found himself suddenly in the midst of a party of horse. Buckingham was with him, with Derby, Lauderdale, Wilmot, and others. Charles says, "We had such a number of beaten men with us, of the horse, that I strove, as soon as it was dark, to get from them, and though I could not get them to stand by me against the enemy, I could not get rid of them, now I had a mind to it." At last, with about sixty gentlemen and officers, he slipped away by a by-road, when it was dark; and by daybreak had got to a place called White Lady's. They then learned that there were some three thousand of Scotch cavalry on an adjoining heath, all in disorder; and the king's friends urged him to join them, and endeavor to go into Scotland. Clarendon says that "scarce anything could worse befall the king." He resolved therefore to disguise himself "with a pair of ordinary gray cloth breeches, a leathern doublet, and a green jerkin." His notion was to walk to London, where Wilmot was to meet him. His other friends joined the Scots, who were soon routed by English horse; "which shows," says Charles, "that my opinion was not wrong in not sticking to men who had run away." A "country fellow," Richard Penderell, a Catholic, was recommended to him as a guide. They rested a very short time at White Lady's, and spent all that day in a wood, without meat or drink. At night they got some bread and cheese; and Charles having changed his mind about London, they walked in the direction of the Severn. In the middle of the night they were in danger from a miller, who raised an outcry of "Rogues! rogues!" when they refused to stand at his bidding. At last Charles found a shelter in the house of Mr. Woolfe, of Madeley, a gentleman "who had hiding-holes for priests." Mr. Woolfe, being told that one who had escaped from Worcester asked his protection, said he would not venture his neck for any man unless it were the king himself. Penderell told the secret. Mr. Woolfe was faithful, and secreted them in his barn. But the locality was a dangerous one; for the ferry was guarded at Madeley, where they expected to cross the Severn. Charles therefore resolved to return to the neighborhood of White Lady's, hoping to hear some news of Wilmot. He went to Boscobel, the house of Richard Penderell's brother William, a farmer, and there he found a royalist officer, Major Careless. They agreed to leave the house the next day; and instead of hiding in the wood near Boscobel, to get up into a great tree standing in an open plain, where they might see around them. The king thus continues: "Of which proposition of his, I approving, we (that is to say, Careless and I) went, and carried up with us some victuals for the whole day, viz., bread, cheese, small beer, and nothing else; and got up into a great oak, that had been lopped three or four years before, and being grown out again, very bushy and thick, could not be seen through, and here we stayed all the day. . . . Memorandum: That while we were in this tree we see soldiers going up and down in the thickest of the wood, searching for persons escaped, we seeing them, now and then, peeping out of the wood." The royal oak, the glory of sign-painters and schoolboys, thus had its origin in Charles's simple narrative. Clarendon gives the story a dramatic point, in saying they saw many from "that blessed tree," who came purposely to look after the king; and that Charles "heard all their discourse, how they would use the king himself if they could take him." The battle of Worcester was fought on Wednesday; the day of hiding in the oak was Friday. On the Saturday and Sunday Charles was concealed at Boscobel by William Penderell and his wife; but on that afternoon he received a message from Wilmot, that he was at the house of Mr. Whitgrave, a Catholic recusant, at Moseley, and desired the king to join him. There were six brothers of the Penderells; and they formed the royal body-guard, as Charles rode upon a jolting horse to this new place of refuge. Mr. Whitgrave left a MS. account of his participation in the king's escape,* minute and somewhat tedious, but containing one or two interesting passages. The arrival of Charles is thus related: "His lordship [Wilmot] said to me, this gentleman under disguise, whom I have hitherto concealed, is both your master, mine, and the master of us all, to whom we all owe our duty and allegiance; and so, kneeling down, he gave me his hand to kiss, and bid me arise, and said he had received from my lord such a character of my loyalty and readiness in those dangers to assist him and his friends that he would never be unmindful of me or mine; and the next word after was, Where is the private place my lord tells me of? which being already prepared and showed him, he went into it, and when come forth, said it was the best place he was ever in. Then he returning to his chamber, sitting down by the fireside, we pulled off his shoes and stockings, and washed his feet, which were most sadly galled, and then pulled off likewise his apparel and shirt, which was of hurden cloth, and put him on one of Mr. Huddleston's [a priest], and other apparel of ours; then after he had refreshed himself a little by eating some biscuit, and drinking a glass of wine, he grew very cheerful, and said, if it would please Almighty God to send him once more an army of 10,000 good and loyal soldiers and subjects, he feared not to expel all those rogues forth of his kingdom." At Moseley Charles was again in danger from the presence of the commonwealth's soldiers; and it was determined that he should leave in a new character. The countryman in the leathern doublet was now transformed into a decent serving-man, who was to convey his mistress, the daughter of Colonel Lane, of Bentley, to a relation near Bristol. The lady rode on a pillion behind him. It was fortunate for her reputation that a male cousin was of the party. Having a pass, they reached Bristol in three days without interruption. On their way the king's horse cast a shoe. "What news?" said the serving-man to the smith. "None, since the beating of those rogues, the Scots; he didn't hear that that rogue Charles Stuart had been taken yet." Charles thought that rogue ought to be hanged, and the smith applauded him as an honest man for his opinion. At Bristol there was no vessel in which the fugitive could embark, and he had to seek another place of refuge. After a day's rest he went to Trent House, the residence of Colonel Wyndham, a

* "Life," p. 69.

* First published in "Retrospective Review," vol. xiv. p. 62.

devoted royalist; and his faithful Miss Lane and her cousin accompanied him. Here he remained till a vessel was engaged at Charmouth, near Lyme, to convey to St. Malo a nobleman and his servant. In other disguises Charles proceeded to the coast; but the master of the vessel was locked in his room by his wife, who declared that she and her children should not be ruined for the sake of any royalist. He now hurried, with Wyndham and Wilmot, to Bridport. The town was filled with soldiers about to embark for Jersey. The king, in his old quality of servant, led the horses through a crowd of troopers, thrusting them out of the way with many a coarse word. There was now no immediate expedient but to return to Trent House. A second ship was engaged at Southampton, but was taken up for the transport of troops. His abode with Colonel Wyndham now became unsafe. Another retreat was found in Wiltshire; and in a week a vessel was engaged to sail from Shoreham. The king and his friends again started on the 13th of October, with dogs, as a coursing party proceeding to the Sussex Downs. They stopped that night at the house of a brother-in-law of one of Charles's friends; and the next day were at Brighthelmstone. This town of marine luxury was then a mean village; and there, at supper, the captain of the engaged vessel recognized the king, and said he would venture his life and all for him. The landlord also said to him, "God bless you. I shall be a lord, and my wife a lady, before I die." At five o'clock on the morning of the 15th the proscribed Charles Stuart went on board; and on the afternoon of the 16th he and Wilmot were landed at Fécamp. The secret of the royal fugitive had been intrusted to forty-five persons, whose names are recorded; and with no one of them was he ever in danger through treachery or want of caution.

Charles and Wilmot, in the travel-stained disguises which they had been compelled to adopt in the place of silks and love-locks, reached Rouen. Their miserable appearance made it difficult for them even to obtain the shelter of an inn. The king managed to obtain some money; and it soon became known that the fugitive of Worcester was safe. On the 29th of October he left Rouen; and, met by his mother and his brother James, he was once more safe in the Louvre. In a dispatch of the 1st of November we have a glimpse of Charles and Henrietta Maria: "The queen keeps altogether at the Louvre since the king's coming hither. . . . She is constantly wonderful merry, and seemeth to be overjoyed to see the king safe near her, but he is very sad, and sombre for the most part. That cheerfulness which, against his nature, he strove to show at his first coming hither, having lasted but a few days; and he is very silent always, whether he be with his mother, or in any other company."* Certainly his condition was not a pleasant one. It "was very deplorable," says Clarendon. "France was not at all pleased with his being come thither, nor did quickly take notice of his being there. The queen his mother was very glad of his escape, but in no degree able to contribute toward his support; they who had interest with her finding all she had, or could get, too little for their own unlimited expense." The queen's pension from the French court was irregularly paid; "nor had the king one shilling toward the support of himself and his family." †

WHITELOCKE'S DESCRIPTION OF CROMWELL'S ARMY, IN A CONVERSATION WITH CHRISTINA, QUEEN OF SWEDEN.

We shall have occasion, in its due place in the text, to notice the embassy of Whitelocke to Sweden, at the end of 1653. His conversations with the famous queen, Christina, the daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, are singularly interesting; far more so than the ordinary records of diplomacy. We select one conversation, in which the Ambassador Extraordinary describes to the accomplished sovereign—who had an admiration of Cromwell very unusual among crowned heads—the composition of that army with which the general won his great victories. At the first private interview between the queen of Sweden and the English minister, Whitelocke having presented her with his instructions which he saw she perfectly understood, her majesty went at once to matters in which she expressed her personal opinions, and sought for information beyond the ordinary range of state discussions:

"*Queen.* Your general is one of the gallantest men in the world; never were such things done as by the English in your late war. Your general hath done the greatest things of any man in the world; the Prince of Condé is next to him, but short of him. I have as great a respect and honor for your general as for any man alive; and I pray, let him know as much from me.

"*Whitelocke.* My general is indeed a very brave man; his actions shew it; and I shall not fail to signify to him the great honor of your majesty's respects to him; and I assure your majesty he hath as high honor for you as for any prince in Christendom.

"*Queen.* I have been told that many officers of your army will themselves pray and preach to their soldiers; is that true?

"*Whitelocke.* Yes, madam, it is very true. When their enemies are swearing, or debauching, or pillaging, the officers and soldiers of the parliament's army used to be encouraging and exhorting one another out of the word of God, and praying together to the Lord of Hosts for his blessing to be with them; who hath showed his approbation of this military preaching by the successes he hath given them.

"*Queen.* That's well. Do you use to do so too?

"*Whitelocke.* Yes, upon some occasions, in my own family; and think it as proper for me, being the master of it, to admonish and speak to my people when there is cause, as to be beholden to another to do it for me, which sometimes brings the chaplain into more credit than his lord.

"*Queen.* Doth your general and other great officers do so?

"*Whitelocke.* Yes, madam, very often, and very well. Nevertheless, they maintain chaplains and ministers in their houses and regiments; and such as are godly and worthy ministers have as much respect, and as good provision in England, as in any place of Christendom. Yet 'tis the opinion of many good men with us that a long cassock, with a silk girdle and a great beard, do not make a learned or good preacher, without gifts of the Spirit of God and laboring in his vineyard; and whosoever studies the Holy Scripture, and is enabled to do good to the souls of others, and endeavors the same, is nowhere forbidden by that Word, nor is it blamable. The officers and soldiers of the parliament held it not unlawful, when they carried their lives in their hands, and were going to adventure them in the high places of the field, to encourage one another out of his Word who commands over all; and this had more weight and impression with it than any other word could have; and was never denied to be made use of but by the popish prelates, who by no means would admit lay people (as they call them) to gather from thence that instruction and comfort which can nowhere else be found.

"*Queen.* Methinks you preach very well, and have now made a good sermon. I assure you I like it very well.

"*Whitelocke.* Madam, I shall account it a great happiness if any of my words please you.

"*Queen.* Indeed, sir, these words of yours do very much please me; and I shall be glad to hear you oftener on that strain. But I pray tell me, where did your general, and you his officers, learn this way of praying and preaching yourselves?

"*Whitelocke.* We learnt it from a near friend of your majesty, whose memory all the Protestant interest hath cause to honor.

"*Queen.* My friend! who was that?

"*Whitelocke.* It was your father, the great King Gustavus Adolphus, who upon his first landing in Germany (as many then present have testified) did himself in person upon the shore, on his knees, give thanks to God for his blessing upon that undertaking; and he would frequently exhort his people out of God's word; and God testified his great liking thereof, by the wonderful successes he was pleased to vouchsafe to that gallant king." *

CHAPTER C.

Cromwell's return to London—Reforming policy of Cromwell—Conference on the settlement of the nation—Foreign relations of the commonwealth—Differences with the United Provinces—Dutch war—Commerce—The Navigation Act—The navy of England—Blake—Battles of Blake and Van Tromp—Petition of the army to the parliament—Dialogue between Cromwell and Whitelocke—The question of future representation—Dissolution of the Long Parliament—Public opinion on the dissolution—Summons for a Parliament.

The parliament and people of England felt that Cromwell had saved the commonwealth. He had done more than maintain a form of government. He had stopped the triumphant return to unlimited power of a prince who, once seated at Whitehall by military superiority, would have swept away every vestige of the liberty and security that had been won since 1640. The greater part of Europe was fast passing into complete despotism; and the state vessel of England would have been borne along helplessly into that shoreless sea. The enemies of Cromwell—the enthusiastic royalists and the theoretic republicans—saw, with dread and hatred, that by the natural course of events the victorious general would become the virtual head of the commonwealth. He probably could not suppress the same con-

* Sir Richard Brown's dispatch. Green's "Letters," p. 373.
† "Rebellion," vol. vi. p. 542.

* "Journal of the Swedish Ambassy in 1653–4."

viction in his own breast. Ludlow thus writes of Cromwell's return to London after the battle of Worcester: "The general, after this action, which he called the crowning victory, took upon him a more stately behavior, and chose new friends; neither must it be omitted that, instead of acknowledging the services of those who came from all parts to assist against the common enemy, though he knew they had deserved as much honor as himself and the standing army, he frowned upon them, and the very next day after the fight dismissed and sent them home, well knowing that a useful and experienced militia was more likely to obstruct than to second him in his ambitious designs. Being on his way to London, many of the members of parliament, attended by the city, and great numbers of persons of all orders and conditions, went some miles out of the town to meet him, which tended not a little to heighten the spirit of this haughty gentleman. . . . In a word, so much was he elevated with that success that Mr. Hugh Peters, as he since told me, took so much notice of it as to say in confidence to a friend upon the road in his return from Worcester that Cromwell would make himself king."* Again and again Ludlow dwells upon the expression used by Cromwell in his letter to the parliament, as if it were a foreshadowing of his own "crowning." Later writers accept it in the same sense. Cromwell's real phrase is this: "The dimensions of this mercy are above my thoughts; it is, for aught I know, a *crowning mercy*." To one who was as familiar with Scripture phraseology as Ludlow was, it seems extraordinary that he should attach any more recondite sense to this epithet than that of a *perfecting* mercy or victory. "Thou *crownest* the year with thy goodness" is the same as "Thou *completest* the year with thy goodness."

The authority of the commonwealth being supreme in every quarter—England tranquil; Ireland subdued; Scotland incapable of attempting any further enterprise of a royalist character; the Channel Islands now garrisoned by a parliamentary force—the reduction of the army was a natural policy. The militia had been disbanded, but the great body of men in arms, who had so largely influenced the course of military and civil events, were still all-powerful. The regular army was reduced to twenty-five thousand men. The general made no opposition to a measure which in some degree arose from a jealous apprehension of his power. He was now most strenuous for the advancement of two great measures—an act of amnesty, and a law for the election of future parliaments. These subjects had been often discussed, and as often laid aside. Upon Cromwell's return to London he urged both measures forward with his wonted energy. They were just and salutary measures; yet evil motives were ascribed to him by the republicans. "He grew," says Ludlow, "most familiar with those whom he used to show most aversion to, endeavoring to oblige the royal party by procuring for them more favorable conditions than consisted with the justice of the parliament to grant, under color of quieting the spirits of many people."† The Law for the Election of future Parliaments was passed, by the house voting that it would not continue its sittings beyond the 3d of November, 1654. Even this half measure was only carried by a small majority. It became manifest that the parliament did not rest on very secure foundations. The old question of a settlement of the nation was very forcibly revived in many minds. How difficult a question it was may be collected from Whitelocke's report of a conference held at Speaker Lenthall's house, by request of Cromwell. We do not attempt to abridge this account, which has been termed "dramaturgic"—"of a date posterior the Restoration"—but which, at any rate, shows us how these solid puritanical statesmen conducted their business:

"Upon the defeat at Worcester, Cromwell desired a meeting with divers members of parliament, and some chief officers of the army, at the speaker's house. And a great many being there, he proposed to them, That now the old king being dead, and his son being defeated, he held it necessary to come to a settlement of the nation. And in order thereunto, had requested this meeting; that they together might consider and advise what was fit to be done, and to be presented to the parliament.

"*Speaker.* My lord, this company were very ready to attend your Excellence, and the business you are pleased to propound to us is very necessary to be considered. God hath given marvellous success to our forces under your command; and if we do not improve these mercies to some settlement, such as may be to God's honor, and the good of this commonwealth, we shall be very much blameworthy.

"*Harrison.* I think that which my lord-general hath propounded is, To advise as to a settlement both of our civil and spiritual liberties; and so, that the mercies which the Lord hath given unto us may not be cast away. How this may be done is the great question.

"*Whitelocke.* It is a great question indeed, and not suddenly to be resolved! Yet it were pity that a meeting of so many able and worthy persons as I see here should be fruitless. I should humbly offer, in the first place, Whether it be not requisite to be understood in what way this settlement is desired? Whether of an absolute republic, or with any mixture of monarchy?

"*Cromwell.* My Lord Commissioner Whitelocke hath put us upon the right point: and indeed it is my meaning, that we should consider, Whether a republic, or a mixed monarchical government, will be best to be settled? And if anything monarchical, then, In whom that power shall be placed?

"*Sir Thomas Widdrington.* I think a mixed monarchical government will be most suitable to the laws and people of this nation. And if any monarchical, I suppose we shall hold it most just to place that power in one of the sons of the late king.

"*Colonel Fleetwood.* I think that the question, Whether an absolute republic, or a mixed monarchy, be best to be settled in this nation, will not be very easy to be determined.

"*Lord Chief-Justice St. John.* It will be found that the government of this nation, without something of monarchical power, will be very difficult to be so settled as not to shake the foundations of our laws, and the liberties of the people.

"*Speaker.* It will breed a strange confusion to settle a government of this nation without something of monarchy.

"*Colonel Desborow.* I beseech you, my lord, why may not this, as well as other nations, be governed in the way of a republic?

"*Whitelocke.* The laws of England are so interwoven with the power and practice of monarchy that to settle a government without something of monarchy in it would make so great an alteration in the proceedings of our law that you will scarce have time to rectify it, nor can we well foresee the inconveniences which will arise thereby.

"*Colonel Whalley.* I do not well understand matters of law; but it seems to me the best way not to have anything of monarchical power in the settlement of our government. And if we should resolve upon any, whom have we to pitch upon? The king's eldest son hath been in arms against us, and his second son likewise is our enemy.

"*Sir Thomas Widdrington.* But the late king's son, the duke of Gloucester, is still among us; and too young to have been in arms against us, or infected with the principles of our enemies.

"*Whitelocke.* There may be a day given for the king's eldest son, or for the duke of York, his brother, to come into the parliament. And upon such terms as shall be thought fit and agreeable, both to our civil and spiritual liberties, a settlement may be made with them.

"*Cromwell.* That will be a business of more than ordinary difficulty! But really I think, if it may be done with safety, and preservation of our rights, both as Englishmen and as Christians, That a settlement with somewhat of monarchical power in it would be very effectual."

Whether in this conference the Grandees, as they were called, believed that when Cromwell expressed his thought "that a settlement with somewhat of monarchical power in it would be very effectual," he was consulting only his own ambition; or whether they felt that he was propounding a principle of which most men saw the practical wisdom, although "a business of more than ordinary difficulty"—this is not so clear as some have set forth. Whitelocke himself thought that Cromwell was "fishing for men's opinions"—a sort of angling in which he was generally successful.

The foreign relations of the English commonwealth with the other European states here demand a brief notice, especially those which led to a great naval war with the Dutch.

The privateering hostilities of Prince Rupert were necessary to be met by the republican parliament with no common energy. The

* "Memoirs," vol. i. p. 365, and vol. ii. p. 447.
† Ibid., vol. ii. p. 447.

navy was in the lowest condition of inefficiency in 1648; in three years it had become a most formidable force in every sea. The packet-boat from Dover could now sail without being "pillaged," unless it had "a convoy," as in 1649, when Evelyn writes, "We had a good passage, though chased for some hours by a pirate; but he durst not attack our frigate, and we then chased him till he got under the protection of the castle at Calais; it was a small privateer belonging to the Prince of Wales." Rupert had been driven by Blake from the Irish coast. The English Channel was well guarded by an adequate force. There was a committee for the navy, of which Vane was president; and his zealous activity showed he was a man of action as well as of speech. English squadrons were cruising wherever there was a privateering enemy who could make commerce insecure; for as yet there was no actual war with a foreign nation. When Rupert had escaped from the blockade of Kinsale he sailed to the coast of Portugal. Blake followed him to the mouth of the Tagus. The royal freebooter had obtained favor at the Court of Lisbon, as might have been expected from a Catholic king incensed at republican audacity. The stout-hearted captain who represented the honor of England demanded of King John IV. that he should expel from his ports the enemies of commerce between friendly nations; or that he, Robert Blake, should be allowed to enter the harbor and assert the demands of his government. The required admittance was refused. Blake, attempting to pass the bar, was fired on by the Portuguese forts; and he immediately made reprisals upon the ships of King John. Rupert escaped to the coast of Spain; and after similar demands and refusals from the Spanish government, Blake destroyed the greater number of the privateering fleet. France and Spain were each under very doubtful relations to England, although Spain had recognized the commonwealth. The time had not arrived when it was necessary to make any strict alliance, or to come to a decided rupture, with either of these great powers—Spain essentially weak in the decay of national spirit; France embarrassed by intestine commotions. The relations of the commonwealth with the United Provinces were changed by the death of the prince of Orange in 1650. Had he lived his influence would have probably excited a war with the republicans, who had put his father-in-law to death, and abolished monarchical government. There was large commercial intercourse between England and these Provinces. They were both Protestant. The Council of State of the commonwealth conceived the ambitious project of "a more intrinsical and mutual interest of each other than has hitherto been, for the good of both." Two ambassadors, Oliver St. John and Walter Strickland, were sent to the Hague to accomplish this alliance, which really meant that the two republics should form one nation. This scheme was decidedly unpopular, as it deserved to be. At the Hague there were many English cavaliers with the duke of York and his sister, the widow of the prince of Orange. The Dutch populace and the English royalists joined in insults to the suite of the ambassadors. Oliver St. John and the duke of York nearly came to crossing swords in the public park. These proceedings took place before the issue of affairs in Scotland. The ambassadors were at length recalled by the parliament. It was manifest that the rival commercial states would not long remain at peace. A war was unavoidable, when the house carried the Navigation Act, under which no vessel could enter an English port with a cargo not produced or manufactured in the country to which the vessel belonged. This act went to destroy the Dutch carrying trade. When the royalist cause was finally overthrown by the victory of Worcester, all the smaller states of Europe manifested the greatest eagerness for the alliance of the triumphant commonwealth. The States-General now sent ambassadors to London. They were received with all outward manifestations of respect, but the English statesmen were resolved to restore the flag of their country to that supremacy which Elizabeth had asserted, but which her successors had suffered to pass away. The great seal of the commonwealth ostentatiously exhibited the defences of "The British Sea." The salute of the English flag, the right of search, the limits of the fisheries, became the subjects of ardent contention between England and the States-General. While these differences continued to be agitated in state papers; while the Dutch statesmen were demanding the repeal of the Navigation Act, and the English council as strenuously refusing even a temporary suspension of that measure, so long considered the great foundation of our commercial prosperity, the fleets of Blake and the Dutch admiral Van Tromp, came to a conflict on the 19th of May, 1652. The Dutchman had come into the Downs with a fleet of forty-two vessels. Blake thought it right to look after them, and appeared with twenty-three ships. He fired three signal guns, to summon Van Tromp to lower his flag. Tromp paid no regard to the summons, and sailed on. He suddenly turned round and sent a broadside into Blake's flag-ship. An engagement immediately took place which lasted four hours. Van Tromp lost one ship; and when morning dawned the gazers from the heights of Dover saw no trace of a hostile fleet. There were conflicting statements from each nation. It was a premeditated attack, said the English; he came to insult us on our own seas. Stress of weather drove our admiral to your coasts, said the Dutch; he could have destroyed your fleet if he had meant war. The United Provinces appear to have been anxious to remain at peace, although there were party divisions among their rulers. The English council was probably not indisposed for a naval war. There was an end of land victories, and the popular excitement might find in maritime successes some occupation more safe than agitations for new reforms. War was declared against the States-General on the 8th of July.

The great naval power of the Dutch was founded, as naval power must necessarily be founded, upon the extent of their commerce. The industrial spirit of the reign of Elizabeth, the maritime discoveries, the bold but imperfect attempts at colonization, created the material force and called out the national spirit, that swept the Spanish galleons from the seas over which they asserted a haughty dominion. A year or two before the Long Parliament the commerce of England appears to have been in a languid condition. The East India Company, the Turkey Company, the Merchant Adventurers, had been long contending, with doubtful success, against the inevitable encroachment of private enterprise. The interlopers, as they were called, were sometimes permitted or connived at, and sometimes repressed by stringent proclamations. Individual energy during the palmy days of the Star Chamber was sufficiently retarded by small monopolies, in the shape of licenses and patents. Nevertheless the trade of the country went on increasing, and the plantations of America and the West Indies furnished new commodities in exchange for English produce. King James's "Counterblast to Tobacco" was forgotten, and many a good ship was now laden with the weed once sold for its weight in silver. The civil war necessarily interfered with some mercantile operations; but if we look to the sums which were contributed by London and other commercial cities for the exigencies of the parliament we may be assured that, in spite of fears and animosities, of civil and religious dissensions, the aggregate exchange of the country suffered no ruinous interruption. Under the commonwealth there was undoubtedly a revival of commercial enterprise. A writer after the Restoration, complaining of the low condition of trade at that time (1668), attributes it to the mistaken foreign policy of Cromwell: "When this late tyrant, or protector, as some call him, turned out the Long Parliament, the kingdom was arrived at the highest pitch of trade, wealth, and honor, that it, in any age, ever yet knew. The trade appeared by the great sums offered then for the customs and excise, nine hundred thousand pounds a year being refused."* There can be no doubt that upon the termination of the civil war all industry recovered the check that it must have necessarily received. It was felt that property was secure; that a political revolution had been accomplished without any uprooting of the great principles of social order. The nation was prosperous; its rulers were proud of their triumphs and the peaceable results of their arduous contests. The Navigation Act, which was as real a manifestation of hostility to the Dutch as a declaration of war, originated in that increasing commerce which was grown powerful enough to contend with a long-established rivalry. The Dutch trade was founded upon many monopolies offensive to the English spirit of free adventure. A bold struggle was to be made for disputing their rival's possession of the carrying trade of the world. The Navigation Act was a rude invention suited to the infancy of commerce; and it long held its influence over us, like many other political superstitions. Whether its immediate results were beneficial to the country may be doubted. The statesmen of that period and long after did not understand that buy-

* "The World's Mistake in Oliver Cromwell;" reprinted in Harl. Mis. vol. vii.

ing and selling, freighting and unloading vessels, bringing home useful or luxurious products of foreign countries to exchange with our own growth or manufacture—that these complex operations were not of national benefit merely as conducing to the enrichment of merchants, but chiefly beneficial as they supplied the necessities or increased the enjoyments of the great mass of the people. And yet they had glimpses of this truth. In 1649 France prohibited all trade with England. On the 23d of August, as Whitelocke reports, the house voted that no wines, wool, or silk, of the growth of France, should be imported into England. But upon the question whether *linen* should be prohibited, "it was resolved in the negative, in regard of the general and necessary use thereof." But the Council of State could dispense with luxuries. The French minister in London wrote to Mazarin that when he told the council "that they could not do without our wines, they answered jocosely that men soon got accustomed to anything; and that as they had without inconvenience dispensed with a king, contrary to the general belief, so they could also dispense with our French wines." *

In the spirit of commercial rivalry—with sailors in both fleets that were sometimes serving in the mercantile marine, but always trained to fight, for there were sea robbers hovering about every rich cargo—Van Tromp and Blake were to try the mettle of their crews. In every material of naval warfare the Dutch were superior to the English Their ships were far more numerous; their commanders were more experienced; their men better disciplined. Blake, and Deane, and Popham, and other sea-captains, were land officers. When Cromwell writes from Ireland to the Council of State, he mentions "Colonel Blake" in one letter, and "General Blake" in another. The Dutch had a more practised body of naval tacticians, who had been educated for a special service connected with the rich commerce of their Indian and American settlements. But in the English fleet there was a devoted zeal which feared no encounter, however unequal, and was indifferent to the grounds of a quarrel in the determination to uphold the national honor. In 1652, in anticipation of the Dutch war, Blake was appointed sole admiral and general of the fleet. The character which Clarendon gives of this great commander is candid and discriminating; and it shows how a resolute will, seconding natural talents, may triumph over the impediments of traditionary habits and imbecile routine: "Having done eminent service to the parliament, especially at Taunton, at land, he then betook himself wholly to the sea, and quickly made himself signal there. He was the first man that declined the old track, and made it manifest that the science might be attained in less time than was imagined, and despised those rules which had been long in practice, to keep his ship and his men out of danger; which had been held in former times a point of great ability and circumspection; as if the principal art requisite in the captain of a ship had been to be sure to come home safe again. He was the first man who brought the ships to contemn castles on shore, which had been thought ever very formidable, and were discovered by him to make a noise only, and to fright those who could rarely be hurt by them. He was the first that infused that proportion of courage into the seamen, by making them see by experience what mighty things they could do, if they were resolved; and taught them to fight in fire as well as upon water: and though he hath been very well imitated and followed, he was the first that gave the example of that kind of naval courage, and bold and resolute achievements." † The great men of the civil war and of the commonwealth were called out by the circumstances of the times. The genius of Blake, in the chases and battles of the sea, was the same creation of a strong necessity as the genius of Cromwell in his land fights. The great admiral was made out of an idle country gentleman; the great general was made out of a plain follower of rural industries. The statesmen of the time were fashioned by the same rough teaching. Howell, who was a sagacious observer of men's actions, and whose judgment was not much obscured by his political feelings, writes thus of the men of this period: "The world stands in admiration of the capacity and docibleness of the English, that persons of ordinary breeding, extraction, and callings, should become statesmen and soldiers, commanders and counsellors, both in the art of war and mysteries of state, and know the use of the compass in so short a tract of time." *

The sea-fights between the English and the Dutch in that war of two years have no great historical interest, for they originated in no higher principle than commercial rivalry. Nevertheless they abound in traits of individual heroism; and certainly, whatever have been her subsequent naval glories, England may still be proud of the fame of Blake. Never were her great admirals opposed to one more worthy than Van Tromp. Costly as this war was to the nation—impolitic in the leaders of the republic—it revived that popular spirit of reliance on the navy which even the base humiliations of the next reign could not extinguish. The maritime glories of the commonwealth could be referred to with honest pride when Englishmen blushed for the disgraces of the restoration. We must tell the story very briefly. In June, 1652, Blake had a fleet of a hundred and five ships, carrying nearly four thousand guns. Van Tromp had a hundred and twenty ships. Blake's first business was to assert the bounds of the English fishery. In the seas of the north of Scotland he dispersed six hundred herring busses, capturing or sinking twelve ships of war that were protecting the fishermen's operations. Sir George Ayscough was defending the Channel. Van Tromp came out of the Texel with seventy-nine men-of-war and ten fire-ships, to engage with Ayscough's inferior squadron. He was becalmed, and unable to engage. He turned to the North Seas, and Blake met him between the Orkneys and Shetland. A tempest came on; the Dutch vessels were scattered and much damaged, and Van Tromp returned to Holland, pursued by Blake. The Dutch admiral was unjustly blamed for his misfortunes as if they had been faults. He resigned his command, and was succeeded by De Ruyter. This bold sailor came into the Channel with thirty vessels; and drove Ayscough into Plymouth. De Ruyter was joined by Cornelius De Witt; and, with a fleet of sixty-four sail, encountered Blake in the Downs. After a severe engagement on the 28th of September the Dutch were driven back to their own coasts. Van Tromp was again reinstated in command; and he took the sea as winter was approaching, with a fleet of seventy-three sail. The possibility of a hostile navy appearing off the English coast at the end of November was little calculated upon. Blake had only thirty-seven ships to meet the Dutch admiral. But he resolved not to shrink from battle. The issue was a conflict off the Naze, which ended in the necessity of a retreat, with great loss, to the Thames. Van Tromp sailed up and down the Channel with a broom at his masthead, to manifest that he would sweep the seas of the proud islanders; and the States-General proclaimed England under a blockade. The parliament was not disheartened; and they were just to the merits of their admiral. They sent him again to sea in February, 1653, with a fleet of eighty sail, having Penn and Lawson under his command. He met the Dutch fleet, on the 18th of February, between Portland Bill and Cape La Hogue. It consisted of seventy-five men-of-war, convoying two hundred and fifty merchantmen. The battle lasted all day, without any decided success. It was renewed on the following noon. Van Tromp made all sail for his own coasts, with Blake following him. The same running fight was maintained for two more days, with equal courage and obstinacy on both sides. It was not a decisive victory, though the Dutch lost many ships. Each government bestowed rewards upon its brave captains; and the English parliament appointed a general thanksgiving. The broom was not again set up at the Dutch masthead during the war between the two republics.

The large expenses of this Dutch war drove the parliament and their Council of State to resort to very arbitrary and oppressive measures. The act of amnesty afforded some security to the persons of royalists, but that indemnity was not extended to their property. Search for "delinquents" was to be strictly made. Those who had been spared were now called upon to compound for the possession of their estates. Of many cavaliers all their real and personal property was confiscated. Hundreds of others were required to pay one third of their property's value within very limited time. Cromwell was opposed to these proceedings. He might, as some may imagine, have desired to embarrass the government of which he was contemplating the overthrow; but we must do him the justice to believe that, speaking in the face of his contemporaries, he was not making

* Guizot's "Cromwell," vol. i. p. 221; quoted from the dispatch in Archives des Affaires Étrangères de France.

† "Rebellion," vol. vii. p. 216.

* "Letters," vol. iv. 1655, p. 111.

a pretence of moderation when he thus declared his opinion in 1654: "Poor men, under this arbitrary power, were driven like flocks of sheep, by forty in a morning, to the confiscation of goods and estates, without any man being able to give a reason why two of them had deserved to forfeit a shilling. I tell you the truth. And my soul, and many persons' whom I see in this place, were exceedingly grieved at these things; and knew not which way to help them, except by our mournings, and giving our negatives when occasion served." * The victorious general of the armies of the commnwealth had put himself into the position of the leading reformer of the tyrannies and neglects of the rulers of the commonwealth. He necessarily had a large body of supporters in the people generally; but his strength was in that body of men whom he had led to conquest—whom he had moulded into a conviction that he was yet to be their instrument in completing the national deliverance from the evils which were still to be striven against. While the English and Dutch were fighting in the Channel, in the autumn of 1652, a petition was presented to the parliament by "the officers of my lord-general's army." They craved reform of the law; they asked for a Gospel ministry; they most especially urged a swifter progress to the bill for a new representation in parliament. Upon this very expressive intimation that there was something going on which was not to be despised, the lawyers applied themselves to settle some very intricate questions as to the possession of estates so disturbed by the late intestine commotions; and the house voted that "the committee for regulating the law be revived." Subsequently they appointed a commission "to take into consideration what inconveniences there are in the law, and how the mischiefs that grow from the delays, the changeableness, and the irregularities in law proceedings may be prevented, and the speediest way to reform the same." The demand for a Gospel ministry—a vague demand—was only met by strong laws against "atheistical, blasphemous, and execrable opinions," and by continuing severities against Catholics and Episcopalians. The question of a new representation went on very slowly to a solution. The undisguised hostility of Cromwell to the existing order of things seemed to make the prediction of Hugh Peters not unlikely to be realized. The nation began to feel the embarrassments occasioned by the union of the legislative and executive powers in an assembly, not numerous enough to be the interpreters of opinion, and too numerous for salutary and consistent action. There is a well-known dialogue between Cromwell and Whitelocke which, although recorded with a little more elaboration than seems natural to the relation of an evening's talk in St. James's Park, may be received as a trustworthy notion of the state of affairs, and of the temper of the man who was destined to change the mode of government. Cromwell complains of "jarrings and animosities one against another;" he points out "the dangerous condition we are in." Whitelocke agrees with him: "My lord, I look upon our present danger as greater than ever it was in the field; and, as your excellency truly observes, our proneness is to destroy ourselves, when our enemies could not do it." It is "the factions and ambitious designs" of the army to which he is pointing. Cromwell admits that "their insolency is very great;" but, he continues, "as for the members of parliament, the army begins to have a strange distaste against them, and I wish there were not too much cause for it. And really their pride and ambition and self-seeking, engrossing all places of honor and profit to themselves; and their daily breaking forth into new and violent parties and factions; their delays of business, and designs to perpetuate themselves, and to continue the power in their own hands; their meddling in private matters between party and party, contrary to the institution of parliaments, and their injustice and partiality in those matters; and the scandalous lives of some of the chief of them—these things, my lord, do give too much grounds for people to open their mouths against them, and to dislike them. Nor can they be kept within the bounds of justice, and law or reason; they themselves being the supreme power of the nation, liable to no account to any, nor to be controlled or regulated by any other power; there being none superior, or co-ordinate with them. So that, unless there be some authority and power so full and so high as to restrain and keep things in better order, and that may be a check to these exorbitances, it will be impossible in human reason to prevent our ruin. Whitelocke somewhat defends the members of parliament: "Too many of them are much to blame in those things you have mentioned, and many unfit things have passed among them; but I hope well of the major part of them, when great matters come to a decision." Cromwell does not quite agree: "Some course must be thought on, to curb and restrain them, or we shall be ruined by them." There is a difficulty in this, as Whitelocke judges: "We ourselves have acknowledged them the supreme power, and taken our commissions and authority in the highest concernments from them; and how to restrain and rule them after this, it will be hard to find out a way for it." The reply is startling: "What if a man should take upon him to be king?" Whitelocke replies, as if there could be no doubt that the lord-general meant himself: "As to your own person, the title of king would be of no advantage, because you have the full kingly power in you already, concerning the militia, as you are general. As to the nomination of civil officers, those whom you think fittest are seldom refused; and, although you have no negative vote in the passing of laws, yet what you dislike will not easily be carried; and the taxes are already settled, and in your power to dispose the money raised. And as to foreign affairs, though the ceremonial application be made to the parliament, yet the expectation of good or bad success in it is from your excellency, and particular solicitations of foreign ministers are made to you only. So that I apprehend indeed less envy, and danger, and pomp, but not less power and real opportunities of doing good, in your being general, than would be if you had assumed the title of king." This bold declaration of Cromwell was met by what appears a singular mode in Whitelocke to propitiate a man who had such power to carry his day-dreams into realities. "What if a man should take upon him to be king," was answered by him with an expedient which he propounds with very considerable alarm. He is reassured when the lord-general says, "There shall be no prejudice come to you by any private discourse between us. I shall never betray my friend." The expedient is this: "I propound for your excellency to send to the king of Scots, and to have a private treaty with him." Cromwell postponed the consideration of this expedient to a further time; and Whitelocke adds, "My lord-general did not in words express any anger, but only by looks and carriage; and turned aside from me to other company."

During the winter and spring the great question at issue between the parliament and the man described by Whitelocke as having kingly authority in all but the name, was the long-debated question of future representation. In February it was determined that the existing parliament should dissolve on the 3d of November of that year. The future number of representatives was to be four hundred, to be elected by freeholders in counties, and owners or tenants in boroughs. But this was not to be wholly a new parliament. The members then sitting were to remain as the representatives of the counties or boroughs for which they then sat; and it was resolved that a general committee should pronounce upon the validity of the new returns. Against the proposal "for the perpetuating the same men in parliament," as Cromwell afterward described this bill, he gave his most strenuous opposition. On the 19th of April, 1653, there was a great conference of members of the house, and of officers of the army, at Cromwell's residence of Whitehall. One party pressed the necessity of the bill; the other desired that "they would devolve the trust over to some well-affected men, such as had an interest in the nation, and were known to be of good affection to the commonwealth." * "At parting," continues the same narrator of these proceedings—Cromwell himself—"one of the chief" of the members, and "two or three more, did tell us that they would endeavor to suspend further proceedings about their bill for a new representation until they had another conference with us. And upon this we had great satisfaction." † What the morrow brought forth is one of the strangest events in English history.

It was late at night when the conference on the 19th of April, at Cromwell's house, the Cockpit at Whitehall, was come to an end. It was understood that the discussion was to be renewed on Wednesday, the 20th. The lord-general is ready to receive the members of

* Speech to the First Parliament of the Protectorate. Carlyle, vol. iii. p. 44.

* Cromwell's Speech to the "Little Parliament," Carlyle, vol. ii. p. 317. † Ibid.

parliament, he and his officers. Some few members are come; but the leaders have not made their appearance. Reports arrived that the parliament was sitting; then, that Vane and Algernon Sidney and Henry Marten were urging the immediate passing of the bill for their dissolution and a new representation. Colonel Ingoldsby now came in haste and said that there was not a moment to lose. The obnoxious bill was about to become law. Cromwell instantly went forth followed by Lambert and several other officers. A detachment of soldiers was ordered to march to the House of Commons. The lord-general placed his men in the lobby, and then entered the house alone. "The parliament sitting as usual, and being in debate upon the bill with the amendments, which it was thought would have been passed that day, the Lord-General Cromwell came into the house, clad in plain black clothes and gray worsted stockings, and sat down as he used to do, in an ordinary place." The scene which ensued has been described by Algernon Sidney, by Whitelocke, and by Ludlow. Sidney and Whitelocke were present. Ludlow was in Ireland; but he was in a position to obtain information, and he has put his details together in a very coherent narrative, little colored by the wrath which he ever afterward felt toward the formidable man "in plain black clothes and gray worsted stockings." "He sat down and heard the debate for some time. Then calling to Major-General Harrison, who was on the other side of the house, to come to him, he told him that he judged the parliament ripe for a dissolution, and this to be the time of doing it. The major-general answered, as he since told me, 'Sir, the work is very great and dangerous, therefore I desire you seriously to consider of it before you engage in it.' 'You say well,' replied the general, and thereupon sat still for about a quarter of an hour; and then the question for passing the bill being to be put, he said again to Major-General Harrison, 'This is the time—I must do it;' and suddenly standing up, made a speech, wherein he loaded the parliament with the vilest reproaches, charging them not to have a heart to do anything for the public good, to have espoused the corrupt interests of presbytery and the lawyers, who were the supporters of tyranny and oppression, accusing them of an intention to perpetuate themselves in power, had they not been forced to the passing of this act, which he affirmed they designed never to observe, and therefore told them that the Lord had done with them, and had chosen other instruments for the carrying on his work that were more worthy. This he spoke with so much passion and discomposure of mind as if he had been distracted. Sir Peter Wentworth stood up to answer him, and said, That this was the first time that ever he had heard such unbecoming language given to the parliament, and that it was the more horrid in that it came from their servant, and their servant whom they had so highly trusted and obliged; but as he was going on, the general stepped into the midst of the house, where, continuing his distracted language, he said, 'Come, come, I will put an end to your prating;' then walking up and down the house like a madman, and kicking the ground with his feet, he cried out, 'You are no parliament, I say you are no parliament; I will put an end to your sitting; call them in, call them in.' Whereupon the sergeant attending the parliament opened the doors, and Lieutenant-Colonel Worsley with two files of musketeers entered the house; which Sir Henry Vane observing from his place, said aloud, 'This is not honest; yea, it is against morality and common honesty.' Then Cromwell fell a railing at him, crying out with a loud voice, 'O Sir Henry Vane, Sir Henry Vane; the Lord deliver me from Sir Henry Vane.' Then looking upon one of the members, he said, 'There sits a drunkard;' and giving much reviling language to others, he commanded the mace to be taken away, saying, 'What shall we do with this bauble? here, take it away.' Having brought all into this disorder, Major-General Harrison went to the speaker as he sat in the chair and told him that, seeing things were reduced to this pass, it would not be convenient for him to remain there. The speaker answered that he would not come down unless he were forced. 'Sir,' said Harrison, 'I will lend you my hand;' and thereupon putting his hand within his, the speaker came down. Then Cromwell applied himself to the members of the house, who were in number between eighty and a hundred, and said to them, 'It's you that have forced me to this, for I have sought the Lord night and day, that he would rather slay me than put me upon the doing of this work.' Hereupon Alderman Allen, a member of parliament, told him that it was not yet gone so far but all things might be restored again; and that if the soldiers were commanded out of the house, and the mace returned, the public affairs might go on in their former course; but Cromwell having now passed the Rubicon, not only rejected his advice, but charged him with an account of some hundred thousand pounds, for which he threatened to question him, he having been long treasurer for the army, and in a rage committed him to the custody of one of the musketeers. Alderman Allen told him that it was well known that it had not been his fault that his account was not made up long since; that he had often tendered it to the house, and that he asked no favor from any man in that matter. Cromwell having acted this treacherous and impious part, ordered the guard to see the house cleared of all the members, and then seized upon the records that were there, and at Mr. Scobell's house. After which he went to the clerk, and snatching the Act of Dissolution, which was ready to pass, out of his hand, he put it under his cloak, and having commanded the doors to be locked up, went away to Whitehall."*

The Council of State, in spite of the remonstrance of Bradshaw, its president, was dismissed the same afternoon by the same strong hand. In a newspaper of the following day, *Mercurius Politicus*, appeared this semi-official paragraph: "The lord-general delivered yesterday in parliament divers reasons wherefore a present period should be put to the sitting of this parliament, and it was accordingly done, the speaker and the members all departing; the ground of which proceedings will, it is probable, be shortly made public." The French minister in London, writing to his government on the 3d of May, describes this humiliating end of the famous Long Parliament. "The people," he writes, "universally rejoice, and the higher ranks (la noblesse) equally so, in the *generous* action of General Cromwell, and the fall of the parliament, which is reviled by every mouth. There is written on the House of Parliament,

'This house is now to be let, unfurnished.'" †

The forcible expulsion of that parliament which had become supreme through a similar unconstitutional violence, that of Colonel Pride's Purge, appears to have produced very little public excitement. Cromwell exclaimed, "We do not hear even a dog bark at their going." The republican leaders were indignant, but they were powerless. This great change had been effected without a single drop of blood being shed. It was followed by no severities against those who were known to be most hostile to the one man who was regarded in many things as the real ruler of England. Many knew and avowed, as he himself knew, "that a settlement with somewhat of monarchical power in it would be very effectual." Speaker Lenthall, who was handed down from his chair on the 20th of April, had expressed his opinion that "something of monarchy" was wanting for the government of this nation.‡ Many rejoiced at this approach to an authority more direct, less vacillating and less contentious, than the supreme government by a parliament. Even the republicans, who had a natural dread of Cromwell's ambition, acquiesced in the instant change which had been produced by his commanding will. Mrs. Hutchinson writes of her husband, who for nearly a year had been absent from his place in the house: "He was going up to attend the business of his country alone, when news met him upon the road, near London, that Cromwell had broken the parliament. Notwithstanding, he went on, and found divers of the members there, resolved to submit to the providence of God; and to wait till he should clear their integrity, and to disprove these people who had taxed them of ambition; by sitting still, when they had friends enough in the army, city, and country, to have disputed the matter, and probably vanquished these accusers. They thought that if they should vex the land by war among themselves, the late subdued enemies, royalists and Presbyterians, would have an opportunity to prevail on their dissensions, to the ruin of both. If these should govern well, and righteously, and moderately, they should enjoy the benefit of their good government, and not envy them the honorable toil." § The republican colonel and Independent submitted, as the majority submitted, to an usurpation which seemed not wholly unlikely to increase "good government." Suspected as Cromwell was of aspiring

* "Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 455.
† M. de Bordeaux to M. Servien, in Guizot, Appendix xxiii.
‡ See *ante*, p. 502.
§ "Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 205.

to monarchical power, there was nothing in his character to make the people dread that he would rule cruelly and tyrannously instead of "righteously and moderately." The government went on without the slightest interruption. "The lord-general and his council of officers" issued two declarations, in which it was promised that a certain number of persons should be summoned from all parts of the kingdom—God-fearing men, and of approved integrity—who should have the direction of affairs. Meanwhile a council of state, consisting of thirteen, was appointed—nine military men and four civilians, with Cromwell as their president. The country remained in perfect tranquillity. The four commissioners to whom the government of Ireland had been intrusted since the death of Ireton in November, 1651, "continued to act in their places and stations as before," Ludlow one of them, recording their hope that all would be for the best. Blake called together the Puritan captains of his fleet to consider their change of masters. He was urged by some to take part against Cromwell. "No," was his reply; "it is not for us to mind affairs of state, but to keep foreigners from fooling us." Amid this general submission to what was regarded as a probable blessing, or an inevitable evil, there was sent out, on the 6th of June, a summons to serve as a member of parliament, addressed to each of one hundred and thirty-nine persons. These had been selected, some after consultations of ministers with their congregations, others by their known public qualifications, and all by the approval of Cromwell and his council. Very different was this from a representation; but it was such an assembly as had been proposed by Cromwell and his officers at the conferences which preceded the dissolution of April 20th. "That the government of the nation being in such condition as we saw, and things being under so much ill-sense abroad, and likely to end in confusion, we desired they would devolve the trust over to some well-affected men, such as had an interest in the nation, and were known to be of good affection to the commonwealth. Which, we told them, was no new thing when this land was under the like hurlyburlies. And we had been laboring to get precedents to convince them of it; and it was confessed by them it was no new thing." * The following is the summons by which the members of "the Little Parliament" were called together:

"Forasmuch as, upon the dissolution of the late parliament, it became necessary, that the peace, safety, and good government of this commonwealth should be provided for: And in order thereunto, divers persons, fearing God, and of approved fidelity and honesty, are, by myself with the advice of my council of officers, nominated; to whom the great charge and trust of so weighty affairs is to be committed: And having good assurance of your love to and courage for God and the interest of his cause, and 'that' of the good people of this commonwealth: I, Oliver Cromwell, Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief of all the armies and forces raised and to be raised within this commonwealth, do hereby summon and require you, —— ——, being one of the persons nominated, —— personally to be and appear at the Council-Chamber, commonly known or called by the name of the Council-Chamber at Whitehall, within the city of Westminster, upon the fourth day of July next ensuing the date hereof: Then and there to take upon you the said trust; unto which you are hereby called, and appointed to serve as a member for the County of ——. And hereof you are not to fail.

"Given under my hand and seal the 6th day of June, 1653.

"OLIVER CROMWELL."

CHAPTER CI.

Defeat of Van Tromp—Character of the Little Parliament—Cromwell's address to this assembly—Its Provisional Constitution—Their proceedings and tendencies—Resignation of the Little Parliament—Oliver inaugurated as protector—Social condition of the kingdom.

THE summons which Cromwell sent throughout the country for the assembling of a body of men that should, in some degree, though not wholly as a parliament, represent the interest of England, Scotland, and Ireland, was made public at a propitious season of national triumph. On the 4th of June Blake and Monk had sent a dispatch to Cromwell announcing a great victory over the Dutch fleet. Monk and Dean were cruising, with a portion of the English fleet, between the North Foreland and Nieuport; Blake was on our northern coasts. Van Tromp decided to encounter the fleet thus separated from their great admiral. The engagement continued all through the day of the 2d of June. Dean had been killed by a cannon-shot at the first broadside. Each of the fleets had been sorely crippled when night separated them. The action recommenced on the 3d. On that morning the sound of cannon from the north told the welcome news to Monk that the sea-king was at hand. Blake's ships broke through the Dutch line. Van Tromp fought with desperation. His ship, the Brederode, was boarded by the crew of Penn's flagship, the James, after having repulsed Van Tromp's boarders. The Dutch admiral resolved not to be a prisoner, threw a lighted match into his own powder-magazine. The explosion blew up the deck, but he himself escaped, to renew the battle in a frigate. He at last felt that he was beaten, retreated to his own coasts, and left with the triumphant English eleven vessels and thirteen hundred and fifty prisoners. The Council of State ordered a thanksgiving for the victory. Cromwell's Little Parliament met, on the 4th of July, under prosperous auspices.

The character of this Little Parliament has been studiously misrepresented. We are taught to believe, especially in histories addressed to the youthful understanding, that "the persons pitched upon for exercising this seemingly important trust were the lowest, meanest, and most ignorant among the citizens, and the very dregs of the fanatics." * Clarendon's statement, "There were among them divers of the quality and degree of gentlemen," is wholly suppressed in the usual narratives. Hume's chief objection to them is a characteristic one—"They began with seeking God by prayer." The great scandal of this assembly was that among them "was Praise-God Barebones, a leather-seller of Fleet Street," as Clarendon mentions, to enable men to form a judgment of the rest. It has no great historical interest to discuss, as some have done, whether the leather-merchant was named Barebones or Barbone. There he is, sitting by the side of Robert Blake, when Robert has no fighting on his hands; and with Francis Rouse, provost of Eton, and sundry men, not altogether the lowest, meanest, and most ignorant, bearing the aristocratic names of Montagu, Howard, and Anthony Ashley Cooper. To Cromwell's summons only two answered by non-attendance. Whitelocke, not at that exact time in good humor with Cromwell, expresses his surprise that "many of this assembly being persons of fortune and knowledge," they would accept the supreme authority of the nation from such hands. The "persons of fortune and knowledge"—even the leather-seller of Fleet Street—might justly think that it became them, at a crisis when most men perceived that it would have been dangerous to summon a regular parliament, to accept a trust which might avert the two extreme evils of military despotism or popular outrage. And so on the 4th of July they came to the Council Chamber at Whitehall; and sitting in chairs round a table, the lord-general, surrounded by his officers, made a speech to the assembly—"full of the same obscurity, confusion, embarrassment, and absurdity, which appear in almost all Oliver's productions," says Hume; "All glowing with intelligibility, with credibility, with the splendor of genuine veracity, and heroic depth and manfulness," says one who is not scandalized, as Hume is, at Cromwell's words of rejoicing that a body of men was there come to supreme authority upon the principle of "owning God and being owned by him." That this principle was to involve the exercise of justice and mercy to the people, according to Oliver's notion, may be collected from a passage or two in his speech, which is characteristic enough of his style of oratory. "He was an entire stranger to oratorical art, to harmony of composition, and to elegance of language," says a great writer and orator; but he adds, "He impelled his auditors with resistless force toward the object which he wished to attain, by exciting in their minds, at every step, the impression which it was his object to produce." † What, we ask, can the highest oratorical art effect beyond this?

After going through a narrative of the circumstances which preceded the dissolution of the Long Parliament, and accounted for his participation in that act, Cromwell says, "Having done that we have

* Cromwell's Speech, July 4. Carlyle, vol. ii. p. 346.

* Goldsmith.

† Guizot, vol. ii. p. 16.

done upon such ground of necessity as we have declared, which was not a feigned necessity but a real—it did behove us, to the end we might manifest to the world the singleness of our hearts and our integrity who did these things, not to grasp at the power ourselves, or keep it in military hands, no, not for a day; but, as far as God enabled us with strength and ability, to put it into the hands of proper persons that might be called from the several parts of the nation. This necessity, and I hope we may say for ourselves, this integrity of concluding to divest the sword of all power in the civil administration—hath been that that hath moved us to put you to the trouble of coming hither; and having done that, truly we think we cannot, with the discharge of our own consciences, but offer somewhat to you on the devolving of the burden on your shoulders. . . .

"I think, coming through our hands, though such as we are, it may not be ill taken if we do offer somewhat as to the discharge of the trust which is now incumbent upon you. And although I seem to speak of that which may have the face and interpretation of a charge, it's a very humble one; and if he that means to be a servant to you, who hath now called you to the exercise of the supreme authority, discharge what he conceives to be a duty to you, we hope you will take it in good part. And truly I shall not hold you long in it; because I hope it's written in your hearts to approve yourselves to God. . . .

"It's better to pray for you than to counsel you in that matter, that you may exercise the judgment of mercy and truth. It's better, I say, to pray for you than counsel you; to ask wisdom from Heaven for you; which I am confident many thousands of saints do this day and have done, and will do, through the permission of God and his assistance. I say it's better to pray than advise: yet truly I think of another Scripture, which is very useful, though it seems to be for a common application to every man as a Christian—wherein he is counselled to ask wisdom; and he is told what that is. That's 'from above,' we are told; it's 'pure, peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits;' it's 'without partiality and without hypocrisy.' Truly my thoughts run much upon this place, that to the execution of judgment (the judgment of truth, for that's the judgment) you must have wisdom 'from above,' and that's 'pure.' That will teach you to exercise the judgment of truth; it's 'without partiality.' Purity, impartiality, sincerity: these are the effects of 'wisdom,' and these will help you to execute the judgment of truth. And then if God give you hearts to be 'easy to be entreated,' to be 'peaceably spirited,' to be 'full of good fruits,' bearing good fruits to the nation, to men as men, to the people of God, to all in their several stations—*this* will teach you to execute the judgment of mercy and truth. And I have little more to say to this. I shall rather bend my prayers for you in that behalf, as I said; and many others will.

"Truly, the 'judgment of truth,' it will teach you to be as just toward an unbeliever as toward a believer; and it's our duty to do so. I confess I have said sometimes, foolishly it may be: I had rather miscarry to a believer than an unbeliever. This may seem a paradox; but let's take heed of doing that which is evil to either! Oh, if God fill your hearts with such a spirit as Moses had, and as Paul had—which was not a spirit for believers only, but for the whole people! Moses, he could die for them; wish himself 'blotted out of God's book:' Paul could wish himself 'accursed for his countrymen after the flesh:' so full of affection were their spirits unto all. And truly this would help you to execute the judgment of truth, and of mercy also. . . . In my pilgrimage, and some exercises I have had abroad, I did read that Scripture often, forty-first of Isaiah; where God gave me, and some of my fellows, encouragement 'as to' what he would do there and elsewhere; which he hath performed for us. He said, 'He would plant in the wilderness the cedar, the shittah-tree, and the myrtle and the oil-tree; and he would set in the desert the fir-tree, and the pine-tree, and the box-tree together.' For what end will the Lord do all this? That they may see, and know, and consider, and understand together, that the hand of the Lord hath done this; that it is he who hath wrought all the salvations and deliverances we have received. For what end? To see, and know, and understand together, that he hath done and wrought all this for the good of the whole flock. Therefore, I beseech you—but I think I need not—have a care of the whole flock! Love the sheep, love the lambs; love all, tender all, cherish and countenance all, in all things that are good. And if the poorest Christian, the most mistaken Christian, shall desire to live peaceably and quietly under you—I say, if any shall desire but to lead a life of godliness and honesty, let him be protected."

We shall not often have occasion to introduce passages of this serious character into our text. It is necessary in this place to exhibit the sort of exhortations addressed by Cromwell to those described by Hume as "low mechanics, fifth monarchy men, anabaptists, antinomians, independents—the very dregs of fanatics;" and although the style of oratory may differ from modern usage when parliaments are addressed, it may not be regarded as wholly inappropriate and ineffectual.

The constitution of Cromwell's assembly was provisional. The supreme authority was devolved upon them by an instrument signed by the lord-general and his officers, but they were to engage not to retain it beyond the 3d of November, 1654; three months before that time they were to choose their successors; and these were not to sit longer than a year, and then to determine upon a future constitution of government. This was an arrangement not altogether consistent with the theory that Cromwell aimed at an arbitrary government in his own person; and is only explained by the assertion that he adopted a temporary expedient which he knew could not stand in the way of his own ambitious designs. Upon this principle it is held that it was "the deep policy of Cromwell to render himself the sole refuge of those who valued the laws, or the regular ecclesiastical ministry, or their own estates, all in peril from the mad enthusiasts who were in hopes to prevail" *—that he therefore chose the mad enthusiasts, "mingling them with a sufficient proportion of a superior class whom he could direct." A deep policy, no doubt, but also a policy of very uncertain result. When we look back upon the earnestness with which Cromwell had advocated the reform of the law; his zeal for amending the condition of the poor; his eager pleadings against the oppressions of prisoners for debt; his desires for the promotion of education—it appears somewhat unlikely that if he meant these men to do nothing, and thus ultimately to throw the popularity of remedial measures into his hands, they should at once have applied themselves to these objects with a vigor that contrasted with the comparative torpor of the last days of the Long Parliament. They formed committees to examine these questions, and others of political importance, such as union with Scotland, the division of lands in Ireland, and the financial condition of the kingdom. They did, however, some things which gave offence to two powerful classes—the clergy and the lawyers. They abolished the Court of Chancery, and they decreed, by a majority of two, that tithes should be abolished. The abolition of tithes, before a maintenance by law should have been otherwise provided, was against a report of their own committee. The more enthusiastic of the religious party had gained the ascendency over those who despised this world's wisdom. Cromwell did not despise it; and he saw the real evils that had developed themselves in an authority of which the majority, led by Major-General Harrison, held that "the saints shall take possession of the kingdom and keep it." † These extreme doctrines were preached in the meetings of sectaries. Two anabaptists, Feake and Powell, were most violent in urging great social changes, at which the more moderate became alarmed. The men of station and property began to regard Cromwell as the only power interposed between order and anarchy. In the next year, when he called a general parliament, he spoke very clearly upon these dangers of the commonwealth. He pointed to "the ranks and orders of men, whereby England hath been known for hundreds of years—a nobleman, a gentleman, a yeoman—that is a good interest of the nation, and a great one. For the orders of men and ranks of men, did not that levelling principle tend to the reducing of all to an equality? What was the purport of it but to make the tenant as liberal a fortune as the landlord—which, I think, if obtained, would not have lasted long. The men of that principle, after they had served their own turns, would then have cried up property and interest fast enough." With reference to the most fanatical of the sectaries, those who believed in the approach of the Fifth Monarchy, when the saints of Christ should alone reign in the earth, Cromwell says, "When more fulness of the

* Hallam, "Constitutional History," chap. x.
† See Ludlow, "Memoirs," p. 565.

Spirit is poured forth to subdue iniquity, and bring in everlasting righteousness, then will the approach of that glory be. The carnal divisions and contentions among Christians, so common, are not the symptoms of that kingdom. But for men, on this principle, to be-title themselves, that they are the only men to rule kingdoms, govern nations, and give laws to the people, and determine of property and liberty and everything else, upon such a pretension as this is—truly they had need to give clear manifestations of God's presence among them, before wise men will receive or submit to their conclusions." Cromwell the hypocrite, or Cromwell the fanatic, or Cromwell the statesman and natural ruler of men—whatever we please to call him—saw that the Fifth Monarchy men, with Major-General Harrison at their head, were too strong in their enthusiasm to make a stable government of the people a practicable thing. There were many of his adherents of the same opinion. On the 12th of December Colonel Sydenham rose in his place, and forthwith accused the majority of desiring to take away the laws of the land, and substitute a Mosaic code; of seeking to remove a regularly appointed Christian ministry; of opposing all learning and education. He proposed that they should repair in a body to the lord-general, and resign the trust which had been committed to them. The motion was seconded by Sir Charles Wolseley. The accusations were earnestly pronounced to be unjust, and the meritorious labors of the assembly were dwelt upon. The speaker suddenly left the chair, followed by about forty members. Leaving a number of members behind, not sufficient to constitute a house, they repaired to Whitehall, and there hastily wrote a paper resigning their authority into the hands of Cromwell. In the course of the next four days it was signed by eighty members, constituting a majority of the whole house.

The resignation of the Little Parliament is quickly followed by the event to which it was, without doubt, a prearranged prelude. "The perfidious Cromwell," writes Ludlow, "having forgot his most solemn professions and former vows, as well as the blood and treasure that had been spent in this contest, thought it high time to take off the mask, and resolved to sacrifice all our victories and deliverances to his pride and ambition, under color of taking upon him the office as it were of a high constable, in order to keep the peace of the nation, and to restrain men from cutting one another's throats."* This honest republican does not, however, inform us that such an office was altogether unnecessary. Looking calmly back upon this great issue of a civil war, we can scarcely doubt that a high constable was absolutely wanted, and that if the man of due vigor had not been at hand, worse evils might have ensued than this—that on the 16th of December, 1653, Oliver Cromwell was inaugurated "Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland." On that day Oliver Cromwell, then fifty-four years of age, dressed in a plain suit of black velvet, sat down on a chair of state in the Court of Chancery, when Major-General Lambeth prayed him to accept the office of protector; and Cromwell consented "to take upon him the protection and government of these nations, in the manner expressed in the form of government." That form was an instrument of forty-two articles. It was anything but an instrument constituting the protector a dictator. The sovereignty was to reside in the parliament. He was not to have the power of a negative on their laws. He had a power of making temporary ordinances until the meeting of a parliament. A Council of State was to assist the protector in the government. And so, "having taken the oath as directed in the close of the said instrument," writes Ludlow, "Major-General Lambert kneeling, presented him with a sword in the scabbard, representing the civil sword; which Cromwell accepting, put off his own, intimating thereby that he would no longer rule by the military sword."† The indignant Ludlow adds, "Though like a false hypocrite, he designed nothing more."

Before this great change in the government of England, Whitelocke had set forth on an embassy for the conclusion of a treaty with Sweden. Cromwell had especially urged this mission upon the reluctant commissioner, but at last he had prevailed.‡ We here notice this embassy, to point to two remarkable passages in the conversations between Queen Christina and the ambassador of the English commonwealth, which have reference to Cromwell. In an interview before the news of the event of the 16th of December had reached Sweden, the following dialogue took place:

"*Queen.* Much of the story of your general hath some parallel with that of my ancestor, Gustavus the First, who, from a private gentleman of a noble family, was advanced to the title of marshal of Sweden, because he had risen up and rescued his country from the bondage and oppression which the king of Denmark had put upon them, and expelled that king; and for his reward, he was at last elected king of Sweden; and I believe that your general will be king of England in conclusion.

"*Whitelocke.* Pardon me, madam, that cannot be, because England is resolved into a commonwealth; and my general hath already sufficient power and greatness, as general of all their forces both by sea and land, which may content him.

"*Queen.* Resolve what you will, I believe he resolves to be king: and hardly can any power or greatness be called sufficient, when the nature of man is so prone (as in these days) to all ambition."

But very shortly the news reached the Swedish court of the altered relations of the English government with foreign states; and then Christina asks these pertinent questions:

"*Queen.* Is your new government by a protector different from what it was before as to monarchy, or is the alteration in all points?

"*Whitelocke.* The government is to be the same as formerly, by successive representatives of the people in parliament; only the protector is the head or chief magistrate of the commonwealth."

The queen is still curious upon several difficult points which arise out of her meditations upon this novel form of chief magistracy:

"*Queen.* Why is the title protector, when the power is kingly?

"*Whitelocke.* I cannot satisfy your majesty of the reasons of this title, being at so great a distance from the inventors of it.

"*Queen.* New titles, with sovereign power, proved prejudicial to the state of Rome.

"*Whitelocke.* One of your majesty's ancestors was not permitted to keep the title of marshal of Sweden.

"*Queen.* He was afterward king, and that will be next for your protector.

"*Whitelocke.* That will not be so consonant to our commonwealth as it was to your crown. . . .

"*Queen.* Is your protector sacred as other kings are?

"*Whitelocke.* He is not anointed and crowned; those ceremon. were not used to him.

"*Queen.* His power is the same with that of king, and why should not his title have been the same?

"*Whitelocke.* It is the power which makes the title, and not the title which makes the power; our protector thinks he hath enough of both.

"*Queen.* He is hardly a mortal man then; but he hath brought his business notably to pass, and hath done great things. I give you my hand for it, that I have a great value for him."

Before we enter upon a narrative of the public events of the protectorate, let us endeavor, out of very imperfect materials, to present a brief view of the social condition of the kingdom, in continuation of those "glimpses of the life of the people" which we gave at the commencement of the civil war.* The changes of the decade are not very marked in ordinary times. But those who had lived through the fierce struggles of this decade—had seen the fall of the monarchy, and of the Anglican Church; the almost utter subjection of the cavaliers; the growing power of the army; the triumphs of the Independents over the Presbyterians; the dissolution of the Long Parliament; and the approach once again to a monarchical form of government—these must have looked upon great vicissitudes. More than this, those who were boys when the Puritan William Prynne stood in the pillory in 1633 must have beheld an entire revolution in the domestic framework of society when the Puritan Oliver Cromwell sat in the chair of state in 1653. Such phases of common life are rarely observed in the whirl of public events. A casual notice here and there of a letter-writer or a diarist enables us to piece together a few fragments. Such mosaic work could not be elaborated into a picture with any pretension to verisimilitude. It can scarcely aspire to any symmetrical proportion.

* "Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 471.
† Ludlow, "Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 480.
‡ See note to Chapter xcix.

* See vol. iii. p. 449.

The rapidity with which some nations, after they have been harassed and devastated by foreign invasion or intestine wars, recover and become prosperous, mainly depends upon the fact of nations being constituted of an industrious or slothful race. But it also in no small degree depends upon their political institutions—the amount of individual liberty, the security of property. From a comparison of all accounts we may judge that England recovered with wonderful ease from the destruction of capital, from the taxes, the confiscations of the civil war. Mrs. Hutchinson's account may be received with little qualification, that the parliament before its dissolution "had restored the commonwealth to such a happy, rich, and plentiful condition as it was not so flourishing before the war; and although the taxes that were paid were great, yet the people were rich, and were able to pay them." The forfeitures of property, so calamitous to individuals, had thrown extensive estates into the hands of the middle classes, who cultivated them to greater profit than their hereditary proprietors. The war itself, calling forth a remarkable union of religious enthusiasm with sober industry, gave an elevation to the pursuits of the trading classes which made the dignity of work more appreciated by themselves and by others. There was a general desire for religious knowledge which created an aspiration for higher things than money even in the humblest mechanical pursuits. It was not a period of very unequal distribution of wealth among those who lived by their industry, except in the larger operations of commerce. Baxter, speaking of his parishioners at Kidderminster, says, "My people were not rich. There were among them very few beggars, because their common trade of stuff-weaving would find work for all—men, women, and children—that were able. . . . The generality of the master-workmen lived but a little better than their journeymen, from hand to mouth, but only that they labored not altogether so hard." Yet among this humble community, according to this good man, "it was a great advantage to me that my neighbors were of such a trade as allowed them time enough to read or talk of holy things. . . . As they stand in their loom they can set a book before them." *

Whatever might be the contrarieties of doctrine and discipline among the great body of Puritans, the time of scoffing and reviling them was entirely passed. There might be secret mutterings against fanatics among the old cavaliers, but the great religious body was too powerful, their influence was too universal, to meet with violent resistance or open contempt. The more extreme sectaries necessarily provoked much suppressed ridicule; but the great body of the Puritan clergy were too orderly in their lives, too active in their zeal for godliness and sobriety, and in many cases had established so great a reputation for sound learning that the most devoted Episcopalians and staunchest royalists could not pretend to despise them, as in the times of Laud. The toleration which was imperfectly carried out by the republican Independents, but which Cromwell made the ruling principle of his ecclesiastical policy, had a tendency to mitigate some of the old feuds of the surplice and the Geneva gown. Evelyn, the most devoted of men to the past system of government, spiritual and temporal, is naturally disgusted when, on the 4th of December, 1653, "going this day to our church, I was surprised to see a tradesman, a mechanic, step up; I was resolved yet to stay and see what he would make of it." The mechanic inferred from his text that "now the saints were called to destroy temporal governments;" and Evelyn remarks that "with such feculent stuff, so dangerous a crisis were things grown to." Cromwell rather averted the danger of the crisis, as we have seen. Evelyn is severe upon "the usuper" being feasted at the lord mayor's, on Ash Wednesday; though he expresses no grateful sense of the change which permitted him "to hear the famous Dr. Jeremy Taylor at St. Gregory's." This true English gentleman has unconsciously given his testimony that the kingdom was not in a very wretched condition when "the usurper" began openly to take the regulation of affairs. He saw indeed, at Caversham, in 1654, Lord Craven's woods being felled "by the rebels"—the confiscation of this property having been an expiring act of the despotism of the Rump Parliament of which Oliver complained. But in this summer tour he enjoys "the idle diversions" of Bath; "trifling and bathing with the company who frequent the place for health." He goes to Bristol, "a city emulating London, not for its large extent, but manner of building—shops, bridge, traffic, exchange, market-place"—standing "commodiously for Ireland and the Western world." He was welcomed with old hospitality at Oxford, and heard the famous Independent, Dr. Owen, preach, "perstringing [glancing upon] Episcopacy." Cromwell was chancellor of Oxford, and Dr. Owen vice-chancellor; yet Evelyn heard excellent orations; and was delighted at All Souls with "music, voices and theorbos, performed by some ingenious scholars." Some of the roaring habits of the cavaliers were not yet banished by Puritanism; for his party's coachmen, at Spie Park, the seat of Sir Edward Baynton, were made "exceeding drunk" by that "humorous old knight," who ordered all gentlemen's servants to be so treated. At Wilton House, the Earl of Pembroke's, he beholds the mansion and gardens in the most beautiful order. He finds at Coventry "the streets full of great shops, clean and well-paved." In Rutlandshire he meets an exception to the general neatness of English villages: "Most of the rural parishes are built of mud, and the people living as wretchedly as in the most impoverished parts of France, which they much resemble, being idle and sluttish." In Leicestershire the gentry are "free drinkers." With these exceptions, wherever he travels he finds stately houses, fair gardens, ample parks, orderly and contented people. He sees very few evidences of the ravages of war. The country seems quiet and prosperous—not altogether a bad country to live in, though "an usurper" does rule it. And so Mr. Evelyn completes his purchase of Sayes Court; and sets out his oval garden; and trims his holly hedge, afterward so famous; and is not wanting for amusements even in this strict age; for "my Lady Gerrard treated us at Mulberry Garden, now the only place of refreshment about town for persons of the best quality to be exceedingly cheated at." There are indications that some of the levities are creeping in that preceded the coming age of licentiousness: "I now observed how the women began to paint themselves."

The healthful influence upon the morals of the rural population, through the exertions and examples of the religious gentry, is well illustrated by the course of life which Colonel Hutchinson pursued: "He had for about a year's time applied himself, when the parliament could dispense with his absence, to the administration of justice in the country, and to the putting in execution those wholesome laws and statutes of the land provided for the orderly regulation of the people. And it was wonderful how, in a snort space, he reformed several abuses and customary neglects in that part of the country where he lived, which, being a rich fruitful vale, drew abundance of vagrant people to come and exercise the idle trade of wandering and begging. But he took such courses that there was very suddenly not a beggar left in the country; and all the poor in every town so maintained and provided for, as they never were so liberally maintained and relieved before nor since. He procured unnecessary alehouses to be put down in all the towns: and if any one that he heard of suffered any disorder or debauchery in his house, he would not suffer him to brew any more. He was a little severe against drunkenness, for which the drunkards would sometimes rail at him; but so were all the children of darkness convinced by his light that they were in awe more of his virtue than his authority." In the instance of Colonel Hutchinson, an accomplished gentleman of the Independent party, Puritanism is thus exhibited in its mildest mood. It is suppressing vagrancy and assisting honest poverty. It is putting down unnecessary alehouses, and is a little severe against drunkenness. But Puritanism as exhibited in such a man is not playing the fantastic tricks which made it odious to the great body of the people, and drove the nation into the disgusting sensuality and base self-seeking of the Restoration. Puritanism naturally offended the large remaining body who were attached to the ceremonial of the Anglican Church, when it fasted on Christmas day, and feasted on Ash Wednesday. It took this course upon the old principle, that the greater was the remove from Roman Catholicism the nearer was the approach to true religion. The people generally did not take these sour protestations against old customs very much to heart. Salt-fish and mince-pie were not banished from their boards, although the orthodox seasons for their consumption had a little varied. They had no great reverence for those who opposed Christmas carols and mummeries; to whom the Yule-log and the Boar's head were abominations. But in spite of them they had their dances and their health-drinkings, and wished their neighbors a merry

* "Life," p. 89 and 94.

Christmas after the good old fashion. But when Puritanism put itself into a rampant attitude, as it did in many districts, the people began to loathe a power which was so intermeddling and so morose. The neglect of public worship in a few was not likely to be remedied by fines and the stocks. "Katherine Bartlett, widow, upon her own confession, did absent herself from church the last Lord's day, contrary to the law, in the morning; was ordered to pay 2*s.* 6*d.*, and in default of paying was ordered to be set in the stocks," says a record of the Dorchester justices.* From the same authority we learn that John Samwages, not having been to church for five weeks, and having not money to satisfy the law, was ordered to be stocked for his said offence. Nor was the just observance of Sunday likely to be greatly promoted by informations against husbands and wives, and also—cruel Puritans—against "sweethearts," for walking abroad in sermon time. One unhappy victim is stocked three hours for the heinous offence of going to Charminster immediately after dinner on Easter day, and eating milk and cream with some lads and lasses, upon which entertainment they spent twopence each.† Even the plea that the moving about on the Sabbath day was to hear a preacher in another parish was no mitigation of the offence of taking a longer walk than to the church at the offender's own door. Working on Sunday was punished by the rigid in the most exemplary manner. A tailor is brought up for laboring at two o'clock on a January morning, to have a piece of his manufacture completed in due time for some orthodox church-goer. Children were punished for playing at nine-stones. Hanging out clothes to dry on the Sabbath was an especial offence. Swearing had been a statutable crime since the time of James I.; but the extreme Puritans not only visited profane cursing with fine and the stocks, but punished even such as followed Lady Percy's example of "good sooth," and "God shall mend me." To swear "like a comfit-maker's wife"‡ was a grievous sin. "Plague take you" was finable. The magisterial interference with private affairs was unceasing. Alice Hill "is found to keep company with Philip Bartlett, in unseasonable time;" and William Stevens is sent to jail for frequenting the company of Christian, the wife of Edward Coles, "in a very suspicious manner."

That the extreme severity of some Puritans not only made them hateful but ridiculous when their doctrines were in the ascendant, we may readily believe. But at the same time we cannot fail to discover that many of the imputations against them generally were gross exaggerations. They did not give their children such names as "Fight the good fight of Faith," and "Stand fast on high." When Hume solemnly records that the brother of Praise-God Barebone had for name, "If Christ-had-not-died-for-you,-you-had-then-been-damned Barebone," Hume is hoaxed by a joke invented half a century after Barebone had terminated his career of politics and leather-selling. Neither were the Puritans, after the rantings of Stubbes and Pyrnne against every species of recreation were forgotten, distinguished for any capricious dislike of music, or any contempt of secular knowledge. No man was more eager than Cromwell himself to protect learning and learned men. He sought out scholars for public employments. But, what is more to our present purpose, his house, during the protectorate, was as remarkable for its refined amusements as for its decorous piety. The love of music was with him almost a passion, as it was with Milton. But we can nowhere find a more complete refutation of the idle belief that all the Puritans were opposed to every harmless pleasure, than in Lucy Hutchinson's description of her own household. Her husband, after his retirement from public affairs, was occupied with the improvement of his estate in the vale of Belvoir. He was a sportsman, and recreated himself, for a little time, with his hawks; "but when a very sober fellow, that never was guilty of the usual vices of that generation of men, rage and swearing, died, he gave over his hawks, and pleased himself with music, and again fell to the practice of his viol, on which he played excellently well; and, entertaining tutors for the diversion and education of his children in all sorts of music, he pleased himself in these innocent recreations during Oliver's mutable reign. As he had great delight, so he had great judgment, in music, and advanced his children's practice more than their tutors: he also was a great supervisor of their learning, and indeed himself a tutor to them all, besides all those tutors which he liberally entertained in his house for them. He spared not any cost for the education of both his sons and daughters in languages, sciences, music, dancing, and all other qualities befitting their father's house. He was himself their instructor in humility, sobriety, and all godliness and virtue, which he rather strove to make them exercise with love and delight than by constraint. As other things were his delight, this only he made his business, to attend the education of his children, and the government of his own house and town. This he performed so well that never was any man more feared and loved than he by all his domestics, tenants, and hired workmen. He was loved with such a fear and reverence as restrained all rude familiarity and insolent presumptions in those who were under him, and he was feared with so much love that they all delighted to do his pleasure. As he maintained his authority in all relations, so he endeavored to make their subjection pleasant to them, and rather to convince them by reason than to compel them to obedience, and would decline even to the lowest of his family to make them enjoy their lives in sober cheerfulness, and not find their duties burdensome. . . . As he was very hospitable, and his conversation no less desirable and pleasant than instructive and advantageous, his house was much resorted to, and as kindly open to those who had in public contests been his enemies as to his continued friends; for there never lived a man that had less malice and revenge, nor more reconcileableness and kindness and generosity in his nature than he."

Aubrey records that Hollar told him that when the civil wars broke out he went to the Low Countries, where he stayed till 1649: "When he first came to England, which was a serene time of peace, the people, both poor and rich, did look cheerfully; but at his return he found the countenances of the people all changed, melancholy, spiteful, as if bewitched."* It is not an unfavorable attribute of the English character that the people did take to heart their strife and bloodshed, their uncertainty as to the present and their dread of the future. Aubrey has no direct record that the old cheerful looks had returned; but we may well conceive that, in spite of the Puritan rigor occasionally breaking out, the nation was gradually resuming the habits, if not wholly of merry England, of stirring and well-employed England. Prosperous industry always brings its own cheerfulness, if it is moderate in its desires, and not inordinate in its cravings for wealth and luxury. We see the stir of inventive genius at this period. We trace the beginnings of that experimental philosophy which was to put England at the head of all industrious nations. "Honest and learned Mr. Hartlib," the friend of Milton, has made "an ink that would give a dozen copies, moist sheets of paper being pressed on it." Robert Boyle, "that excellent person and great virtuoso," is improving the air-pump, and prosecuting his studies in chemistry. Colonel Blount invites philosophers to inspect his new-invented ploughs. Sir P. Neale is famous for his optic-glasses. Greatorex, the mathematical-instrument maker, has an invention to quench fire. The no less important principles of commerce are come to the aid of all science and industry. The city goldsmiths have opened banking establishments. Superfluous money has ceased to be buried or locked in chests. Agriculture feels the influence of the general stir of the national mind. The turnip-husbandry is teaching the farmer that the earth can bear as useful produce as corn; and the cultivation of clover is making a valuable addition to the "meadows trim with daisies pied," upon which the flocks of England have been hitherto sustained.

Amid the many evidences that we occasionally meet with of the intellectual and industrial activity of the people, we also encounter many proofs of their subjection to superstitious fears. Even the learned and the scientific are not free from singular fancies, engendered in the atmosphere of fanaticism. Mr. Oughtred, "that renowned mathematician," says Evelyn in 1655, "had strong apprehensions of some extraordinary event to happen the following year, from the calculation of coincidence with the diluvian period; and added that it might possibly be to convert the Jews by our Saviour's visible appearance, and to judge the world." The almanac-makers of that time were deluding the people with those prophecies which they continued to swallow for two centuries. Lilly was still in

* Hearn's MS. Book of Proceedings, quoted in "Roberts's Southern Counties," p. 244.
† Hearn's MS. Book of Proceedings.
‡ "Henry IV.," part i. act iii. scene i.

* "Lives," vol. iii. p. 402.

vogue ; and Francis Moore had joined the ranks of imposture. The most remarkable of their exploits was to frighten the isle from its propriety, on the 29th of April, 1652, by the terrors of an eclipse of the sun. This fatal day was called Mirk Monday, and the dread of it "so exceedingly alarmed the whole nation that hardly any one would work, or stir out of their houses."

As regards the material prosperity of the country, we may conclude this sketch with the testimony of Howell, a devoted royalist, to the fact that the restorative powers that were possessed by an energetic people in their insular security and their ancient and renewed freedom, were the providential compensations for long years, first of tyranny and then of universal disturbance. "The calamities and confusions, which the late wars did bring upon us were many and manifold, yet England may be said to have gained one advantage by it ; for whereas before she was like an animal that knew not his own strength, she is now better acquainted with herself, for her power and wealth did never appear more both by land and sea." *

If the immediate effect of the civil wars was such that England "became better acquainted with herself," so that she increased in power and wealth, the more lasting consequence was that the whole nation became more earnest in its regard for the higher obligations of religion—that the great body of the people, amid all the extravagances of sectaries, came to have a more elevated sense of the responsibilities that belonged to a condition approaching to religious liberty. The indifference and profaneness that came in with the return of the Stuarts were chiefly manifest among the upper classes, —the sycophants of a debauched court, and the herd of writers who thought that wit and immorality were necessary companions. The fanaticism and intolerance died out ; but the best portions of the Puritan spirit were never extinguished. When the Anglican Church again became oppressive and worldly, the principle of religious liberty asserted itself in strenuous nonconformity, and kept alive the zeal which ultimately placed the Church itself upon the only safe foundation for a wealthy establishment, that of emulation in the duty of diligently teaching and kindly watching over the congregations intrusted to its charge. Baxter, the Puritan, who was persecuted when the Episcopalians returned to power, is now regarded by English churchmen as the model of a parish priest ; and we may well conclude this view of the period of his ministry immediately following the establishment of the commonwealth, by his just account of the advantage to religion, through "the change that was made in public affairs by the success of the war :"

"For before, the riotous rabble had boldness enough to make serious godliness a common scorn, and call them all Puritans and precisians that did not care as little for God and Heaven and their souls as they did ; especially if a man were not fully satisfied with their undisciplined, disorderly churches, or lay chancellor's excommunications, etc., then no name was bad enough for him. And the bishop's articles inquiring after such, and their courts and the high commission grievously afflicting those that did but fast and pray together, or go from an ignorant drunken reader, to hear a godly able preacher at the next parish, etc. This kept religion among the vulgar under either continual reproach or terror, encouraging the rabble to despise it and revile it, and discouraging those that else would own it. And experience telleth us that it is a lamentable impediment to men's conversion, when it is a way everywhere spoken against, and prosecuted by superiors, which they must embrace ; and when at their first approaches they must go through such dangers and obloquy as is fitter for confirmed Christians to be exercised with, than unconverted sinners or young beginners : Therefore, though Cromwell gave liberty to all sects among us, and did not set up any party alone by force, yet this much gave abundant advantage to the Gospel, removing the prejudices and the terrors which hindered it ; especially considering that godliness had countenance and reputation also, as well as liberty ; whereas before, if it did not appear in all the fetters and formalities of the times, it was the way to common shame and ruin." †

* "Letters," vol. iv. p. 110.

† "Life," p. 86.

CHAPTER CII.

The protectorate—Incentives to assassinate the protector—Royalist plot concocted in France—Cromwell's deportment to the French government—His foreign policy generally—First parliament of the protectorate—Cromwell's speech on opening the session—Parliament questions the protector's authority—The parliament-house closed—Cromwell requires a pledge from members—Recusant members excluded—Subsequent temper of the parliament—Cromwell dissolves the parliament—Royalist risings organized—Failure of risings in the West and North—Resistance to taxation—The major-generals—Severities against Papists and Episcopalians—Tolerance to sects.

THE lord protector of the commonwealth, who had been inaugurated on the 16th of December, 1653, had some four months afterward entered upon the occupation of the royal palaces of Whitehall and of Hampton Court. Warwick, the cavalier who, in 1640, had looked upon a gentleman speaking in parliament very ordinarily apparelled," yet lived, as he records, to see this very gentleman, "having had a better tailor. and more converse among good company," appear at Whitehall "of a great and majestic deportment and comely presence." * The same courtier says, speaking of a period when the dignity of Oliver was further confirmed, "And now he models his house, that it might have some resemblance unto a court ; and his liveries and lacqueys and yeomen of the guard are known whom they belong to by their habit." † There was something more went to the making of the protector Oliver than "a better tailor," or than "liveries and lacqueys and yeomen of the guard ;" something higher even than "more converse among good company." There had been fourteen years of such experience as belonged to no other man in his time. "I was by birth a gentleman ; living neither in any considerable height, nor yet in obscurity. I have been called to several employments in the nation." More than this : "My manner of life, which was to run up and down the nation, had given me to see and know the temper and spirits of all men." Thus he spoke to his first parliament, with a dignified modesty. Out of his own courage, sagacity, and abiding sense that his destiny was in the hands of a supreme directing power, had a great ruler been made—one who "alone remained to conduct the government and to save the country." Such is the panegyric of Milton. When our most eloquent historian described Cromwell as "the greatest prince that has ever ruled England," ‡ we had reached that state of historical counterbalance that we could stop to inquire whether the familiar words of usurper, traitor, hypocrite, fanatic, dissembler, as applied to this prince, were not the merest echoes of the united hatred of cavalier and republican, of libertine and sceptic, which it would be well to lay aside after two centuries of abuse and misrepresentation. We shall endeavor to relate the events of the protectorate, without being wholly carried away by our sense of the unquestionable superiority of this man over the most eminent of his contemporaries. We shall seek to regard him as the man best qualified to stand between the restoration of the monarchy and unmitigated despotism ; as one who in his own manifestations of arbitrary power was ever striving to establish a system of constitutional liberty ; as one who upheld the supremacy of the laws at a time when in the absence of such a ruler the state might have been plunged into the depths of anarchy and bloodshed. Oliver did many things that are repugnant to the principles of just freedom under an established government ; but it may be honestly asked whether his example can justify that species of revolutionary despotism which seeks only to govern by the sword, without a persistent struggle to make the civil authority ultimately supreme. The protectorate of Oliver was a constant attempt to unite the executive authority of one with the legislative control of many. He labored to accomplish in his own day what time only could perfect, after many reverses. Had he lived long enough to have founded a dynasty, the problem might have been more quickly solved. The partial and temporary despotism of the protectorate is gone ; the liberty and toleration which it proposed as its final objects remain. We may apply to the history of this crisis the words of Cromwell's own earnest conviction : "What are all our histories, and other traditions of actions in former times, but God manifesting himself, that he hath shaken, and tumbled down, and trampled upon, everything that he hath not planted?" § We may especially apply these memorable words, so characteristic of their utterer, and yet so universal in their truth, to the whole history of the English Revolution of the seventeenth cen-

* "Memoirs," p. 248.

† Ibid., p. 382.

‡ Macaulay, "History," vol. i. c. ii.

§ Cromwell—Speech iv. "Carlyle," vol. iii. p. 89.

tury. After the first great contest was over, the divine right of kings came back upon England with unforgotten insolence in its pretensions, although with somewhat diminished power of working immediate evil. But it perished: for the divine right had to stand a test which its most powerful enemy had proposed as a test of all political action: "If it be of God, he will bear it up: if it be of man it will tumble." *

In the remarkable conversation between Cromwell and Whitelocke, which preceded the dissolution of the Long Parliament,† Whitelocke, with great sagacity, had pointed out that in the assumption by Cromwell of monarchical power, "that question, wherein, before so great parties of the nation were engaged, and which was universal, will by this means become in effect a private controversy only. Before it was national, what head of government we should have; now it will become particular, who shall be our governor, whether of the family of the Stuarts, or of the family of the Cromwells." Cromwell replied, "I confess you speak reason in this." The acceptance by Cromwell of the office of protector immediately gave this character to the controversy. The great object of all the discontented republicans or cavaliers; the supporters of prerogative, or the enemies of all government but that of the reign of the saints; those who would have re-entered into possession of the property which had changed hands, or those who sought a division of all property whatsoever; intolerant Episcopalians, equally intolerant Presbyterians, frantic Anabaptists—all these classes now saw an enemy in the one man in whom the ruling power was concentrated. That power had become more vigilant, more far-seeing, more difficult to shake, than the distracted authority of the Long Parliament, or of the Little Parliament. Foreign governments recognized and dreaded this commanding power, well described by the great minister of the next century: "Oliver Cromwell, who astonished mankind by his intelligence, did not derive it from spies in the cabinet of every prince in Europe: he drew it from the cabinet of his own sagacious mind. He observed facts, and traced them forward to their consequences. From what was, he concluded what must be, and he never was deceived." ‡ Foreign governments might therefore have rejoiced to see the downfall of this man, whose soul was bent upon sustaining the glory of his country, as well as consolidating its internal peace. But he was as prudent as he was watchful. He was surrounded with conspirators of every degree. The doctrine of assassination was openly preached by the royalists abroad. From Paris, on the 23d of April, 1654, came out a proclamation in the name of Charles the Second, setting forth that "a certain base mechanic fellow, by name Oliver Cromwell—after he had most inhumanly and barbarously butchered our dear father, of sacred memory, his just and lawful sovereign—hath most tyrannically and traitorously usurped the supreme power over our said kingdoms." It thus proceeds: "These are therefore, in our name, to give free leave and liberty to any man whomsoever, within any of our three kingdoms, by pistol, sword, or poison, or by any other way or means whatsoever, to destroy the life of the said Oliver Cromwell; wherein they will do an act acceptable to God and good men, by cutting so detestable a villain from the face of the earth." It further promises all sorts of rewards to "whosoever, whether soldier or other, who shall be instrumental in so signal a piece of service." This proclamation has been attributed to Hyde—perhaps unjustly. It is not clear that this incentive to assassination "on the word and faith of a Christian king" really came from Charles Stuart, though undoubtedly it came from his "court at Paris." But it was extensively circulated, openly abroad, secretly in England; and it produced its natural effects. On the 20th of May, being Saturday—a day on which the protector usually went to Hampton Court—his guards were to be attacked by thirty stout men, and then and there was the deed to be done, of which the perpetrator was to be honored with knighthood, and five hundred pounds a year in land, and honorable employment. But the protector escaped the ambuscade; for five of the royalist projectors of the plot were arrested in their beds a few hours before its intended accomplishment. Forty persons were subjected to examination as confederates with Colonel John Gerard, Peter Vowell, a schoolmaster, and Somerset Fox. These three were tried before a high court of justice. Fox pleaded guilty, and was pardoned. The other two were executed. Of their guilt the evidence is sufficiently clear; and it is equally manifest that the plan had been communicated to Prince Rupert at Paris. Hyde protested, in a letter to the Secretary Nicholas, that of the "whole matter the king knows no more than you do." There is one point connected with this plot which we give in the words of M. Guizot, who has published the documents upon which it is established: "Whatever may have been the amount of his participation in the plan for the assassination of the protector, and whether Charles was aware of it or not, the fact itself was incontestable, and probably even more serious than Cromwell allowed it to appear; for there is reason to believe that M. de Baas—at that time an envoy extraordinary of Mazarin to London, and temporarily connected with the embassy of M. de Bordeaux—was not unacquainted either with the conspirators or their design. Cromwell was so convinced of this that he summoned M. de Baas before his council, and sharply interrogated him on the subject. But he had too much good sense to magnify the affair beyond what was required by a due regard for his own safety, or by laying too much stress on this incident, to interrupt, for any length of time, his friendly relations with Mazarin and the Court of France, which manifested the greatest anxiety to remain on good terms with him. He merely sent M. de Baas back to France, openly stating to Louis XIV. and Mazarin his reasons for so doing, and showing in this the same moderation which had induced him to bring to trial only three of the conspirators. He had escaped the danger; made known to England and Europe the active vigilance of his police; and proved to the royalists that he would not spare them. He attempted nothing further. He possessed that difficult secret of the art of governing which consists in a just appreciation of what will be sufficient in any given circumstance, and in resting satisfied with it." * Cromwell had made known to Europe, and especially to France, out of whose bosom the assassins came, the vigilance of his own police. He did not complain that France did not go before him to restrain and punish assassination, and to set a mark of reprobation upon such an incentive to the crime as the proclamation issued in the name of Charles the Second. When it was indisputable, even, that an envoy of the French king had employed the name of Mazarin to encourage this scheme of murder, Cromwell was not diverted from what he regarded as the true national policy, an alliance with France, by his own personal resentment. He sent M. de Baas back to his own court. He imputed blame to him alone. He writes to Louis XIV. with the true magnanimity of one who could lay aside all meaner considerations in a strong sense of public duty, "It has seemed advisable to us to assure your majesty that, in dismissing de Baas, we had no thought or wish to interrupt in any way the negotiations now pending; desiring, on the contrary, in all candor and simplicity of soul, that false interpretations and subjects of evil suspicions may be cast aside." †

While France and Spain were each employing all the resources of their diplomacy to secure the alliance of England, Cromwell, after tedious negotiations, had concluded a peace with the United Provinces. The naval power of the Dutch had been finally broken by the victory of Blake, in July, 1653, when Van Tromp was himself killed by a musket-ball. The conditions of peace which Cromwell exacted were moderate; and he was reproached by his enemies with having sacrificed the advantages gained in the war for the greater popularity of his rule at home. The nation wanted peace, and rejoiced at the termination of hostilities so injurious to its commerce. The protector, moreover, accomplished his great desire of promoting the union of the Protestant states of Europe. In the treaty with Holland, which was signed on the 5th of April, 1654, were comprehended Denmark, the Hanseatic Towns, and the Swiss Protestant Cantons. A treaty of friendship and alliance with Sweden was concluded in the same month as that with Holland. In the foreign relations of England there was no comparison between the delays of a parliament and the decision of the protector. When the responsibility of determining great questions involving peace or war was in the hands of a supreme ruler and his council, the policy of the country was settled upon fixed principles, which, whether or not they were safe and profitable, were at any rate not timid or vacillating. Cromwell de-

* Cromwell—Speech iv. "Carlyle," vol. iii. p. 89.
† See *ante*, p. 505.
‡ Chatham's Speech on Spain, November 2d, 1770.

* "Cromwell," vol. ii. p. 51. † Ibid., Appendix ii. p. 420.

cided that the alliance of France was preferable to that of Spain. His opinions were opposed by many of his own officers. He had taken his own view of the question; but for a short time held himself aloof from any final measure, while he was assiduously courted by the ambassadors of these rival powers. Of Spain he demanded that the navigation of the West Indies should be free, and that Englishmen in Spain should be protected in the exercise of their religion against the interference of the inquisition. The Spanish ambassador said that such a demand was to ask for the two eyes of his master. From France he required the expulsion of the Stuarts; and, in a nobler spirit, liberty and security for the French Protestants. No treaty with France was concluded in the first year of the protectorate, and no hostilities were offered to Spain; but it became manifest that the disposition of Cromwell was to reject the alliance of the power that was the most devoted adherent to Rome. With Portugal he concluded a commercial treaty. But on the very day this treaty was signed he caused the law to be unflinchingly executed upon the brother of the Portuguese ambassador, who had killed two Englishmen, and raised a tumult with the armed servants of the embassy, at the Exchange in London. No plea of diplomatic privileges could prevent Don Pantaleon de Sa from being tried, convicted, and executed for the offence. The foreigner beheld with dread and wonder the stern and fearless justice of the commonwealth.

Under the instrument of government by which Cromwell was appointed protector, it was provided that a parliament should be elected to meet on the 3d of September, 1654, but that in the interim the protector, assisted by his council of twenty-one members, should be entitled to issue ordinances having the force of laws, as well as to do all acts necessary for the public service. We have seen how vigorously Cromwell applied himself, during these nine months, to establish the foreign relations of the country upon a satisfactory foundation. But he devoted himself no less energetically to accomplish a series of domestic reforms, some of which have presented models to succeeding reformers; others have been pronounced crude and impracticable; but all have the merit of seeking the public good, though by courses which have that tincture of despotism which essentially belongs to a revolutionary period. When the first parliament of the protectorate met on the 4th of September, the lord protector went into an elaborate explanation of his measures, domestic and foreign. The one measure of his government that was all important was this: "It hath been instrumental to call a free parliament; which, blessed be God, we see here this day. I say, a free parliament." There had been no election to a parliament in England for fourteen years. This parliament was to include representatives of the three kingdoms: "You are met here on the greatest occasion that, I believe, England ever saw; having upon your shoulders the interests of three great nations, with the territory belonging to them." The parliament was composed of four hundred and sixty members. Of four hundred for England and Wales, two hundred and fifty-one were to be returned by counties, and a hundred and forty-nine by cities and boroughs. Scotland, which had been declared united to England by an ordinance of the 12th of April, was to send thirty members; Ireland was to send also thirty members. The right of voting for representatives was in those who possessed real or personal property to the value of two hundred pounds. Roman Catholics, and those who had been in arms against the parliament during the civil wars, were excluded from voting, or from being returned as members. But by the instrument of government, and in the terms of the writ for election, it was a condition "That the persons elected shall not have power to alter the government as it is settled in one single person and a parliament."

The 3d of September, the day appointed for the assembling of parliament, falling on a Sunday, the house adjourned to the next day, after meeting the protector in the Painted Chamber. On that Monday the parliament was opened with almost regal pomp. "The protector rode in state from Whitehall to the Abbey Church in Westminster. . . . His highness was seated over against the pulpit, the members of the parliament on both sides. . . . After the sermon, which was preached by Mr. Thomas Goodwin, his highness went in the same equipage to the Painted Chamber, where he took seat in a chair of state set upon steps, and the members upon benches round about." The long speech which Cromwell addressed to this parliament was reported "by one who stood very near;" and was published "to prevent mistakes." Studied no doubt it was—for its sentences, however involved, are full of meaning—but it was not delivered from a written paper. In its wide range and careful explanations it has a considerable resemblance to the speeches of the American presidents. The protector had a very difficult assembly to address. His own council had been elected, with one exception. Some of the republican leaders, who were indignant at the whole course of government since the dissolution of the Long Parliament, were again returned. A large body of the Presbyterians were also members, with the ever-prevailing desire to maintain their own form of church government. There was a peculiar significance in the protector's words when he said that the great end of their meeting was "Healing and Settling. . . . I trust it is in the minds of you all, and much more in the mind of God, to cause Healing." He would not touch upon past transactions too particularly, for the remembrance of such, instead of healing, "might set the wound fresh a-bleeding." The oblivion of past animosities was scarcely yet to be accomplished. The social improvements which were to grow out of a happy concord were nevertheless to be earnestly striven for. Briefly the protector referred to what had been done in the way of ordinances—"for the interest of the people alone, and for their good, without respect had to any other interest." The administration of finance had been regulated; the hardships of prisoners for debt, an old grievance, had been lessened; prison-discipline had been reformed; highways had been improved. These were matters at which the protector only glanced. But upon more important reforms he delivered himself without reserve. And first of law reform: "The government hath had some things to desire; and it hath done some things actually. It hath desired to reform the laws. I say to reform them: and for that end it hath called together persons, without offence be it spoken, of as great ability and as great interest as are in these nations, to consider how the laws might be made plain and short, and less chargeable to the people; how to lessen expense for the good of the nation. And those things are in preparation, and bills prepared; which in due time, I make no question, will be tendered to you. In the mean while there hath been care taken to put the administration of the laws into the hands of just men; men of the most known integrity and ability. The chancery hath been reformed, I hope, to the satisfaction of all good men; such as for the things depending there, which made the burden and work of the honorable persons intrusted in those services too heavy for their ability, it hath referred many of them to those places where Englishmen love to have their rights tried, the courts of law at Westminster." The ordinance "for reforming the Court of Chancery" consisted of sixty-seven articles. That court before its reform was in full possession of the character which it long strove to preserve, in spite of law or ordinance, of public contempt and senatorial reprobation. It had twenty-three thousand causes before it, which had been depending for long years; it was in the pleasing exercise of its power "of undoing many families." Cromwell's desire that "the laws might be made plain and short, and less chargeable to the people," has been the desire of all honest rulers and legislators from that time to our own.

But there was a task still more difficult than the reform of the law, which the protector had endeavored to accomplish by ordinances: "This government hath endeavored to put a stop to that heady way of every man making himself a Minister and Preacher. It hath endeavored to settle a method for the approving and sanctioning of men of piety and ability to discharge that work. And I think I may say it hath committed the business to the trust of persons, both of the Presbyterian and Independent judgments, of as known ability, piety, and integrity, as any, I believe, this nation hath." . . . "The government hath also taken care, we hope, for the expulsion of all those who may be judged any way unfit for this work; who are scandalous, and the common scorn and contempt of that function."

In thus describing his measures for securing "men of piety and ability" to discharge the duties of ministers and preachers, the protector referred to the commissions which he had instituted—the commission of triers, and the commission of expurgation. Such measures were the necessary results of an endeavor to remedy the evils which had been produced by the total suspension of an authorized ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The Episcopal authority had long ceased.

The Presbyterian authority was not established. Church government was wholly at an end. With all his love of toleration, his strong sense perceived the necessity of something better than what he described as "the heady way of every man making himself a minister and a preacher." His commission for the trial of public preachers comprised nine laymen and twenty-nine of the clergy. His other commission consisted of gentry and clergy in every county, to inquire into the conduct, and eject from their livings, if necessary, "scandalous, ignorant, and insufficient" ministers. It is impossible that such commissions should not have been in many cases arbitrary, perhaps prejudiced and unjust. But even Baxter has given his testimony to the general benefit of these irregular attempts to remedy the absence of a competent ecclesiastical authority for providing religious instruction for the people. "Because this assembly of triers is most heavily accused and reproached by some men, I shall speak the truth of them, and suppose my word will be the rather taken, because most of them took me for one of their boldest adversaries, as to their opinion, and because I was known to disown their power. . . . The truth is, that though their authority was null, and though some few over-busy and over-rigid Independents among them were too severe against all that were Arminians, and too particular in inquiring after sanctification in those whom they examined, and somewhat too lax in their admission of unlearned and erroneous men, that favored Antinomianism or Anabaptism; yet to give them their due, they did abundance of good to the Church: they saved many a congregation from ignorant, ungodly, drunken teachers. . . . All those that used the ministry but as a common trade to live by, and were never likely to convert a soul; all these they usually rejected; and in their stead admitted of any that were able serious preachers, and lived a godly life, of what tolerable opinion soever they were." *

The exhortations of Cromwell to labor for "settling and healing" were addressed to unwilling listeners. There was one sore that, in the thoughts of a large number, would admit of no healing. In their view the great ulcer of the state was the supremacy of one man. They would not recognize the co-ordinate power of legislative and executive. Their idea of a commonwealth was that of a permanent assembly, in which all the elementary principles of government should be perpetually discussed; all the relations of the state to foreign powers debated and redebated; all the religious animosities of unnumbered sects continually inflamed by alternations of intolerance and liberality, according to the vote of the hour. Their complaint was, not that Cromwell and his council had ruled unwisely, but that he should be exalted above his fellows to rule at all. The royalist lampooners said that the protector's escutcheon should exhibit

"The Brewers', with the King's arms, quartered." †

Those who had been saved from the annihilation of all their hopes of civil and religious liberty by the colonel from Huntingdon, now joined with the most infuriate of the cavaliers in abuse of the "base mechanic fellow"—the "Cæsar in a clown" before whom they were prostrate when he returned in triumph from Dunbar and Worcester. Roundhead and cavalier had now found a common principle of action. The parliament had ample powers under the Instrument of Government. The authority of the protector was great, but with very stringent limitations. The conjoined authority was, as described by the protector himself, "likely to avoid the extremes of monarchy on the one hand, and of democracy on the other." ‡ Nevertheless, the very first occupation of the representatives assembled on the 3d of September, 1654, was to proceed to the discussion of the question whether the house shall approve of the system of government by a parliament and a single person. For three days this elementary question had been debated, and by a majority of a hundred and forty-six votes against a hundred and forty-one the house resolved to go into committee to deliberate still further upon this fundamental proposition. On the morning when the committee was to meet, the doors of the parliament were found closed. The member for Lynn, Mr. Goddard, has given some details of the incidents of this Tuesday morning: "Going by water to Westminster, I was told that the parliament doors were locked up, and guarded with soldiers, and that the barges were to attend the protector to the Painted Chamber." He attempted to pass up the Parliament Stair, but was repulsed by soldiers, and was required, if he was a member, to go into the Painted Chamber. "The speaker and all the members were walking up and down the hall, the Court of Requests, and the Painted Chamber, expecting the protector's coming." The protector did come, with his guards, and took his seat in a chair of state; and he then spoke for an hour and a half to the bareheaded assembly, with an earnestness to which a feeling of wounded pride gave unwonted emphasis. He had told them, not long before, that they were a free parliament—"And so you are, while you own the government and authority which called you hither. . . . There was a reciprocity implied and expressed. . . . I called myself not to this place. I say again, I called myself not to this place. . . . If my calling be from God, and my testimony from the people, God and the people shall take it from me, else I will not part with it." He then went over many passages of the past. "Having had some occasions to see, together with my brethren and countrymen, a happy period put to our sharp wars and contests with the then common enemy, I hoped, in a private capacity, to have reaped the fruit and benefit of our hard labors and hazards. . . . I hoped to have had leave to retire to a private life. I begged to be dismissed of my charge. I begged it again and again; and God be judge between me and all men if I lie in this matter." His dissolution of the Long Parliament is referred to as a measure of inevitable necessity. His summoning of the Little Parliament was "to see if a few might have been called together, for some short time, who might put the nation in some way of certain settlement." He adds, with the same solemn appeal to Heaven, "a chief end to myself was to lay down the power which was in my hands." In the unlimited condition of general of all the forces—that "boundless authority" conferred by act of parliament—he "did not desire to live a single day." The Little Parliament resigned the power and authority which had been committed to them. "All things being again subject to arbitrariness," he was himself "a person having power over the three nations without bound or limit." At the request of that assembly he accepted the office of protector; he took the oath to the government. In obedience to that trust he and his council had been "faithful in calling this parliament." He maintained that the people in the expression of their voices by grand juries, by addresses from counties and cities, were his witnesses of approbation to the place he filled. But the climax of his speech was that *they*, the members of parliament, were his last witnesses. They came there by his writs, directed to the sheriffs. To these writs the people gave obedience, having had the Act of Government communicated to them by printed copies, it being also read at the places of election. The writ of return was signed with proviso, "that the person so chosen should not have power to alter the government as now settled in one single person and a parliament." Certainly Oliver protector has very conclusively settled the question which the parliament had been three days debating; and he can scarcely be called tyrannous when he required "some owning of your call and of the authority which brought you hither. . . . I must deal plainly with you: What I forbore upon a just confidence at first you necessitate me unto now." This thing (he produces a parchment) when assented to and subscribed is "the means that will you let in"—(through those doors which are now locked) "to act those things as a parliament which are for the good of the people." The parchment to be signed at the lobby-door bore these words: "I do hereby freely promise and engage myself to be true and faithful to the Lord Protector and the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and shall not (according to the tenor of the Indenture whereby I am returned to serve in this present Parliament) propose or give my consent to alter the government as it is settled in a Single Person and a Parliament." Many members signed at once. Three hundred had signed before the end of the month. But the republican leaders refused to give any pledge; and the parliament was thus reduced to little more than two thirds of the members returned. Ludlow, who was then absent in Ireland, deeply sympathizes with his brother republicans: "So soon as this visible hand of violence appeared to be upon them, most of the eminent assertors of the liberty of their country withdrew themselves; being persuaded they should better discharge their duty to the nation by this way of expressing their abhorrence of his tyrannical proceedings than by surrendering their liber-

* "Life," p. 72.
† "Cleveland's Poems."
‡ Speech of 22d January, 1655.

ties under their own hands, and then treating with him who was possessed of the sword, to recover some part of them again." The parliament, thus mutilated, resumed its duties. Its first act was an assertion of some independence in resolving that the pledge not to make any change in the government did not apply beyond the first article under which the protectorate had been constituted—that which referred to a single person and a parliament; and it adopted that article in a resolution of its own. Cromwell had conquered the parliament into a show of effecting by its own act what was the result of his strong will. He had said to them, "The wilful throwing away of this government—I can sooner be willing to be rolled into my grave and buried with infamy, than I can give my consent unto."

When the destinies of a nation hang upon the life of a single man, the importance that is attached to the slightest accidents befalling him extend from his contemporaries to history. Cromwell, soon after this great trial of his strength, was taking a little relaxation after his own simple fashion. He had been dining under the trees in Hyde Park—he might have sat under the ancient elm which still tells of a time long past. A new set of six horses had been given him by the duke of Oldenburg; and with his old country habits he took the reins to drive home. The horses plunged, and my lord protector was thrown from the box. Marvellous to relate, a pistol went off in his pocket—he carried a pistol, at a time when most men went armed—and grave historians duly notice how apprehensive he must have been of his life to bear about with him such a weapon. His life was certainly unsafe. His aged mother, who died in the following November, "at the sound of a musket would often be afraid her son was shot, and could not be satisfied unless she saw him once a day at least." The good old lady died at the age of ninety-four, blessing that son, and saying, "The Lord cause his face to shine upon you, and comfort you in all your adversities." Yes, adversities. The height of his power was truly an adversity; and we may well believe him to have been sincere, when in a burst of disappointment amid the contentions around him, he said of the task of governing, "I had rather keep a flock of sheep." But his genius was fitted for governing, however Ludlow underrated it, in pointing the moral of the runaway horses: "He would needs take the place of his coachman, not doubting but the three pair of horses he was about to drive would prove as tame as the three nations which were ridden by him; and therefore, not contented with their ordinary pace, he lashed them very furiously." By his fall, says the republican philosopher, "he might have been instructed how dangerous it was to intermeddle with those things in which he had no experience." Oliver's system of government was really founded upon his experience, and not upon refined theories aiming at impracticable perfection. He drove the state carriage for some years without tumbling from the box; and though he knew the use of the bit and the whip, he rarely "lashed very furiously." Only when the state-carriage stood still was he moved out of his wonted calmness. For three months the first free parliament, although the recusant members had retired to their homes, made small progress in "settling." From the 21st of September till the 20th of January the Instrument of Government was in a constant course of amendments and additions. It was natural enough that attempts should be made to apply every check to arbitrary authority in the protector; but the mistrust was too marked, and the disposition to nullify the existing constitution of the protectorate too apparent, not to produce a corresponding restlessness in the nation. Very large questions were depending with foreign powers; but the function of the executive was stultified by the perpetual discussion as to the authority in which should be confided the right of declaring war or making peace. The legislative power of the parliament was absolute; for if the protector did not give his consent to any bill within twenty days of its passing, it became law without his consent. And yet the assembly could not see the necessity of its legislative sanction to the necessary reforms which had been proposed, and partly effected, by Cromwell and his council. These measures were suspended, and referred to committees for revision. Other propositions of public importance, such as the celebration of marriage, the treatment of lunatics, the relief of prisoners for debt, the equalization of taxes, were introduced as bills, but none were adopted. They triumphed over Cromwell's supposed ambition in deciding that the protectorate should be elective, and not hereditary. They outraged his principles of toleration, which had been recognized in the Instrument of Government, by appointing a committee to define what was "faith in God by Jesus Christ," and to settle what were "damnable heresies." They went farther, and ordered that several heretics, among whom was John Biddle, a Socinian school-master, should be imprisoned. The supplies were voted as tardily, and with as impolitic an economy, as if the foreign affairs of the country had been conducted with dishonor instead of a dignity which all nations bowed before. The government under a parliament and a single person was becoming impossible. The crisis arrived. The parliament was to sit five months. Five calendar months would have expired on the 3d of February. Five lunar months expired on the 22d of January. On that day the protector summoned the house to attend him in the Painted Chamber. Another long speech—and the parliament is dissolved. The protector could be angry, and speak harsh truths. "Dissettlement and division, discontent and dissatisfaction, together with real dangers to the whole, have been more multiplied within these five months of your sitting than in some years before. Foundations have also been laid for the future renewing of the troubles of these nations by all the enemies of them abroad and at home." And so, concluded Oliver Protector, "I think it my duty to tell you that it is not for the profit of these nations, nor for common and public good, for you to continue here any longer." He has a difficult task before him. His army is unpaid; the people are wretched with soldiers at free quarter; royalists are encouraged to undertake new plots; the old commonwealth men are ready to join with them. But Oliver keeps up his heart, though he must find his only resource in the same species of despotism against which he fought. "If the Lord take pleasure in England, and if he will do us good, he is very able to bear us up. Let the difficulties be whatsoever they will, we shall in his strength be able to encounter with them. And I bless God I have been inured to difficulties; and I never found God failing when I trusted to him. I can laugh and sing in my heart when I speak of these things to you or elsewhere. And though some may think it a hard thing to raise money without parliamentary authority upon this nation, yet I have another argument to the good people of this nation, if they would be safe and yet have no better principle: Whether they prefer the having of their will, though it be their destruction, rather than comply with things of necessity?" Necessity, the tyrant's plea in all ages, cannot be avoided even by this man who had so few of the qualities of a tyrant besides the energetic will. It is manifest that if the parliament had not blindly set itself to obstruct the honest exercise of that will in its labors to keep "the good people of this nation safe," any systematic display of arbitrary power would have been as impossible as it would have been impolitic on his part, even if not alien to his nature. He is conscious of his own strength; and he will front alone the storms that are gathering around him. But he had faithful public servants, whose devotion to their country was not weakened by the quarrels of factions. Blake, one of the noblest of these, thus answered Thurloe, Cromwell's secretary, when informed of the dissolution of the parliament: "I was not much surprised with the intelligence; the slow proceedings and awkward motions of that assembly giving great cause to suspect it would come to some such period. And I cannot but exceedingly wonder that there should yet remain so strong a spirit of prejudice and animosity in the minds of men who profess themselves most affectionate patriots, as to postpone the necessary ways and means for preservation of the commonwealth, especially in such a time of concurrence of the mischievous plots and designs both of old and new enemies, tending all to the destruction of the same. But, blessed be God, who hath hitherto delivered, and doth still deliver us; and I trust will continue so to do, although he be very much tempted by us."

Blake writes this letter from the Mediterranean, where he is doing some memorable things which we shall presently have to notice. Meanwhile "the mischievous plots and designs" to which the admiral refers are making England very unquiet in this spring of 1655. Charles the Second, who, after some wandering, has settled himself at Cologne, has gone with the Marquis of Ormond to Middleburg, that he may be ready for a landing in England. Wilmot, now earl of Rochester, is in London, organizing a general insurrection. "There cannot be," says Clarendon, "a greater manifestation of the universal prejudice and aversion in the whole kingdom toward

Cromwell and his government, than that there could be so many designs and conspiracies against him, which were communicated to so many men; and that such signal and notable persons could resort to London, and remain there, without any such information or discovery as might cause them to be apprehended."* It was the policy of Cromwell, as it is of all really sagacious rulers, not to be too prompt with measures of repression—not to alarm and irritate the peaceful portion of the community by fears and suspicions, which are generally the sparks to explode combustible materials instead of being the safety lamps for their discovery. Cromwell left the "signal and notable persons" to pursue the course of their own rashness—even to the organization of a conspiracy which Rochester represented as so sure of success, that the king's hopes "were so improved that he thought of nothing more than how he might with the greatest secrecy transport himself into England; for which he did expect a sudden occasion."† The narrative which Clarendon gives of the result of the enterprise which was to place Charles at the head of an English army sufficiently shows how justly the protector measured his own strength and that of these sanguine cavaliers. The assizes were being held at Salisbury. The city was full of grand jurymen and petty jurymen of magistrates, and witnesses, all sleeping quietly in their beds before the dawning of another day on which the law should assert its wonted majesty in the judgment seat, whatever might be the political differences of republican or royalist. At five o'clock on the morning of the 11th of March a party of two hundred horsemen rode into the streets of Salisbury, headed by Sir Joseph Wagstaff, "a stout man, who looked not far before him," a jolly cavalier, much beloved by the roaring set that Puritanism had not been able to tread out. Their first operation was to seize the sheriff and the two judges, and to break open the jails. Clarendon recounts the proceedings of these loyal adherents of King Charles with a solemn unconsciousness that he is showing how necessary was the government of a Cromwell to save England from utter lawlessness and bloodshed: "When the judges were brought out in their robes and humbly produced their commissions, and the sheriff likewise, Wagstaff resolved, after he had caused the king to be proclaimed, to cause them all three to be hanged." There was a country gentleman among these insane royalists, John Penruddock, who had some sense of decency, although Clarendon rather blames his scrupulousness: "Poor Penruddock was so passionate to preserve their lives, as if works of this nature could be done by halves, that the major-general durst not persist in it." The judges were dismissed, their commissions being taken from them; but the sheriff was to be hanged, because he refused to proclaim the king. This likewise was resisted, though very many of the gentlemen were much scandalized at the tender-heartedness. To have hanged the sheriff "would have been a seasonable act of severity to have cemented them to perseverance who were engaged in it." No one stirred to help these valiant supporters of the true monarchy and its attributes. In a few hours they left Salisbury, and carrying the sheriff with them, went forward into Hampshire and Devonshire. There were none to join them. They were hungry and wearied; and a single troop of Cromwell's horse, being by chance in the country, dispersed them almost without a blow three days afterward. Some of the leaders and about fifty of their followers were taken prisoners. Wagstaff escaped to France. Penruddock, Grove, and others, were tried at Exeter. The two gallant cavaliers, brave men who deserved much commiseration, were beheaded; a few others were hanged; the larger number were transported to Barbadoes. In the north, Wilmot had gone to take the command of the insurrectionary army. That army never extended beyond a few rash partisans. Wilmot got back to his master, out of heart; and Charles and his court sat down again at Cologne, to wait for times when the existing government might not be quite so strong or so popular as was manifested by the town-crier of a Dorsetshire town refusing, at the peril of his life, to utter the words "Charles the Second, king of England," when Penruddock dictated a royal proclamation.

The complex machine for governing England by a single person and a parliament being again out of working condition, the simpler and ruder machine of the single person must work as it best may to prevent all government from coming to an end. This is despotism. But despotism, however odious as a principle, has many degrees of evil, and is only rendered tolerable by the desire of a despot to perform a bad office in the least mischievous way. Burke has truly described the government of Cromwell as "somewhat rigid, but for a new power no savage tyranny."* The period at which his despotism put on its most rigid form was in the year that followed the dismissal of the parliament at the beginning of 1655. He was left without a legal revenue, for the maintenance of the civil and military powers of the government. A merchant named Cony had refused to pay custom duties, as illegally levied by ordinance. Cromwell tried to soothe the sturdy citizen, who reminded him that he himself had said in the Long Parliament that the subject who yields to an illegal impost is more the enemy of his country than the tyrant who imposes it. The protector sent the merchant to prison, and then more arbitrarily imprisoned the counsel, who had, in pleading for his writ of Habeas Corpus, used arguments which went to deny altogether the legality of the authority of the existing government. There was a compromise in which Cony at length withdrew his opposition to the impost, and his legal defenders were released. Sir Peter Wentworth refused to pay the taxes levied upon him, and was brought before Cromwell and his council. He was required to withdraw an action which he had commenced against the tax-collector. "If you command it I must submit," said Wentworth to the protector. He did command it, and the resistance was at an end. Clarendon, who records these acts of oppression, and especially Cromwell's lecture of the judges, "that they should not suffer the lawyers to prate what it would not become them to hear," yet says, "in all other matters, which did not concern the loss of his jurisdiction, he seemed to have great reverence for the law, rarely interposing between party and party." In his fiscal measures the most invidious was the imposition of an especial tax upon a limited number of royalists—a property-tax, under which all those of the king's party who were considered disaffected, and who either possessed an income of a hundred a year from land, or a personal estate of fifteen hundred pounds in value, were called upon for a contribution of one tenth. To assess and collect this tax it was necessary to call forth some new instruments. The protector divided the country into ten districts, each under the authority of a major-general, who had various large powers, and who had especially under his command the militia of the counties. The militia was a force essentially different from the regular army—a force not without strong popular instincts, and not so manageable in carrying through acts of oppression. It was a military police, especially appointed to enforce a system of partial repression. There was no resistance to the acts of the major-generals and their commissioners, and there was no large amount of murmuring. The decimation of the richer royalists, who had already been so harassed by sequestrations, and for whose relief Cromwell had himself labored to carry through the Act of Oblivion, was truly described by Ludlow as calculated to render its victims "desperate and irreconcilable, they being not able to call anything their own, while by the same rule that he seized one tenth he might also take away the other nine parts at his pleasure."† There is a worse evil in despotic courses than that of making men "desperate and irreconcilable"—that of making them time-serving, slavish, and apathetic. A passage in Baxter's life is illustrative of this: "James Berry was made major-general of Worcestershire, Shropshire, Herefordshire, and North Wales—the counties in which he had formerly lived as a servant, a clerk of iron-works. His reign was modest and short, but hated and scorned by the gentry that had known his inferiority, so that it had been better for him to have chosen a stranger place. And yet many of them attended him as submissively as if they had honored him; so significant a thing is power and prosperity with worldly minds."‡ That these major-generals meddled with other royalists than those of good property is shown by the arrest of John Cleveland, "that incomparable son of Apollo," according to the creed of the cavaliers, for whose cause he has been writing bitter satires since the first days of the Long Parliament. Colonel Haynes has arrested him at Norwich, and sent him to prison at Yarmouth. Cleveland addressed a petition to the protector, though he had ridiculed his "copper-nose," in which the unfortunate poet says, "I am inclined to believe that, next to the adherence to the royal party, the cause of my confinement is the nar-

* "Rebellion," vol. vii. p. 137. † Ibid., p. 138.

* "Policy of the Allies." † "Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 519.
‡ "Life," p. 97.

rowness of my estate, for none stand committed whose estate can bail them. I only am the prisoner who have no acres to be my hostage. Now if my poverty be criminal, with reverence be it spoken, I must implead your highness, whose victorious arms have reduced me to it, as accessory to my guilt." The petition, an elaborate composition, far more laudatory than insulting, procured the poet's release.*

At this period the government of the protector was more than usually harsh toward the Catholics and the clergy of the Anglican Church. The plots against the commonwealth were generally mixed up with the intrigues of papists, and the harshness toward them was the practical continuance of the spirit of the severe penal laws. The Episcopalians were harassed at the instance of the Presbyterians, in spite of Cromwell's own ardent desire for toleration. One of the most odious measures against them was an ordinance prohibiting them to be received in private families as preceptors. Archbishop Usher, for whom the protector had a deep respect, remonstrated with him against this injustice. He did not withdraw the ordinance, but it remained inoperative. Prejudices were too strong to allow him to act up to his own principles. But with the great Puritan body, and the various sectaries that sprang from them, he was determined to keep their animosities under the control of an equal justice. "If a man of one form," he declared to the parliament in 1656, "will be trampling upon the heels of another form; if an Independent, for example, will despise him who is under baptism, and will revile him, and will reproach and provoke him, I will not suffer it in him." Neither should the Independent censure the Presbyterian, nor the Presbyterian the Independent. This toleration made him many enemies: "I have borne my reproach; but I have, through God's mercy, not been unhappy in hindering any one religion to impose upon another." The Quakers, who were hunted and persecuted by every other sect, found a friend in Cromwell. George Fox, who had been seized in his preachings, and carried to London, managed to see the protector, and exhorted him to keep in the fear of God; and Cromwell, having patiently listened to his lecture, parted with him, saying, "Come again to my house. If thou and I were but an hour of the day together, we should be nearer one to the other. I wish no more harm to thee than I do to my own soul."† George and some of his brethren had been dispersing "base books against the lord protector," as Major-General Goffe informed Thurloe. Cromwell sent the Quaker unharmed away, having received from him a written promise that he would do nothing against his government.

CHAPTER CIII.

Greatness of Cromwell in his foreign policy—Naval armaments—Blake's exploits—Jamaica taken—Cromwell's interference for the Vaudois—He attempts to procure the readmission of the Jews to settle in England—Hostility of the republicans to the protector—Cromwell requires a pledge from republican leaders—Meeting of the protector's second parliament—Cromwell's opening speech—Members excluded from the parliament—Case of James Nayler—Sindercomb's plot—The parliament votes that Cromwell shall be offered the crown—Conferences on the subject of kingship—Cromwell declines to accept the title—Blake's victory at Santa Cruz—Cromwell inaugurated as protector under a new Instrument of Government—Second session of parliament—The Upper House—The old secluded members admitted to sit—Cromwell's speech—Violent dissensions—The parliament dissolved—Projected rising of royalists—Allied war in the Netherlands—Dunkirk—Cromwell's family afflictions—His illness and death.

"His greatness at home was but a shadow of the glory he had abroad." So writes Clarendon of him, who, he says, "will be looked upon by posterity as a brave bad man." The mere courtiers of Charles II. used to talk of the protector as "that wretch, Cromwell."‡ It is something for Clarendon to acknowledge that "he had some good qualities." He had the highest of all qualities in a prince—a sense of public duty. He was an Englishman, bent upon sustaining the honor of his country among the nations. In this great design his genius luxuriated. He was not beset with difficulties, as at home, when he sent forth his fleets to sweep the Barbary pirates from the Mediterranean, or employed his diplomatists to express in distinct terms that the Protestants of the Piedmontese valleys should not be massacred by a duke of Savoy, although supported by a king of France. He went straight to his object, when he concluded the French alliance, and rejected that of Spain, because "there is not liberty of conscience to be had from the Spaniard, nether is there satisfaction for injuries nor for blood."* "Elizabeth of famous memory, that lady, that great queen," as Cromwell termed her, was the load-star of his foreign policy; "nothing being more usual than his saying 'that his ships in the Mediterranean should visit Civita Vecchia, and that the sound of his cannon should be heard at Rome.'"† He raised his country out of the pitiful subjection to which the Stuarts had reduced it, to be again among the most respected of Christian powers. "It was hard to discover which feared him most, France, Spain, or the Low Countries, when his friendship was current at the value he put upon it."‡ The price which he demanded for his friendship was that the liberties of Englishmen, their personal security, and their rights of conscience should be respected throughout the world; that no sea should be closed against English commerce; that no combination of crowned heads should attempt to control the domestic government of these kingdoms. He made no pretensions to national supremacy inconsistent with the rights of other countries; but not a tittle would he abate of that respect which was due to his own country and his own government. He was raised to supreme power by a revolution upon which all monarchical rulers must have looked with dread and suspicion and secret hatred; but he made no efforts to imbue other kingdoms with a revolutionary spirit. His moderation commanded far higher respect than if he had formed schemes of European conquest, or had attempted to conciliate discontented colonels and murmuring troopers, by leading them in person against Condé or Don John of Austria. Truly has it been said, "He was a soldier; he has risen by war. Had his ambition been of an impure or selfish kind, would have been easy for him to plunge his country into continental hostilities on a large scale, and to dazzle the restless factions which he ruled, by the splendor of his victories."§ He left to Blake the glory of making the flag of England triumphant on the seas, satisfied to counsel and encourage him. His practical spirit of doing everything for utility, and nothing for vain-glory, was so infused into his officers that when Turenne sent to Lockhart, Cromwell's general in the Netherlands, an explanation of the plan of the battle they were to fight with their allied forces, the Englishman, with a noble common-sense that could lay aside the morbid vanity which too often mars the success of joint enterprises, exclaimed, "Very good: I shall obey M. de Turenne's orders, and he may explain his reasons after the battle, if he pleases."‖

The maintenance and increase of the naval arm of our strength was the especial care of the protector. "I went," writes Evelyn in his Diary of the 9th of April, 1655, "to see the great ship newly built by the usurper, Oliver, carrying ninety-six brass guns and 1000 tons burthen." Some months before, two armaments were being fitted out at Portsmouth. Their destination was unknown. Cromwell was one day surrounded in the streets by a large number of sailors' wives. "Where are our husbands to be sent?" they demanded. "The ambassadors of France and Spain would each give me a million to know that," answered the protector. While France and Spain were each under apprehensions when Blake's fleet of twenty-five ships had sailed, the admiral appeared before Leghorn, and demanded from the Grand Duke of Tuscany redress for the owners of three merchant vessels, which had been captured by Prince Rupert in 1650, and sold in Tuscan ports and in the Papal States. The grand duke and the pope paid the indemnity. Blake then presented himself on the coast of Africa, to demand the relief of Christian captives from the Barbary States. His terms were complied with at Algiers and Tripoli. At Tunis the dey pointed to his fortresses, and told the English to do their worst. Blake battered the Tunisian works, and burned the piratical fleet in the harbor. A hundred and

* Printed with the Poems, edit. 1657.
† Fox's "Journal," quoted in Carlyle's "Cromwell," vol. ii. p. 121.
‡ Letter of Henrietta Maria; Green, p. 380.
* Speech, 17th September, 1656.
† "Clarendon," vol. vii. p. 297.
‡ Ibid.
§ Macaulay, "Essays," vol. i.
‖ Guizot, "Cromwell," vol. ii. p. 383.

ixty years after this example England had again "to break the op-
ressor's chain, and set the captives free." The war with Spain had
ot yet been proclaimed, but the second armament had sailed with
ecret orders. Blake was waiting to take his share in the warfare,
fter he had chastised the African pirates. He was off Malaga,
here some of the sailors who had landed had shown disrespect to a
rocession of the host. A priest incited the Spanish populace to out-
age, and the sailors were beaten and chased to their ships. They
old their story to the admiral, who demanded that the priest should
e brought to justice. The authorities replied that the civil power
ould not touch an ecclesiastic. "Send him on board the St. George
ithin three hours or I will burn your city," was the admiral's de-
and of the governor of Malaga. The priest was sent. The story
f both sides was heard on the justice-seat of the quarter-deck. The
ailors were found to be in the wrong, and the priest was put ashore
ith all civility. "I would have punished the men had I been ap-
ealed to," said the admiral; "but I would have you and all the world
o know that an Englishman is not to be judged and punished except
y Englishmen." The other fleet under Venables and Penn had
one for the West Indies. On the 14th of April it was before His-
aniola. There was no attempt at once to take St. Domingo; but a
ortion of the badly assorted army landed about ten leagues to the
estward of the town, and marched "through woods of incredible
ickness, receiving little or no opposition except the excessive heat
f the sun, and intolerable drought that oppressed them, having not
ad, in many miles' march, one drop of water."* The other por-
on of the armament had landed nearer the city; and when a junc-
on was effected, the whole force fell into ambuscades, and were
ventually driven back to their ships. The commanders, who had
st everything by their disputes and feeble arrangements, sailed
way, and possessed themselves of Jamaica. The value of this con-
uest was then little estimated, and the fertility of the island was
ought small compensation for the loss of the supposed treasures of
ispaniola. Cromwell was somewhat cast down by this his first fail-
re, and he sent Penn and Venables to the Tower when they came
ome with the tale of their disasters. But he soon saw that Jamaica
ave England a solid footing in the West Indies, and was a most
nportant acquisition, although "it produces not any mines of gold
nd silver, as doth Hispaniola"—a defect which the journalist most
ments. The two unfortunate commanders were soon released.
he protector is unremitting in his watchfulness over the West
ndian possessions, as his letters show, and if possible he will strike
the root of such miscarriages as that of Hispaniola. He writes to
ajor-General Fortescue at Jamaica: "As we have cause to be hum-
led for the reproof God gave us at St. Domingo, upon the account
our own sin as well as others', so, truly, upon the reports brought
ther to us of the extreme avarice, pride and confidence, disorders
nd debauchedness, profaneness and wickedness, commonly practised
mong the army, we cannot only bewail the same, but desire that
l with you may do so; and that a very special regard may be had
to govern, for time to come, as that all manner of vice may be
oroughly discountenanced and severely punished, and that such a
ame of government may be exercised that virtue and godliness may
ceive due encouragement."

The power and influence of the commonwealth was at this period
gnally called forth by an occurrence that was no especial injury or
front to the nation, but which more deeply moved the heart of
uritan England than any event since the Irish massacre. For many
nturies there had dwelt in three small valleys of Piedmont a race
own as the Vaudois, or Valdenses—the people of the valleys—who
om the earliest times had kept separate from the Church of Rome.
efore the principles of the Reformation had been disseminated by
uther or Calvin, the pope, Innocent VIII., had issued a bull for the
tirpation of the pernicious sect of the Waldenses. When they de-
ared that their ancient faith was similar to that of the reformers,
rsecutions became more frequent against them. They were pro-
ribed, first by France and then by Savoy; and then sometimes tol-
ated, and sometimes molested. In 1655 the government of the
oung Duke Charles Emmanuel II., having been irritated by tumults
etween some Vaudois of one of the valleys and a convent of Capu-
chins, alleged that those who had been tolerated in their religion within certain districts, prescribed by edicts, had settled upon lands beyond their proper boundaries. All the Vaudois families inhabiting eight communes in the lower part of the valley of the Pelice were commanded to abandon their fields and houses, to sell their property within twenty days, or to become Roman Catholics. This command was resisted; and the Duke of Savoy sent the Marquis of Pianezza to enforce the manifesto. The Vaudois deserted their villages and sought refuge in the mountains. There were severe contests between the troops and the suffering people, in which fearful cruelties were committed by the Piedmontese soldiers, and by mercenary Irish and French in the service of the Duke of Savoy. An officer who was in the command of a French regiment in Piedmont that had been placed under the orders of the Marquis of Pianezza threw up his commission, "in order," he says, "that I might not assist in such wicked actions." A declaration of this brave man, Captain du Petit-Bourg, is in the University Library at Cambridge, wherein he says, "I was the witness of numerous acts of great violence and extreme cruelty, practised by the soldiers toward all ages, sexes, and conditions, whom I saw massacred, hanged, burned, and violated, and I also witnessed several terrible conflagrations." He adds that the Marquis of Pianezza ordered all the prisoners to be killed, "because his highness would not have any of their religion in all his dominions." The instant that Cromwell heard of the preliminary harsh measures of the Duke of Savoy toward the Vaudois, he wrote to the English resident in Switzerland to advise the persecuted people to appeal to England. The news of the massacre arrived before any request was made for succor. The protector immediately sent an envoy extraordinary to Louis XIV. and to the Duke of Savoy, with letters of remonstrance. Upon all the Protestant princes he called for assistance in demanding justice for the Vaudois. A collection throughout England was made for these poor people, and Cromwell himself gave two thousand pounds. His language was as moderate as it was firm. But his meaning could not be mistaken. France was most anxious to conclude a treaty of peace and commerce with England; but Cromwell declared that he would not sign it till the French court had procured from the Piedmontese government the restoration of the Vaudois to their ancient liberties. The French minister at Turin now insisted on an immediate pacification, which should restore the Vaudois to their civil and religious liberties, as of old. The business was hastily concluded by the French agents, and some harsh conditions were connected with this settlement, which again caused the interference of the protector in 1658. The earnest thought of Cromwell went through Europe clothed in the eloquent Latin of Milton; and even those who hated the commonwealth acknowledged that England never stood higher than when she demanded justice for a few poor cultivators of the Alps—those who had kept the truth

"When all our fathers worshipped stocks and stones."

The efforts of the protector to procure safety and liberty of conscience for a race of Christians dwelling in three small valleys of the Alps were more successful than his endeavors to give a legal home in England to a persecuted race, scattered through every land. The Jews were banished, and their immovable goods were confiscated, in 1290. In 1655 Cromwell assembled his council, and "divers eminent ministers," to consider the petition of Rabbi Manasseh-Ben-Israel of Amsterdam, that the Jews might have liberty to settle again in England. Three hundred and sixty-five years of obstinate prejudice might probably have sufficed to exhaust the bigotry of a Christian community. Cromwell thought the term quite long enough: and so the matter of allowing the Jews to reside again among us, and trade, and have public synagogues, and a cemetery out of the town to bury their dead, was discussed in four conferences; and the protector advocated the measure; and one present says, "I never heard a man speak so well." But there were then, as there always will be, grave divines and learned lawyers who patch a rag of ancient intolerance into their modern garments, to show the color and substance of the old material that all men once proudly wore. Of this species was William Prynne, who headed the cry of Christianity in danger, by publishing a manifesto against the Jews, in which "their ill-deportment, misdemeanors, condition, sufferings, oppressions, slaughters, plunders by popular insurrections, royal exactions, and final banishment," were brought forward in connection with laws and

* "Journal of the English Army," Harl. Miscellany, vol. vi. 372.

Scriptures, "to plead and conclude against their readmission into England." The old clamor against the Jewerie was revived, especially in the city, where the merchants were jealous of the wealth of the Hebrews; and the protector, seeing it was in vain to expect any agreement upon this question, sought for no legal sanction to their settling here, but raised no objection to a Portuguese synagogue being opened in 1656.

The government of the protectorate had ample public business to engage its attention, during the twenty months in which a single person, without a parliament, was the supreme director of the affairs of three kingdoms. The alliance with France and the war with Spain gave occasion to new movements of royalists, and new combinations of republicans. Charles the Second was living in dissolute poverty at Cologne, caring little for state concerns, and laying no burden upon his conscience when he had to make some contrary pledge to Protestant or Papist, openly to the one, or in secret to the other. He was a little roused from his exclusive attention to his mistresses, when the war with Spain induced him to believe that he might obtain some assistance from that power against their common enemy. Colonel Sexby, a furious republican, prepared with schemes of conspiracy and assassination, joined the councils of Charles and the Spanish ministers. In April, 1656, a treaty of alliance was concluded between Philip IV. and the exiled king of England, by which the Spanish monarch promised Charles a pension and an army, and Charles engaged that with the aid of the Irish serving in France he would make a landing in England. The government of the protector was more effectually endangered by the attitude of the great republican leaders at home than by preparations for war and assassination. Sir Harry Vane had come forth with a pamphlet, which Thurloe described in a letter to Henry Cromwell, as "a new form of government, plainly laying aside thereby that which now is. At the first coming out of it, it was applauded; but now, upon second thoughts, it is rejected as being impracticable, and aiming in truth at the setting up of the Long Parliament again." Cromwell, in July, had issued writs for a new parliament. A second pamphlet, more exciting than the first, was also published, and extensively circulated. The influence of such appeals to the people, setting forth "infringed rights"—"invaded properties"—"imprisoned friends"—would be full of danger in the result of the elections; and Cromwell was placed in an attitude of more determined hostility against the republican party. The elections were fiercely contested, amid many popular tumults. The government had secured a majority, but many of its declared opponents were elected. Cromwell and his council tried to persuade Vane, Harrison, and other opponents, to pledge themselves not to commit any act to the prejudice of the government. They refused, and were imprisoned. The nature of the pledge required may be judged from a remarkable conference between Cromwell and Ludlow, recorded by the sturdy republican, who had been dismissed from his employment in Ireland. When Ludlow drew near to the council table, Cromwell charged him with dispersing treasonable books in Ireland. He denied that they were treasonable. Cromwell said that he was not ignorant of many plots to disturb the present power, and that he thought it his duty to secure such as he suspected. Ludlow replied that whether his actions were good or bad he was ready to submit to a legal trial. Cromwell then required him to give assurance not to act against the government. "I desired," says Ludlow, "to be excused in that particular, reminding him of the reasons I had formerly given him for my refusal." The reasons were thus given at the previous interview referred to: "If Providence open a way, and give an opportunity of appearing in behalf of the people, I cannot consent to tie my own hands beforehand, and oblige myself not to lay hold on it. . . . My dissatisfactions were not grounded upon any animosity against his person; and that if my own father were alive, and in his place, they would, I doubted not, be altogether as great." * At this second conference Ludlow maintains the same resolute mind, and Cromwell exhibits the same desire to conciliate him: "Pray then, said he, what is it that you would have? May not every man be as good as he will? What can you desire more than you have? It were easy, said I, to tell what we would have. What is that, I pray, said he? That which we fought for, said I, that the nation might be governed by its own consent. I am, said he, as much for a government b consent as any man; but where shall we find that consent Among the Prelatical, Presbyterian, Independent, Anabaptist, Levelling parties? I answered, among those of all sorts who ha acted with fidelity and affection to the public. Then he fell into th commendation of his own government, boasting of the protectio and quiet which the people enjoyed under it, saying that he was r solved to keep the nation from being imbrued in blood. I said tha I was of opinion too much blood had been already shed, unless the were a better account of it. You do well, said he, to charge us wit the guilt of blood; but we think there is a good return for what hat been shed; and we understand what clandestine correspondences a carrying on at this time between the Spaniard and those of you party, who make use of your name, and affirm that you will ow them and assist them. I know not, said I, what you mean by m party, and can truly say, that if any men have entered into an e gagement with Spain, they have had no advice from me so to do, an that if they will use my name I cannot help it. Then in a softer wa he told me that he desired not to put any more hardships on m than on himself; that he had been always ready to do me all th good offices that lay in his power, and that he aimed at nothing b this proceeding but the public quiet and security. Truly, sir, said I know not why you should be an enemy to me who have been faith ful to you in all your difficulties. I understand not, said he, wha you mean by my difficulties. I am sure they were not so proper mine as those of the public; for in respect to my outward conditio I have not much improved it, as these gentlemen, pointing to h council, well know. To which they seemed to assent, by rising fro their chairs; and therefore I thought not fit to insist further on th point, contenting myself to say that it was from that duty which owed to the public, whereof he expressed such a peculiar regard, tha I durst not give the security he desired, because I considered it to b against the liberty of the people, and contrary to the known law England." * After this bold manifestation Ludlow went quiet away; to maintain that Cromwell was a usurper, and that the onl legitimate authority was the Long Parliament. "In general there as much difference between a usurper and an hereditary king there is between a wild boar and a tame one; but Cromwell ha nothing in him ferocious." †

The parliament assembled on the 17th of September—a crowde meeting in the Painted Chamber on a hot day—so hot that the pr tector seems to imply that he will not detain them by a long speec seeing "that condition and heat that you are now in." But he do speak at great length, with abundant words, although he say "Truly our business is to speak things" . . . "things that co cern the glory of God, and his peculiar interest in the world." large subject, but one which Oliver mainly associates with "the b ing and subsistence of these nations with all their dependencies." their present dangers he chiefly speaks—of "your great enemy, th Spaniard;" of the circumstances which "justify the war which h been entered upon with the Spaniard;" of the danger of "any pea with any state that is popish, and subject to the determination Rome and the pope himself," for then "you are bound and they a loose." France was not "under such a tie to the pope." Spain, h says, "hath espoused that interest which you all along hitherto hav been conflicting with—Charles Stuart's interest." He adds, "t there is a complication of these interests abroad, so there is a compl cation of them here. Can we think that papists and cavaliers shak not hands in England. . . . Your danger is so great, if you wi be sensible of it, by reason of persons who pretend other things. He points to past dangers—to assassination plots, and insurrections the preceding year. The present great danger was from "a gener tion of men in this nation who cry up nothing but righteousness an justice and liberty; and these are divided into several sects an sorts of men. They are known to shake hands with—I should l loath to say with cavaliers—but with all the scum and dirt of this na tion." To meet such dangers "we did find but a little poor inventio which I hear has been much regretted—the erecting of your majo generals. . . . Truly I think if ever anything were justifiable to necessity, this was." He then proceeds to remedies: First

* "Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 554–5.

* "Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 570.

† Landor, "Imaginary Conversations."—Works, vol. i. p. 554.

consider all that ought to be done in order to security; next doing all things that ought to be done in order to reformation. For outward security join heartily in the prosecution of the war. "If you can come to prosecute it, prosecute it vigorously, or not at all." As to the distempers of people that pretend religion, "our practice since the last parliament hath been to let all this nation see that whatever pretensions to religion would continue quiet, peaceable, they should enjoy conscience and liberty to themselves, and not to make religion a pretence for arms and blood." He points to the means which have been adopted "for the ejecting of scandalous ministers, and for the bringing in of them that have passed an approbation." He calls for reformation of manners. "In my conscience, it was a shame to be a Christian, within these fifteen, sixteen, or seventeen years in this nation—whether in Cæsar's house or elsewhere. It was a shame, it was a reproach to a man, and the badge of Puritan was put upon it. We would keep up nobility and gentry; and the way to keep them up is not to suffer them to be patronizers or countenancers of debauchery and disorders." These are wise words; and there were other words altogether as wise, which statesmen heeded not for more than a century and a half, holding, with learned Blackstone, the necessity of entirely disregarding as unworthy of notice "the crude and abortive schemes for amending the laws in the times of confusion which followed" the times of Charles I.* Let us conclude our brief notice of this remarkable speech of 1656, with a passage which contains, according to a high authority, "stronger indications of a legislative mind than are to be found in the whole range of orations delivered on such occasions, before or since."† "There are some things which respect the estates of men; and there is one general grievance in the nation. It is the law. Not that the laws are a grievance, but there are laws that are; and the great grievance lies in the execution and administration. I think I may say it, I have as eminent judges in this land as have been had, as the nation has had, for these many years. Truly I could be particular, as to the executive part of it, as to the administration of the law; but that would trouble you. The truth of it is, there are wicked and abominable laws, which it will be in your power to alter. To hang a man for six-and-eightpence, and I know not what; to hang for a trifle, and acquit murder—is in the ministration of the law, through the ill-framing of it. I have known in my experience abominable murderers acquitted. And to see men lose their lives for petty matters; this is a thing God will reckon for. And I wish it may not lie upon this nation a day longer than you have an opportunity to give a remedy; and I hope I shall cheerfully join with you in it. This hath been a great grief to many honest hearts and conscientious people; and I hope it is in all your hearts to rectify it."

The legislative mind of Cromwell could rarely find adequate encouragement in his legislators. We have seen how earnestly he was always calling, even from the battle-field, for reform of the laws. Surely Mr. Hallam must have been strangely prejudiced against the man and his principles when, in his "Parallel between Cromwell and Napoleon," he says, "In civil government there can be no adequate parallel between one who had sucked only the dregs of a besotted fanaticism, and one to whom the stores of reason and philosophy were open. But it must here be added that Cromwell, far unlike his antitype, never showed any signs of a legislative mind, or any desire to fix his renown on that noblest basis, the amelioration of social institutions." Such a passage is unworthy of the usual calm and impartial tone of the "Constitutional History." It might have been better suited to the historian who designates Cromwell as "a barbarian." It would have been better suited to that historian, David Hume, to speak of "the dregs of a besotted fanaticism," as opposed to "the stores of reason and philosophy," who had little sympathy with, if not positive hatred to, the man or the race of men, who thought to live in the "great task-master's eye." Cromwell, the barbarian, did not aspire to go down to posterity with a code in his hand. He had not to build up new laws out of chaos, but to clear away the rubbish which incumbered the old laws. "If he erected little that was new, it was because there had been no general devastation to clear a space for him." ‡

The strong declamation of the protector against men who cry up nothing but righteousness and justice and liberty—the men of several sects—the levelling party—the commonwealth's men—seemed to point at same extraordinary course with this parliament. About three hundred members had received a certificate in the following form: "These are to certify that —— is returned by indenture one of the knights [or burgesses] to serve in this present parliament for the county [city or borough] of ——, and approved by his highness's council," which certificate was signed by the "clerk of the commonwealth in chancery." This was a manifest violation of the ancient parliamentary privileges—a violation upon the broadest scale. A hundred and two members, who had received no certificate, were prevented entering the house. Sixty-five sent a letter of remonstrance to the speaker. The clerk of the commonwealth produced his instructions from the council; and the house having then demanded of the council why certain duly elected had not been admitted to sit, Nathaniel Fiennes, one of the commissioners of the great seal, attended, and showed that, according to the instrument of government, "no persons could be elected to serve in parliament but such as were of known integrity, fearing God, and of good conversation;" and that, by the same instrument, the council was authorized and directed "to examine whether the persons elected were agreeable to the above-mentioned qualifications." The formal letter of the constitution had been adhered to; its application was a bold exercise of arbitrary power. The excluded members protested against this total infraction of the conditions of a free parliament, and denounced all the members who should continue to sit as "betrayers of the liberties of England, and adherents to the capital enemies of the commonwealth." The public indignation was great and general; but a national success came opportunely to qualify it. A squadron of Blake's fleet off Cadiz had captured two Spanish galleons returning home with the treasures of the Indies; and the people crowded the roads and streets from Portsmouth to the Tower to look upon a procession of thirty-eight wagons laden with ingots and piastres. The treasury was replenished. The parliament became tranquillized. The power of the protector seemed established on a firm basis. He felt that he could relax in some measures of repression; and the major-generals were abolished. There was a mutilated parliament; but the government of a single person was again coming within the bounds of constitutional liberty. The powers of the parliament and the protector now worked harmoniously together. Acts were passed for the security of his person, and for disannulling the title to the crown of Charles Stuart and his descendants. The war with Spain was declared to be just and necessary, and four hundred thousand pounds were voted for the expenses of the war. The ordinances which the protector had issued were for the most part confirmed. His appointments to judicial offices were approved. The revolution was thought by many to have passed its period of disturbance and experiment. It was even popularly considered to be probable and desirable that the protector should assume a higher title, and with the powers of a king should receive the name. Poetical flattery talked of the Spanish gold being made into a crown and a royal sceptre. Amid all sorts of speculations upon such an event an incident which appeared to have little connection with a matter of such importance brought into view the necessary antagonism between the executive authority of the protector and the ill-defined and ill-understood executive power of the parliament. Among the new sect of Quakers was James Nayler, who, in his frantic enthusiasm, had proclaimed that the Redeemer was incarnate in his person; and he had moreover given a great public scandal in going about in a state of nudity.* The Quaker was arrested at Bristol, and brought up to the bar of the House of Commons. There were ten days of wearisome debate, in which it was maintained that the house possessed the right of life and death. The madman narrowly escaped hanging, for eighty-two voted for his execution. He was finally condemned to be put in the

* Book iv. chap. 33. † Macaulay, "Essays," vol. i. ‡ Ibid.

* There is a curious passage in the very interesting autobiography of Thomas Ellwood which somewhat explains this. Ellwood's father violently opposed, even by blows and horsewhippings, his son's determination to be a Quaker. The old squire said "they held many dangerous principles; that they were an immodest, shameless people; and that one of them stripped himself stark naked and went in that unseemly manner about the streets, at fairs, and on market day at great towns." The young man replied to his father by citing "the example of Isaiah, who went naked among the people for a long time." Isaiah was a prophet, said the father. "How know we but this Quaker may be a prophet too," rejoined the son.

pillory, to have his tongue bored through with a hot iron, and to be whipped through the streets. Cromwell saw, as the more fanatical members had not seen, that the whole course of legal government was threatened by this procedure of the house—that this assumption of judicial power was incompatible with the due course of justice. He addressed this letter to the speaker : "Right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Having taken notice of a judgment lately given by yourselves against one James Nayler : although we detest and abhor the giving or occasioning the least countenance to persons of such opinions and practices, or who are under the guilt of the crimes commonly imputed to the said person ; yet we, being intrusted in the present government, on behalf of the people of these nations ; and not knowing how far such proceeding, entered into wholly without us, may extend in the consequence of it—Do desire that the house will let us know the grounds and reasons whereupon they have proceeded." Part of Nayler's sentence had been inflicted when this letter was received. The house immediately rejected a proposition for deferring the completion of the punishment. The people became more and more convinced that in a due balance of the executive and legislative functions they must look for safety. The obstinacy of the parliament was Cromwell's triumph with the sober part of the nation. But his very pertinent desire to know "the grounds and reasons" for a "proceeding entered into wholly without us," led to inquiries about the due apportionment of power, which had very remarkable results. Meanwhile a new assassination plot excited a general interest in the life of the protector ; and, like all such abortive schemes, made the authority stronger which it was intended to overthrow.

Charles the Second was residing at Bruges at the beginning of 1657. He had obtained money from Spain, with which he was making some show of preparation for an expedition to England. But Cromwell—there is the difficulty. Colonel Sexby has been in England, and is again with the king. He has left a trusty agent behind him, and a certain service is to be well rewarded. Miles Sindercomb was one of the levellers of the army, who was sentenced to be shot at Burford in 1650. But he escaped then ; was received as quartermaster into Monk's army in Scotland ; got involved in new plots ; and was cashiered. Sexby has left this man a large sum for the conduct of his operations. He hired a house at Hammersmith, and provided deadly combustibles of a sort to blow the protector and his carriage into atoms as he took his Saturday ride to Hampton Court. Sindercomb arranged, moreover, to fire Whitehall, and have a safe blow at the protector in the confusion. On the night of the 8th of January the sentinel at the palace finds a basket of wildfire and a slow match gradually burning onward to explode it. A life-guardsman comes before the council, and proclaims that Miles Sindercomb is the man who has made these midnight arrangements. Sindercomb is taken, is tried, and convicted by a jury in the King's Bench ; the day of execution is fixed ; but he is found dead in his bed. His sister has conveyed poison to him. The author of "Killing no Murder"—whether Colonel Titus or Colonel Sexby—says that Sindercomb was smothered and not poisoned. With the wonted rant of political fanatics, he exclaims, "The brave Sindercomb hath shown as great a mind as any old Rome could boast of ; and, had he lived there, his name had been registered with Brutus and Cato, and he had had his statues as well as they." This assassination plot was extinguished as quickly as the lighted match at Whitehall. The parliament went in a body to congratulate the protector on his escape, and his Highness made an appropriate reply. A thanksgiving day followed ; and two sermons at "Margaret's Church ;" and a princely entertainment to the house by the protector, and after dinner, "rare music, both of voices and instruments, till the evening."

When Secretary Thurloe, on the 19th of January, related the discovery of Sindercomb's plot to the Commons, and the house resolved to congratulate the protector on his escape, Mr. Ashe, a member of no great mark, moved that it be added to the congratulatory address, that his Highness would be pleased to take upon him the government according to the ancient constitution. Great was the clamor. The ancient constitution was Charles Stuart's interest. Was a kingly government now to be set up, against which the Lord had borne testimony ? The matter was dropped. On the 23d of February Alderman Pack requested leave to read a paper "tending to the settlement of the nation." The house was again in most disorderly condition. But the alderman did read his paper, in accordance with the desire of a large majority. Thurloe described the occurrence in a letter to Monk : "Yesterday we fell into a great debate in parliament. One of the aldermen who serve for the city of London brought in a paper called a Remonstrance, desiring my Lord Protector to assume kingly power, and to call future parliaments, consisting of two houses. . . . I do assure you it ariseth from the parliament only ; his Highness knew nothing of the preambles until they were brought into the house." Four days after Pack's Remonstrance had been read, a hundred officers, with several of the major-generals, among whom was Cromwell's son-in-law, Fleetwood, waited upon the protector, to say that they had heard with great dismay that there was a project in hand to make his Highness king—a hazardous project—a scandal to the people of God. Cromwell somewhat resented this interference. He had not been caballing about this project, either for or against it. They need not, however, start at this title king, a feather in a hat, for they had themselves pressed it upon him when this government was undertaken. He thought the Instrument of Government did need mending. That a House of Lords, or some other check upon the arbitrary tendencies of a single house, might be useful. Look at the case of James Nayler. May it not be any one's case some other day ? The deputation went their way ; and the debate upon the great question proceeded in the house with little interruption. Through the whole of March it was debated ; and it was at last voted, by a majority of sixty-one, to address the protector in these words : "That your Highness will be pleased to assume the name, style, title, dignity, and office of King of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the respective dominions and territories thereunto belonging ; and to exercise the same according to the laws of these nations." On the 31st of March the house proceeded to Whitehall, to present the document which they now called "Petition and Advice." It was an instrument of eighteen articles—touching kingship, second House of Parliament, mode of electing members, permanent public revenue, exclusive Protestant religion, provision for tender consciences—with lesser matters. The speaker presented these articles for the protector's acceptance, saying that they requested that all should be adopted—the rejection of one article might make all the rest impracticable. Cromwell's reply was to the effect that he asked time for consideration : "That seeing you have made progress in this business, and completed the work on your part, I may have some short time to ask counsel of God and of my own heart."

Three days after this interview Cromwell requested that a committee might be appointed to receive his answer to the Petition and Advice. He spoke briefly, and with a tone somewhat different from his usual decision. "You do necessitate my answer to be categorical ; and you have left me without a liberty of choice save as to all" —all of the articles. "It is a duty not to question the reason of anything you have done, . . . But I must needs say that that may be fit for you to offer which may not be fit for me to undertake. . . . I must say I have been able to attain no further than this, that seeing the way is hedged up so as it is to me, and I cannot accept the things offered unless I accept all, I have not been able to find it my duty to God and you to undertake the charge under that title." The deputation returns to the house ; reports the reluctant negative of his Highness—perhaps not exactly in the words of Casca, "There was a crown offered him, and being offered him, he put it by with the back of his hand, thus."* The house will prepare reasons for adhering to its Petition and Advice, and will go again to Whitehall. On the 8th of April they declare, in a body, to his Highness, that they do so adhere as "the great council and representative of the three nations," and again desire his assent thereto. He still hesitates. "I had, and I have, my hesitations as to that individual thing. If I undertake anything not in faith, I shall serve you in my own unbelief ; and I shall then be the most unprofitable servant that people or nation ever had." He wishes for more particular information upon certain points. Casca again comes in to interpret this "coy reluctant, amorous delay" —"He put it by again ; but, to my thinking, he was very loth to lay his fingers off it." The next day London is in a tumult upon other questions of monarchy—not the poor temporary question of protector or king, but whether the Fifth Monarchy—the Assyrian monarchy, the Persian, the Greek, and the Roman, being all four extinct—the greatest monarchy of all—the

* Shakespeare, "Julius Cæsar," act i. scene 2.

reign of the saints on earth for a thousand years—be not visibly at hand. It is to be proclaimed this day, the 9th of April, on Mile-End Green, by its great herald, Thomas Venner, the wine-cooper; with its standard of the Lion of the Tribe of Judah. A troop of horse settles the Fifth Monarchy with small difficulty; and, without bloodshed, its lieges are lodged in the Tower. This attempt to put down all carnal sovereignties passes quietly away, without trial or punishment. The parliament has to debate the question of real kingship with his Highness, which it does, for many days, by the voices of a committee of ninety-nine, talking, and listening to my Lord Protector at Whitehall. Lord Whitelocke, and Chief Justice Glynn, and Lord Commissioner Fiennes, and Lord Broghill, all have their say; and Cromwell has his comment. He still wants a little more time to consider. He takes counsel about this business of the kingship with Broghill, Pierpoint, Whitelocke, Wolseley, and Thurloe—as Whitelocke records—and "would sometimes be very cheerful with them; and, laying aside his greatness, he would be exceedingly familiar; and by way of diversion would make verses with them, and every one must try his fancy. He commonly called for tobacco, pipes, and a candle, and would now and then take tobacco himself. Then he would fall again to his serious and great business." On the 13th of April he speaks at much length; but he still hesitates: "I have nothing to answer to any arguments that were used for preferring kingship to protectorship. . . . I am ready to serve, not as a king, but as a constable. For truly I have, as before God, often thought that I could not tell what my business was in the place I stood in, save comparing myself to a good constable set to keep the peace of the parish. And truly this hath been my consent and satisfaction in the troubles I have undergone that you yet have peace." The real objection which Cromwell has to a higher dignity than that of protector-constable is very manifest: "If I know, as indeed I do, that very generally good men do not swallow this title—though really it is no part of their goodness to be unwilling to submit to what a parliament shall settle over them—yet I must say it is my duty and my conscience to beg of you that there may be no hard things put upon me—things, I mean, hard to them, which they cannot swallow." Another conference in another week. The same reluctance to accept; the same unwillingness to offend by a refusal. It is a tedious farce, say some; and yet a farce with something serious about it—quite enough of pressing solicitation to make a vain ambitious man put the precious diadem in his pocket; not enough to make Cromwell peril many interests, including his own, by a rash consent. His Highness and the committee now go into discussion of the other articles of the Petition and Advice, to which the protector has offered a paper of amendments. Long are the discussions, though full of real meaning amid a maze of words. The parliament adopts most of the amendments; and, at last, again attends my Lord Protector in a body, to receive his final answer upon the great question. There was no mistaking his meaning now: "I think the act of government doth consist of very excellent parts, in all but that one thing of the title to me. . . . I am persuaded to return this answer to you, that I cannot undertake this government with the title of king." The other parts of the Instrument of Government were adopted, the term protector being substituted for that of king. "The protector," says Whitelocke, "was satisfied in his private judgment that it was fit for him to accept the title of king, and matters were prepared in order thereunto. But afterward, by solicitation of the commonwealth's men, and many officers of the army, he decided to attend some better season and opportunity in the business, and refused at this time." Ludlow tells a little anecdote of this interference of "officers of the army," which may conclude this somewhat tedious relation of the discussions about kingship, which had gone on from the 23d of February to the 8th of May: Cromwell, says Ludlow, while "he scrupled to take upon him the title of king, as a thing scandalous, and of great hazard"—yet, "in the mean time he endeavored by all possible means to prevail with the officers of the army to approve his design, and knowing that Lieutenant-General Fleetwood and Colonel Desborough were particularly averse to it, he invited himself to dine personally with the colonel, and carried the lieutenant-general with him, where he began to droll with them about monarchy, and speaking slightly of it, said it was but a feather in a man's cap, and therefore wondered that men would not please the children, and permit them to enjoy their rattle. But he received from them, as Colonel Desborough since told me, such an answer as was not at all suitable to his expectations or desires. For they assured him that there was more in this matter than he perceived; that those who put him upon it were no enemies to Charles Stuart; and that if he accepted of it he would infallibly draw ruin on himself and friends. Having thus sounded their inclinations, that he might conclude in the manner he had begun, he told them they were a couple of scrupulous fellows, and so departed. The next day he sent a message to the house, to require their attendance in the Painted Chamber the next morning, designing, as all men believed, there to declare his acceptation of the crown. But in the mean time meeting with Colonel Desborough in the great walk of the park, and acquainting him with his resolution, the colonel made answer, that he then gave the cause and Cromwell's family also for lost, adding that though he was resolved never to act against him, yet he would not act for him after that time."

The public mind of England is kept sufficiently alive during the early summer of 1657. First, the long deliberations about kingship, and the unexpected refusal of the title—unexpected by most men, for the story went that the crown was made, and was ready at Whitehall for the coronation. Then came out the daring pamphlet of "Killing no Murder," recommending the duty of putting the tyrant to death, and threatening that, in imitation of Sindercomb, "there is a great roll behind, even of those that are in his own muster-rolls, and are ambitious of the name of the deliverers of their country; and they know what the action is that will purchase it. His bed, his table, is not secure; and he stands in need of other guards to defend him against his own." Such words made men anxious and alarmed. But the bitterest enemies of Cromwell felt that his rule was not an indolent one. The news came of a great victory by Blake over the Spanish navy at Santa Cruz—one of those daring exploits in which there is the greatest safety in what the timid call rashness. Under the fire of tremendous batteries the great admiral attacked the Spaniards in their own harbor, and burned their entire fleet. Oliver sent Blake a jewel in the name of the parliament and the protector, with instructions to return home. The noble sailor—the true successor of Elizabeth's heroes—the honored predecessor of a long file of England's bravest sons—died on board his ship within sight of Plymouth. Then six thousand English troops land in May near Boulogne, and a fleet is cruising off that coast—an army and a fleet to co-operate with the French in an attack upon the Spanish power in the Netherlands. Meanwhile the session of parliament is coming to a close; but first is to be performed a great national ceremony—the inauguration, under the new Instrument of Government, of him who, without the title of king, is to be clothed with regal honors and powers. In Westminster Hall there is a gorgeous assembly on the 26th of June. The coronation chair, with the famous stone of Scotland, is placed beneath a canopy of state. The protector stands up under his canopy, surrounded by his council and foreign ambassadors; the speaker is seated beneath him; the members of parliament in seats built like an amphitheatre; the judges on his right hand; the corporation of London on his left; the great hall crowded with spectators. The speaker invests the protector with the robe of purple, "emblem of magistracy;" presents him first with a Bible, the book of books, which "doth contain both precepts and examples for good government;" then with the sceptre, "not unlike a staff, for you are to be a staff to the weak and poor;" lastly, with the sword, "not a military, but civil sword." Then Cromwell takes this oath: "I do in the presence and by the name of Almighty God, promise and swear, that to the uttermost of my power I will uphold and maintain the true Reformed Protestant Christian religion, in the purity thereof, as it is contained in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, to the uttermost of my power and understanding; and encourage the profession and professors of the same; and that to the utmost of my power I will endeavor, as chief magistrate of these three nations, the maintenance and preservation of the peace and safety, and just rights and privileges, of the people thereof; and shall in all things, according to my best knowledge and power, govern the people of these three nations according to law." A prayer was then made; the heralds proclaimed Oliver Cromwell Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and the people shouted, "God save the Lord Protector." In all but the name these three nations were now a kingdom.

The second session of parliament is to assemble in January. It is to be of a different composition from that of the first session. The excluded members are to be now admitted. There is to be a "second house." England appears approaching very nearly to its old form of government—one supreme man, by whatever name called—Lords, Commons. Still there is one something wanting—that something which Lord Broghill especially pointed out in the conference about kingship: "By your Highness bearing the title of king, all those that obey and serve you are secured by a law made long before any of our differences had a being—in the 11th of Henry VII.—where a full provision is made for the safety of those that shall serve whoever is king." It was this want of the ancient title in the head of the government of which the lawyers availed themselves at the restoration of Charles II., when they held that his regnal years must be computed from the death of his father, because no one had in the interval between the 30th of January, 1649, and the 29th of May, 1660, assumed the title of king. The same absence of the ancient designation of the supreme governor unquestionably influenced the aristocracy during the life of the protector, and compelled him to form a "second house" of a very anomalous character. He had, however, strengthened his interest with the old nobility to some extent. In November, 1657, Lord Falconbridge married his daughter Mary; and Robert Rich, grandson of the Earl of Warwick, married his daughter Frances. But of the members of the old House of Lords only seven accepted the protector's writ of summons. He filled up its number of sixty-three with great civil officers, generals, and some eminent country gentlemen and citizens. Ludlow tells us of the neglect which Sir Arthur Haselrig paid to the summons to be a member of the Upper House, and of the anxiety of the old speaker, Lenthall, to be a lord. Only one of those peers who had accepted the writ took their seats. "The Earl of Warwick himself," says Ludlow, "though he ventured to marry his grandson to one of Cromwell's daughters, could not be persuaded to sit with Colonel Hewson and Colonel Pride, whereof the one had been a shoemaker, and the other a drayman: and had they driven no worse trade, I know not why any good man should refuse to act with them. Divers of the gentry did not appear; yet others, and particularly such as were related to those in power, were prevailed with to be of this assembly.

The scheme of a second house was not favorable to the disposition of the Commons to uphold the protector's government. Forty members took their seats as quasi-lords, who would otherwise most probably have been in the Commons, and have given their support to the existing authority. The members who had been excluded in the first session were competent to sit in this second session, if they took the oaths. They did take them, and were ready for a vigorous opposition. On the 20th of January the parliament met. His Highness is now in the House of Lords, and the Commons are duly summoned thither by Black Rod, as of old; and the protector begins his speech, as of old, with "My Lords, and Gentlemen of the House of Commons." He made a short speech. "I have some infirmities upon me. I have not liberty to speak more unto you; but I have desired an honorable person here by me to discourse a little more particularly what may be more proper for this occasion and this meeting." Nathaniel Fiennes, one of the commissioners of the Great Seal, made a figurative speech, recommending unanimity. The Commons, upon their return, went at once upon heady debate—day by day—as to what the new house should be called. Haselrig will not be a member of "the other house." He will obey no writ of summons. He will sit as an elected representative. Clearly the new constitution is going very fast to pieces. Cromwell summons the parliament to the Banqueting House, five days after the opening of the session. He addresses the members in a manly speech. He speaks firmly and boldly, and says some truths that are universal: "Misrule is better than no rule; and an ill-government, a bad government, is better than none. . . . I know you are rational, prudent men. Have you any frame or model of things that would satisfy the minds of men, if this be not the frame, which you are now called together upon, and engaged in—I mean the two houses of parliament and myself? What hinders this nation from being an Aceldama, if this doth not? . . . I never look to see the people of England come into a just liberty if another civil war overtake us. I think, at least, that the thing likely to bring us into our liberty is a consistency and agreement at this meeting. . . . I shall be ready to stand or fall with you, in this seemingly promising union, which God hath wrought among you, which I hope neither the pride nor envy of men shall be able to make void. . . . I trust, by the grace of God, as I have taken my oath to serve this commonwealth on such an account, I shall—I must—see it done, according to the articles of government. That every just interest may be preserved; that a godly ministry may be upheld, and not affronted by seducing and seduced spirits; that all men may be preserved in their just rights, whether civil or spiritual—upon this account did I take oaths and swear to this government." This appeal—"the words as of a strong great captain addressed in the hour of imminent shipwreck" *—was in vain. The discontented are powerful in the Commons. No real business can proceed, while the question of "the other house" is daily debated. Oliver Protector will bring the matter to an end. The Commons are again summoned by the Black Rod. "What care I for the Black Rod?" cries Haselrig. But they obey the summons. And then the protector speaks with an angrier voice than was his wont, even in former disquietudes: "You have not only disjointed yourselves but the whole nation, which is in likelihood of running into more confusion in these fifteen or sixteen days that you have sat than it hath been from the rising of the last session to this day—through the intention of devising a commonwealth again—that some people might be the men that rule all. . . . It hath not only been your endeavor to pervert the army while you have been sitting, and to draw them to state the question about a commonwealth, but some of you have been listing of persons, by commission of Charles Stuart, to join with any insurrection that may be made. . . . If this be the end of your sitting, and this be your carriage, I think it high time that an end be put to your sitting. And I do dissolve this parliament. And let God be judge between you and me."

The parliament is gone; but the protector is not left to repose. There are dangers around him of no common magnitude. He meets them bravely. The parliament is dismissed in the morning of the 14th of February. In the afternoon Oliver is writing to his captains of militia in the country, to "be most vigilant for the suppressing of any disturbance which may arise from any party whatsoever." He summons his officers to Whitehall, and asks if they are willing, with him, to maintain the Instrument of Government. Most answer, they will live and die with him. A few look gloomy, and are silent. In a day or two he removes suspected officers from the army. "The cavaliers," says Mrs. Hutchinson, "had not patience to stay till things ripened of themselves; but were every day forming designs, and plotting for the murder of Cromwell, and other insurrections; which, being contrived in drink, and managed by false and cowardly fellows, were still revealed to Cromwell, who had most excellent intelligence of all things that passed, even in the king's closet. And by these unsuccessful plots they were the only obstructors of what they sought to advance, while, to speak truth, Cromwell's personal courage and magnanimity upheld him against all enemies and malcontents." † Lambert encouraged the disaffected officers, who desired to set him up in Cromwell's place: "His ambition had this difference from the protector's; the one was gallant and great; the other had nothing but an unworthy pride, most insolent in prosperity, and as abject and base in adversity." ‡ Mrs. Hutchinson says that the disaffected officers—"some of the Lambertonians"—proposed to gain admission to Cromwell with a petition, and then, while he was reading it, to throw him out of a window at Whitehall into the Thames. Colonel Hutchinson became acquainted with the plot by chance, and revealed it to the protector, "judging that Lambert would be the worse tyrant of the two." Hutchinson warned Cromwell against petitioners; but could not be prevailed upon to give any more information than was necessary to prevent the design. Royalists and fanatics, republicans and levellers, were all ready to assail the man who would not suffer them "to imbrue their hands in blood." On the 12th of March Cromwell received the corporation of London at Whitehall, and explained the reasons which had induced him to dissolve the parliament, in order to avert the dangers with which the government was threatened—invasions and insurrections—the Spaniard and the exiled being in league—royalists and anabaptists plotting together. The Marquis of Ormond only left London on Tuesday last, he told them—the Marquis of Ormond, who had come

* Carlyle, vol. iii. p. 247. † "Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 214. ‡ Ibid.

disguised to London on a mission from Charles Stuart. Ormond had gone away "on Tuesday last," upon a very intelligible hint. "There is an old friend of yours in town," said Cromwell to Lord Broghill. "The Marquis of Ormond lodges in Drury Lane, at the papist surgeon's. It would be well for him if he were gone." Ormond was very soon at Bruges, and reported to Charles that Cromwell had better be left alone for the present. Nevertheless, London is ready for trying insurrection upon a limited scale. There was to have been a great outbreak on the 15th of May. The royalist leaders have lost heart now Ormond is gone; but there are malcontents ready for a rising—wild apprentices and other rash persons, who propose to fire houses, and do a considerable amount of slaughter. The lieutenant of the Tower comes out with five pieces of artillery, and the apprentices get within their masters' houses as fast as possible. The ringleaders of this intended insurrection are seized at "the Mermaid in Cheapside." Others are arrested in the country. A High Court of Justice, appointed by act of the last parliament, is summoned for trial of the conspirators. Fifteen were arraigned, among whom were Sir Henry Slingsby, and Dr. Hewit, an Episcopal divine. These two were condemned and executed, although the highest interest was made to save their lives. Six of the insurrectionists were also condemned, of which number three suffered. There were no more insurrections during the life of Cromwell.

That life, like a brilliant sunset in a stormy sky, has its parting glories. The foreign policy of the protectorate was triumphant. The alliance with France was not a mere pretext for combined action rendered impossible by national jealousies on our part. When the English troops landed at Boulogne the young King Louis XIV. came to review them. Lockhart, Cromwell's ambassador, said: "Sire, the protector has enjoined both officers and soldiers to display the same zeal in the service of your majesty, as in his own." The French government construed this too literally, and thought that England was to have an equal share of danger and expense, but a very disproportionate amount of advantage. The English were employed by France in securing fortresses in the interior, instead of in combined operations against Gravelines, and Mardike, and Dunkirk, on the coast, as stipulated by treaty. Cromwell was not a man to be duped. He ordered his ambassador to see that the treaty was carried out, or send the English troops home. Mazarin was not inclined to quarrel with the protector, and so Mardike was besieged, and delivered provisionally to the English general. The next spring, amid all his home distractions, Cromwell renewed the treaty of offensive alliance with France, and sent more troops. On the 25th of May Dunkirk was invested by the allied French and English army. Turenne was the commander. The town was defended by the Marquis of Leyden. Don John of Austria marched from Brussels with a Spanish force to drive back the besiegers. Condé was with this army, and also the Dukes of York and Gloucester. The Spaniard persisted in giving battle, against the advice of Condé. "Did you ever see a battle fought?" said Condé to the young Duke of Gloucester. He had not. "Well, you will soon see a battle lost." The English, commanded by Lockhart, fought for four hours, and carried the most difficult posts. They were often opposed to their own countrymen, headed by the Duke of York. This battle on the Dunes was a complete victory. On the 25th of June Dunkirk surrendered, and the town was placed in the hands of the English. It was a compensation for the loss of Calais, as the nation thought. To have a footing on foreign ground was a proud thing for England—a mistaken pride, but not an impolitic one in those days. Dunkirk was an English garrison till—but it is unnecessary to anticipate the coming time of national degradation.

Triumphant abroad, freed from insurgents at home, Cromwell again looked toward a parliament. Were the popular desires for monarchy to be gratified by a change of name? Was the nation to accept the subtle argument of Lord Broghill, "There is at present but a divorce between the pretending king and the imperial crown of these nations, and we know that persons divorced may marry again; but if the person be married to another, it cuts off all hope." Such might have been the protector's thoughts, until something more absorbing than worldly power or dignity obtruded itself to make him as anxious and wretched as the lowliest of those he ruled. His daughter, Lady Claypole, was dying. In every domestic relation, son, husband, father, we see the tenderness of this man's nature. In 1648 his eldest son was killed in battle. There is not a trace of the father's sorrow in any letter or memorandum of the time, till the new affliction calls up bitter remembrances out of their sacred depths. Lady Claypole died on the 6th of August, her father having been fourteen days watching by her bedside at Hampton Court, "unable to attend to any public business whatever." A few days after, says Harvey, groom of his bed-chamber, "he called for his Bible, and desired an honorable and godly person there, with others present, to read unto him that passage in Philippians fourth: 'Not that I speak in respect of want: for I have learned, in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content. I know how to be abased, and I know how to abound: everywhere and in all things I am instructed both to be full and to be hungry, both to abound and to suffer need. I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me.' Which read, said he, to use his own words as near as I can remember them, 'This Scripture did once save my life, when my eldest son died; which went as a dagger to my heart, indeed it did.'" A few months before Cromwell had lost his son-in-law, Rich; and then Rich's grandfather, the earl of Warwick, the protector's one constant friend among the nobility, also died. Oliver's stout heart was sorely bowed down by public cares and private griefs. He roused himself, however, and was out again at his duties. George Fox tells us something about the protector's looks, at this season, soon after the time when London was gay with ambassadors extraordinary from France; and Mazarin's nephew was there to assure the protector of the profound veneration his uncle had for him—"the greatest man that ever was." The day was past for pomps and flatteries. "Taking boat I went to Kingston," says Fox, "and from thence to Hampton Court, to speak with the protector about the sufferings of Friends. I met him riding into Hampton Court Park; and before I came to him, as he rode at the head of his life-guards, I saw and felt a waft of death go forth against him; and when I came to him, he looked like a dead man. After I had laid the sufferings of Friends before him, and had warned him according as I was moved to speak to him, he bade me come to his house. So I returned to Kingston; and the next day went up to Hampton Court, to speak further with him. But when I came, Harvey, who was one that waited on him, told me the doctors were not willing that I should speak with him. So I passed away, and never saw him more." On the 24th of August Cromwell left Hampton Court for Whitehall. Ten days of acute suffering, and then the end.

On the 30th of August a mighty storm of wind filled the land with dismay. There is deeper cause for alarm to most men, for the protector is dying. What is to come next? By the Instrument of Government he is to name his successor. His eldest son, Richard, is an idle country gentleman, harmless, but somewhat incapable. Thurloe puts the question of succession to the dying man. There is a sealed-up paper in a certain place at Hampton Court. The paper is not to be found. On the night of the 2d of September the question is put again. The answer, faintly breathed out, was said to be "Richard." That night, again one of terrible storm, was to usher in Cromwell's "Fortunate Day," the 3d of September, the anniversary of Dunbar and Worcester. The prince and soldier passed away, in a state of insensibilty, in the afternoon of that 3d of September. The prayer which he addressed to Heaven a night or two before his death has a consistent reference to his public life, in connection with his religious belief: "Lord, though I am a miserable and wretched creature, I am in covenant with thee through grace. And I may, I will, come to thee, for thy people. Thou hast made me, though very unworthy, a mean instrument to do them some good, and thee service; and many of them have set too high a value upon me, though others wish and would be glad of my death. Lord, however thou do dispose of me, continue and go on to do good for them. Give them consistency of judgment, one heart, and mutual love; and go on to deliver them, and with the work of reformation; and make the name of Christ glorious in the world. Teach those who look too much on thy instruments to depend more upon thyself. Pardon such as desire to trample upon the dust of a poor worm, for they are thy people too. And pardon the folly of this short prayer—even for Jesus Christ's sake. And give us a good night, if it be thy pleasure. Amen." At this time, "wherein his heart was so carried out for God and his people," says Harvey, "he seems to forget his own family and nearest relations." His last no-

tion—a wrong or right notion as men may differently conclude—was that he had been an instrument of good to England. The night before his death he said, "I would be willing to live to be further serviceable to God and his people: but my work is done. Yet God will be with his people."

CHAPTER CIV.

Richard Cromwell proclaimed protector—General calm upon his succession to power—Funeral of Oliver Cromwell—A parliament called—Different constitution of parliament—Conflicts between the republican leaders and the majority—Demands of the army—Richard Cromwell yields to their pretensions—He is compelled by the officers to dissolve the parliament—End of the protectorate—Assembly of the Long Parliament—Resolutions that the military power should be under the civil—Discussions as to the form of government—The Rota Club—Disunion of parties—Royalist insurrection—Sir George Booth defeated by Lambert—Petitions of the officers—The parliament, subjected to the army, ceases to sit—Committee of Safety—Monk in Scotland—Resolves to restore the parliament—Lambert sent against Monk—The parliament restored by the Council of Officers—Monk marches to London—Movements of the royalists—Disaffection in the city which Monk is ordered to suppress—His demand that a parliament shall be called—Popular exultation—Monk restores the secluded members—The measures of the parliamentary majority—Charles's court—The Long Parliament finally dissolved—Monk agrees to act for Charles—Lambert's insurrection—Meeting of the new parliament—The king's letter—Debates on the Bill of Indemnity—Charles the Second proclaimed—He lands at Dover—His entry into London.

The death of Oliver Cromwell was followed by no popular agitation—scarcely by any immediate demonstration of party dissensions. The council was summoned. Evidence was given of the verbal declaration of the protector that his son Richard should be his successor. Fleetwood, the lieutenant-general of the army, was thought by some to have been nominated to the succession in the paper which could not be discovered; but he gave his pledge to respect the appointment of Richard. On the 4th of September the new protector was solemnly proclaimed, and he took the oath contained in the instrument of government. The ready acceptance by the nation of the son of the late ruler offers a proof that, during the contests of the protectorate, its power had been gradually consolidating, and that the great name of the protector remained as a shield for the weakness of his son. Richard was weak in all the essential qualities necessary for preserving an authority as legitimate not recognized by many. Mrs. Hutchinson describes him as "a peasant in his nature, yet gentle and virtuous, but became not greatness." If, yielding to the flattering idea of hereditary succession, his father had really nominated him, that nomination must have been against his own previous convictions of his eldest son's unfitness for government. On the contrary, his son Henry had displayed very high qualities as lord-lieutenant of Ireland. He had shown firmness with conciliation; he had kept the land at peace and in subjection to the laws. Yet the accession of Richard Cromwell, if it excited no confidence in the people, produced no distrust. They saw a quiet and unambitious young man quietly take his father's seat; they scarcely thought that the mild indifference of authority may be more dangerous than its severe watchfulness. Abroad, the royalists were vexed and surprised at the calm in England. Hyde thought there would be great changes: "I cannot believe," he writes, "that all will submit to the government of this young coxcomb." Henrietta Maria, however, doubted whether any great advantages would accrue from "the death of that wretch," as she writes to Madame de Motteville. Three months after that important event Hyde almost lost heart: "We have not yet found that advantage by Cromwell's death as we reasonably hoped; nay, rather, we are the worse for it, and the less esteemed, people imagining by the great calm that has followed that the nation is united, and that the king has very few friends." Foreign governments readily gave their adherence to the commonwealth. The court of France put on mourning to do honor to Oliver's memory. Nevertheless, "the great calm" was gradually becoming disturbed. Within six weeks of his accession a body of officers, headed by Fleetwood, presented a petition to Richard for such organic changes in the military constitution as would have placed all control of the army out of his hand. He mildly but firmly refused his assent, as contrary to the "Petition and advice" on which the protectorate was founded. Henry Cromwell saw the coming danger, and wrote to his brother, "I thought those whom my father had raised from nothing would not so soon have forgot him, and endeavor to destroy his family before he is in his grave." Richard was not only harassed by the ambition of the officers, but had to encounter the greatest peril of governments, financial difficulties. His father had left no wealth—contrary to the belief of most persons. He had higher thoughts than those of making his family rich. Richard was soon embarrassed, the more so as the pompous funeral of the late protector absorbed all his immediate resources, and left him greatly in debt. That funeral was deferred till the 23d of November. The preparations for this public solemnity were upon an extravagant scale, utterly unsuited to the simple grandeur which the protector had affected in his lifetime. Evelyn has briefly described this ceremonial: "Saw the superb funeral of the protector. He was carried from Somerset House on a velvet bed of state, drawn by six horses, housed with the same; the pall held by his new lords; Oliver lying in effigy, in royal robes, and crowned with a crown, sceptre, and globe, like a king. The pendants and guidons were carried by the officers of the army; the imperial banners, achievements, etc., by the heralds in their coats; a rich caparisoned horse, embroidered all over with gold; a knight of honor armed cap-a-pied; and, after all, his guards, soldiers, and innumerable mourners." Evelyn adds, in this equipage they proceeded to Westminster: but it was the joyfullest funeral I ever saw; for there were none that cried but dogs, which the soldiers hooted away with a barbarous noise, drinking and taking tobacco in the streets as they went. Ludlow, speaking with similar contempt of this pageantry, says, of the lying in state, "This folly and profusion so far provoked the people that they threw dirt in the night on his escutcheon that was placed over the great gate of Somerset House."

In the middle of November Thurloe wrote to Henry Cromwell that when the funeral was over the council would begin business, "if troubles do not begin before." The council met on the 29th, and resolved on calling a parliament. It was not to be such a parliament as Oliver had called. The old representative system was to be restored. Small and decayed boroughs, which had been disfranchised, were again to elect burgesses. Commercial towns, such as Manchester, which had grown into importance, were again to cease to have members. The loss of ancient privileges by petty communities had given more offence than the gain of new franchises by large sections of the people had afforded satisfaction. The government strove as much as possible to exclude the republicans from parliament; but it was not successful to a great extent. Many in the service of the government obtained seats. The royalists influenced many of the elections, but few declared royalists offered themselves as candidates. The parliament, which met on the 29th of January, appeared to contain more moderate men than violent partisans. There was nothing in its composition to indicate that the protectorate would become insecure through legislative action. The Lords, or Upper House, were summoned by the protector's writ, as the Lords of Oliver had been summoned. The members of both houses were required to take the oath to the government. Some few republicans refused, and did not take their seats. Ludlow, and probably others, evaded the oath; and, after some dispute, were permitted to sit. The passions of various factions soon manifested themselves. A bill having been proposed "for a recognition of the protector," no dislike was exhibited toward Richard Cromwell. On the contrary, even the strong republicans spoke kindly of him: "If you think of a single person, I would have him sooner than any man alive," said Scott, one of the most violent against the late protector. But the republicans came back to their old assertion of the right of parliament alone to exercise the government, as it had been exercised before the dissolution of the Long Parliament. By that action, said Vane, they lost their possession, not their right. "The chief magistrate's place was assumed without a law." It was dangerous to confess a title in being that was not of their own giving, maintained Vane. After long and violent debates, the bill for the recognition of the protector was passed. The royalists looked on rejoicingly at these conflicts, believing that they would end in confusion. There was still greater disagreement when the question came to be debated, whether there should be two houses. The Commons voted that the parliament should consist of two houses; but then proceeded to discuss the bounds and powers of the other house. After weeks of debate it was resolved, by a con-

siderable majority, that the house would treat with the persons now sitting in the other house, as a house of parliament; and that such peers as had been faithful to the parliament might be summoned to serve as members of that house. The republicans and the royalists were beaten.

But, however triumphant at Westminster, as to these material points, there was a power yet unpropitiated, which Oliver could control, but which was wholly unmanageable by the gentle hand of Richard. Soon after his accession he said to the officers who came to him with a petition, "It is my disadvantage that I have been so little among you, and am no better known to you." He now began to feel how great was this disadvantage. There were some regiments, commanded by his friends, of whose fidelity the young protector had no doubt. The armies of Scotland and Ireland were equally faithful. But the violent sectarian soldiers disliked his moderation. He was threatened by Desborough that the army would desert him if he attempted to conciliate the royalists. It was objected against him that he preferred others beside "the godly." The parliament and the army were secret antagonists. Their mutual hostility soon became manifest. Looking merely at their legislative influence, it was no serious evil that the most signal strokes of the policy of the late protector had been condemned by the few republican members; that they reprobated the peace with the Dutch, the alliance with France, the war with Spain. They were insensible to the real triumphs of Oliver; they were indifferent to the high position in which he had placed his country among the nations. They made no allowance for the difficulties he had experienced in restraining contending factions at the least expenditure of blood. They hated the participation of one single person in the power of a parliament; and that hatred made them little careful to avoid the old strifes. But there was serious danger when the army fell in with this humor, and saw with jealousy a majority of the parliament inclined to peace and moderation. Richard indiscreetly consented to the appointment of a general council of officers. Five hundred assembled at Wallingford House. A violent test was proposed, which was indeed laid aside, but they came to resolutions which aimed at separating the command of the army from the civil power. The parliament soon saw its danger. A member, Lord Falkland, said, "You have been a long time talking of three estates; there is a fourth which, if not well looked to, will turn us all out of doors." The House of Commons then voted that no general council of officers should be held without permission of the protector and the parliament; and that every officer should sign an engagement that he would not disturb the free meetings or proceedings of parliament. Richard was urged to be firm. He went among the officers at Wallingford House, and told them that he would see their complaints righted in parliament, but that he dissolved their council. The council obstinately continued to sit. Those officers who were devoted to the protector urged him to adopt some strong measure. Richard shrank from the responsibility: "I have never done anybody any harm," he exclaimed, "and I never will; I will not have a drop of blood spilt for the preservation of my greatness, which is a burden to me." Broghill and Howard and other faithful friends saw that one course alone was possible to avert military despotism or anarchy—to restore the legitimate king. Richard himself was solicited to assist in this object; but he refused to forsake the cause to which he was committed. It was soon manifest that the power of the protector was coming to an end. His brother-in-law Fleetwood, his relative Desborough, deserted him. The few officers who were faithful were abandoned by their men. Desborough came from St. James's to Whitehall—from St. James's, where the whole army was ordered to rendezvous, to Whitehall, where Richard had been deserted by his own guards—and demanded that the parliament should be dissolved. Richard at length yielded, making it a condition that he should not be required to dissolve the house in person. An ordinance was issued, which Fiennes, as commissioner of the great seal, was ordered to communicate to parliament. On the 22d of April the Commons were summoned to the Upper House. Very few went. Those who remained behind passed various resolutions, violent in proportion to their impotence. In the evening a proclamation for dissolving the parliament was issued, and upon the doors of the House of Commons padlocks were fastened. The army was supreme, with no master-mind to direct its supremacy.

With the fall of the parliament fell Richard Cromwell. "His Highness," wrote Thurloe to Lockhart, "is now excluded from having any share in the government, and must retire as a private gentleman." He still continued to reside at Whitehall. But all real government was at an end. The army became insubordinate. All power of directing the affairs of the nation seemed lost. In this emergency the officers and the republican leaders of the Commons coalesced, and it was determined to restore the Long Parliament. After much difficulty forty-two of the old members were gathered together; and that anomalous authority commenced, which was destined ignominiously to expire under the name of "The Rump." Richard Cromwell soon after left Whitehall. Henry Cromwell took no part in public affairs. The wife of Cromwell—the "domestic drudge," as she was called in the lampoons of the time—had made little provision for a transition from Whitehall to a plain country-house. The whole family passed into obscurity—humbled, but not disgraced.

A sufficient number of members of the Long Parliament having been assembled to form a house, "We went," says Ludlow, "to take our places, Mr. Lenthall, our speaker, leading the way; and the officers of the army lining the rooms for us, as we passed through the Painted Chamber, the Court of Requests, and the lobby itself, the principal officers having placed themselves nearest to the door of the Parliament House, every one seeming to rejoice at our restitution, and promising to live and die with us." Such promises are easily made and easily broken in revolutionary periods. The first step of the parliament was to appoint a committee of safety, and, subsequently, a council of state. The council was composed of soldiers and civilians, in nearly equal proportion. They were sincere and zealous men, faithful to their great idea of a republic, of which all the authority should abide in a parliament. But the theory of parliamentary supremacy soon reduced itself to the more practical question—which power should be supreme, the civil or the military? The parliament asserted its claims with resolute independence. Fleetwood was to be appointed commander-in-chief; "but instead of authorizing the lieutenant-general to grant commissions to such officers as should be appointed by the parliament, it was ordered that the said commissions should be subscribed by the speaker, and received from his hands; by which it was endeavored to bring the military sword under the power of the civil authority, as it ought to be in a free nation." Ludlow, who relates this, adds: "But observing that these things were greatly disliked by the officers, and knowing how much it imported the very being of our cause to maintain a good correspondence between the parliament and the army, I earnestly pressed the house not to insist upon the restrictions."* The parliament, however, was firm, and the officers submitted, though with an ill grace. The government was in the hands of men of decision and energy. Its foreign policy was conciliatory. It professed its desire for peace; and though abandoning somewhat of the high tone of Cromwell, it averted some immediate dangers by its moderation. But the people of England had no confidence in the stability of the dominion of this remnant of the parliament, which was a necessity during the civil war, but was unsuited to the monarchical traditions of the country, revived, to a certain extent, in the "something approaching to monarchy" of Oliver. The ultimate form of government was a constant matter of debate within the house. Beyond its walls every theory of the perfection of a commonwealth was anxiously discussed. Harrington, who had twelve years before been "disputing about government" with Charles I., was now disputing "daily at coffee-houses." In 1659, writes Aubrey, "at the beginning of Michaelmas time, he had every night a meeting at the Turk's Head, in the New Palace Yard, where they take water—the next house to the stairs, at one Miles's—where was made purposely a large oval table, with a passage in the middle for Miles to deliver his coffee. About it sate his disciples and the virtuosi." The arguments in the Parliament House were, to Aubrey, "flat" by comparison with this talk of the "virtuosi," who had a balloting-box, and balloted "how things should be carried"—how "the third part of the house should rote out by ballot every year, so that every ninth year the house would be wholly altered—no magistrate to continue above three years, and all to be chosen by ballot." Pepys

* "Memoirs," p. 360.

went to Harrington's Club in January, 1660, "and heard very good discourse." The parliament continued debating, with real dangers all around. The greatest danger was in its own divisions. "Parties are like so many floating islands, sometimes joining and appearing like a continent; when the next flood or ebb separates them; so that it can hardly be known where they will be next." *

As the natural result of this disunion, a royalist insurrection was organized. The old cavalier party in England had been wholly inactive since the death of Oliver. The probability is that if the hand of Richard had been sufficiently strong to have held the army in due subordination to the civil authority, and the parliament could thus have proceeded in its duties without molestation, the country would have gradually settled down under a government which afforded security for property, and continued stability for the various interests that had acquired a firm footing during ten years. But under the disunited republicans who had obtained possession of power the restoration of Charles the Second became a fixed idea that gradually took possession of many minds besides those of the more devoted royalists. The impatience of the king's adherents was the most likely source of injury to the king's cause. This impatience was for some time kept down by the prudence of Hyde. But a general plan of insurrection was at length completed in July. The parliament obtained a knowledge of the project, and took the most active measures of precaution. Charles and his brother James met at Calais, with the intention of proceeding to England. But the chief leaders of the proposed insurrection were intimidated, and the royalists saw that the time for united action was not yet come. Sir George Booth had, however, appeared in arms in Cheshire, on the 1st of August. In a few days he was at the head of several thousand men, and had obtained possession of the citadel of Chester. Large additional forces were immediately raised by the parliament; and their command was intrusted to Lambert. He left London at the head of an adequate force, and marched rapidly to Chester. The defeat of Sir George Booth and his party was complete. The royalist cause appeared again to be hopeless. Lambert returned to London at a very slow pace. The parliament had voted him a thousand pounds to buy a jewel; but he came not to receive their thanks in person. He was preparing, in concert with officers in London, to dispute their authority. A petition had been presented to the house from the officers under his command. It was to repeat certain demands for the appointment of general officers, which had been proposed before the parliament had been restored. The house now voted against the prayer of the petition. Other meetings of officers were held, and another petition was resolved upon. These movements were evidently preparations for a rupture between the two powers of the state. The quarrel became serious. Lambert, Desborough, and other officers were dismissed from their posts, and Fleetwood was removed from his command of the army. On the 13th of October Westminster was surrounded by troops upon whose fidelity the parliament relied. Lambert boldly marched thither at the head of his regiment. A conflict appeared likely to take place; but Lambert addressed the troops, and they quickly went over to him. Lenthall, the speaker, was stopped by the soldiers, who laughed at him when he said that he was their chief general. There was a conference between the civil and military members of the council of state, which ended in a resolution that the parliament should cease to sit, and that the maintenance of the public tranquillity should rest with the council of officers.

The committee of safety appointed by the army began to exercise the functions of administration on the 23d of October. On the 30th the French ambassador writes to Mazarin, "There is as yet no government established in England, notwithstanding the attempts which have been made for some days by the leaders of the army, and some ministers of the council of state, to agree to one. . . . The conjuncture seems favorable for all sorts of enterprises." † There was one, far distant from the scene of confusion, who was watching what this conjuncture would bring forth. George Monk, "the sly fellow," as Cromwell termed him, was courted by the republican leaders, civil and military; but he gave no signs of adhesion to any faction. His army in Scotland was entirely devoted to him. Like its commander, that army had no great sympathy with the movements of the soldiers in London. The royalists had long been making efforts to engage Monk in their cause. But Monk would not stir at the invitation of any party. Charles himself wrote to Monk, and the letter was placed in the hands of Monk's brother, a humble clergyman. He was afraid to be the bearer of it; but he committed it to memory, and proceeded to his brother's headquarters at Dalkeith. Booth's insurrection was known; and Monk was about to take some decided resolve. The news of Booth's defeat by Lambert arrived, and Monk was saved from a premature declaration against the parliament. His soldiers had thought that their general was the man to fill the void occasioned by the death of Cromwell; but he was too cautious to risk this perilous advancement. When he believed the opportunity had passed for taking any steps to restore the Stuarts, he sent a letter to the speaker, Lenthall, asking to retire from public life. The letter was suppressed by Lenthall; and soon afterward the parliament was ejected. Monk immediately took his resolution. He addressed the troops at Edinburgh; told them that the army in England had broken up the parliament, to hinder the settlement of the nation; that they would next attempt to impose their insolent extravagances upon the army in Scotland; and that he was resolved to keep the military power in obedience to the civil; they had received their pay and commission from the parliament, and it was their duty to defend it. He wrote letters to declare his intentions to Lambert and Fleetwood, and to the speaker, Lenthall. He cashiered those officers who opposed his views, which were expressly limited to a resistance to military tyranny in England. To every approach of the royalists he was inflexibly cold and distant. In London the determination of Monk produced the greatest alarm among the factions. Their views were vacillating and discordant. At one time they thought of recalling Richard Cromwell to the protectorship. They finally resolved to send a deputation to Monk to effect a reconciliation, and if that failed, to proceed to a trial of strength in battle. Lambert was appointed commander of the troops in the north. More soldiers were raised in London; and a loan from the city was asked of the common council. It was refused. The commissioners sent to Monk executed their commission, and represented to him the dangers which surrounded his course. He called a council of his officers; and it was agreed that three commissioners should proceed to London to negotiate with the army there. Monk had given them instructions to endeavor to gain time; but, contrary to his instructions, they had, in three days, concluded a treaty with the committee of safety, by which the government was left in the administration of a council of officers, no provision was made for the recall of the parliament, and Monk's own appointment of officers was to be revised. Great indignation was excited in Monk's army, and it was resolved that the treaty should not be ratified. Nine members of the old council of state that had been thrust from office by the army now resolved to make common cause with Monk. He had marched to Berwick, with six thousand infantry and four regiments of cavalry. He now fixed his head-quarters at Coldstream, where he could easily cross the Tweed. He had written to the common council of London, to declare his intentions; and he was proclaimed as a deliverer by some members of the old council of state. The people were universally discontented, refusing to pay taxes, and shouting for a free parliament. The fleet, under the command of Admiral Lawson, declared that they would obey no authority but that of a parliament. The various leaders, civil and military, were fiercely quarrelling. Some even of the republicans talked of the restoration of the king. At last it was resolved to call a new parliament. On the 15th of December a proclamation was issued, summoning a parliament to meet on the 24th of January. The country was under no law but that of the tyranny of detached bands of soldiers, roving about at free quarters. Mrs. Hutchinson has described a scene to which there were probably many parallels—outrages that went on, "till the law was again in force:"

"Six of Lambert's troopers came to gather money, laid upon the country by an assessment of parliament, whom the colonel telling that in regard it was levied by that authority, he had paid it, but otherwise would not; two of them, who only were in the room with the colonel, the rest being on horseback in the court, gave him such insolent terms with such insufferable reproaches of the parliament that the colonel drew a sword which was in the room to have chas-

* Letter of 3d June, quoted in Guizot's "Richard Cromwell," vol. i. p. 183.

† Guizot, Appendix 1, vol. ii.

tised them. While a minister that was by held the colonel's arm, his wife, not willing to have them killed in her presence, opened the door and let them out, who presently ran and fetched in their companions in the yard with cocked pistols. Upon the bustle, while the colonel having disengaged himself from those that held him, was run after them with the sword drawn, his brother came out of another room, upon whom, the soldiers pressing against a door that went into the great hall, the door flew open, and about fifty or sixty men appeared in the hall who were there upon another business. For Owthorpe, Knolton, and Hitchin had a contest about a cripple that was sent from one to the other; but at last, out of some respect they had for the colonel, the chief men of the several towns were come to him, to make some accommodation, till the law should be again in force. When the colonel heard the soldiers were come he left them shut up in his great hall, who by accident thus appearing, put the soldiers into a dreadful fright. When the colonel saw how pale they looked he encouraged them to take heart, and calmly admonished them of their insolence; and they being changed and very humble through their fear, he called for wine for them, and sent them away. To the most insolent of them he said, 'These carriages would bring back the Stuarts.' The man, laying his hand upon his sword, said, 'Never while he wore that.' Among other things, they said to the colonel, when he demanded by what authority they came, they showed their swords, and said, 'That was their authority.'"

The necessity for some immediate authority beyond that of the council of officers at length became manifest to the army in London. It was resolved to restore the expelled parliament. The generals saw that their power was gone. Fleetwood sent the keys of the House of Commons to Lenthall; and on the 26th of December forty members, with the speaker at their head, again entered this house, the scene of so many strange transactions, while groups of soldiers shouted their approval, in the torchlight which glared upon anxious faces of men who had more natural fears than reasonable hopes. A contest took place the instant Lenthall had taken the chair. Twenty-three of the members who had been excluded in 1648 demanded admittance, as they had previously demanded on the 7th of May. The house resolved to take the business of the absent members into consideration on the 5th of January. They withdrew to abide their time. Lambert was at Newcastle, and Monk at Coldstream. But Fairfax, who had been in correspondence with Monk, assembled his friends and dependants, and some of Lambert's officers joined him with their men. He entered York and was welcomed by the cavaliers of that city. Lambert marched to attack Fairfax, and Monk crossed the Tweed to support him. At Wooler, Monk received a cold letter from the parliament that had recommenced its sittings; and he learned that Lambert's troops had been ordered to return to their several quarters. When he reached Newcastle he found Lambert's army disbanded. He went on to York, and saw Fairfax. But he maintained a strict reserve as to his future plans; and he struck an officer with his cane who said that Monk would bring in Charles Stuart. The royalists abroad were perplexed. The republicans in London were suspicious. Monk sent forward his chaplain, Gumble, to express his opinions to the parliament on certain important points of administration. Gumble wrote to Monk some truths as to the character of the parliamentary leaders: "The prevailing and governing influence of the parliament is reduced into the hands of a few and inconsiderable persons—either harebrained and hot-headed fools, or obscure and disregarded knaves." They talked of sending the prudent and trimming Whitelocke to the Tower, and voted that the enthusiastic and honest Vane should cease to be a member of the house. Their chief thought was to propitiate Monk. He had taken his determination to march to London—with what ultimate purpose beyond that of asserting the power of civil government was uncertain. He left many of his troops in York, and others he sent to Scotland. With four regiments of foot and three of horse he went on, amid popular acclamations. But he would enter into no promises or make any special demonstration. He was but a servant, he said, of the parliament, and all great questions must be left to the parliament. He was suspected by the two commissioners that the house had sent to him; but his wariness eluded all their curiosity, even while he was receiving agents from the royalists abroad. On the 28th of January he sent from St. Alban's a letter to the speaker, pointing out the necessity that the troops in and near London should be removed—it was not for their service that the soldiers who had been so lately in rebellion against the parliament should mingle with his faithful troops. His proposals were agreed to, "partly from some sparks of hope that Monk could not be such a devil as to betray a trust so freely reposed in him." *

The royalists, meanwhile, were far from inactive. Some who had lived quietly under the rule of Oliver, and had not stirred while the government which had succeeded him was confined within some limits of legal order, now moved, however cautiously, to bring about the restoration of the ancient monarchy. Such was Evelyn. On the 22d of January he writes in his diary, "I went this afternoon to visit Colonel Morley." Morley was one of the commissioners appointed by the Long Parliament to the command of the army; and he was faithful to his trust, when Lambert, on the 13th of October, was proceeding to Westminster to dissolve the parliament, for Morley met him, pistol in hand, and said he would shoot him if he did not go back, upon which threat Lambert went another way. Evelyn first approached Morley by sending him a tract he had written, entitled "An Apology for the Royal Party;" and he afterward addressed a letter to him, exhorting him, by the remembrance of their ancient friendship, to aid "in restoring us to our ancient known laws, native and most happy liberties." † Morley, in January, 1660, was lieutenant of the Tower of London: "I went this afternoon to visit Colonel Morley. After dinner I discoursed with him; but he was very jealous, and would not believe that Monk came in to do the king any service. I told him he might do it without him, and have all the honor. He was still doubtful, and would resolve on nothing yet, so I took leave." Evelyn, four months after, writes: "O the sottish omission of this gentleman! What did I not undergo of danger in this negotiation to have brought him over to his majesty's interest, when it was entirely in his hands." On the 3d of February Monk entered London. For two days the capital had been in uproar. The regiments that had been ordered to march had refused to obey. The apprentices were parading the city in formidable bands, crying out for "a free parliament." Pepys, the most amusing of diarists, presents us many glimpses of events through the "blanket of the dark" which the graver historians pass over. On the 25th of January a gibbet is set up in Cheapside, and "the picture of Hewson hung upon it in the middle of the street"—Hewson, the shoemaker-lord, that Warwick would not sit with. People, in the midst of their alarms, eat and drink as usual; and Pepys' wife, on the 26th, "had got ready a very fine dinner." On the 30th he records: "This morning, before I was up, I fell a singing of my song, 'Great, good and just,' and put myself thereby in mind that this was the fatal day, now ten years since, his majesty died." Montrose's lines were probably in the minds of other royalists on that anniversary. On the 2d of February he saw the Strand full of soldiers, and "saw the foot face the horse and beat them back, and stood bawling and calling in the street for a free parliament and money." The next morning the soldiers were all quiet. Pepys saw Monk march in. "In his passing through the town he had many calls to him for a free parliament, but little other welcome." He was lodged in Whitehall. The troops who came to preserve order were not very orderly. On the 7th Pepys writes, "In the palace I saw Monk's soldiers abuse Billing and all the Quakers, that were at a meeting-place there, and indeed the soldiers did use them very roughly, and were to blame." On the 9th Monk is gone to the city. There is arbitrary work there; but the calm progress of the law is uninterrupted, for Pepys hears "an action very finely pleaded in Westminster Hall." Monk went to the city by command of the parliament. It was believed in the house that the powerful general was wholly with them. The more obscure republicans were the leading spirits in the house. There was no commanding genius to call up a new and vigorous commonwealth out of the expiring embers of "the good old cause." The destinies of the nation were in the hands of the cold, sullen, impenetrable George Monk, who chewed his tobacco in ominous silence, opening his heart to no man. The lord mayor, aldermen, and common council of London had voted that they would pay no taxes but such as were imposed by a free parliament. The Council of State sent for Monk, and proposed that the common council should be for-

* Ludlow, "Memoirs," p. 816.
† Appendix to Evelyn's "Diary," No. II.

bidden to sit, the gates of the city broken down, the portcullises wedged up, and the chains across the streets removed. All the material means of resistance were to be destroyed. Monk said that he would do these things if they would give the order. "He added," says Ludlow, "that the disaffection of the city was so great that they would never be quiet till some of them were hanged." This ready consent of Monk to an unpopular act of violence may be doubted. However, on the morning of the 9th, before the citizens were awake, and the great shutters of the shops had been dropped down, Monk and his men were marching to the neighborhood of Guildhall. He explained his orders to his officers. Some remonstrated. "Will you not obey the orders of the parliament?" was his answer. The posts and chains were then attacked, amid the indignation of the people. A deputation of leading citizens came to him, to complain of the force thus used by those whom they thought their friends. He told them that his orders were to take down the gates as well as the chains, but that he would request the parliament to suspend the further execution of their commands. The parliament was indignant; sent an order to Monk to execute his instructions to the letter; ordered that the common council should be dissolved, and a new council elected, with such qualifications as parliament should dictate. The next morning Monk and his soldiers went to the completion of the work prescribed to them. In the evening of the 10th he returned to Whitehall. The slow man now came to a decisive resolution. He had seen the temper of the people, and he was prepared to defy those who claimed to be his masters. He called a council of his officers; and they agreed upon a letter to parliament, expressing the public grievances, and requiring them to satisfy the nation's just demands before a certain day. Early in the morning he and his army were on their way to the city; and the troops were halted in Finsbury Fields. Monk waited on the Lord Mayor; requested him to summon a meeting of the common council at four o'clock; and the civic dignitaries and the general and his officers sat down to dinner. Two members deputed by the house arrived to confer with Monk. His letter, which was of the boldest character, had thrown the parliament into consternation. He was urged to return to Whitehall. Monk's only reply was, "All will be well if you attend to the letter, and issue out your writs on Friday for filling up your house." Monk went to the common council and told them what he had done Guildhall resounded with cries of "God bless your Excellency!" The soldiers were feasted. The cry went forth throughout London of "Down with the Rump." Pepys has described, as none but an eye-witness could describe, the scene of that night: "In Cheapside there was a great many bonfires, and bowbells and all the bells in all the churches as we went home were a-ringing. Hence we went homeward, it being about ten at night. But the common joy that was everywhere to be seen! The number of bonfires, there being fourteen between St. Dunstan's and Temple Bar, and at Strand Bridge I could at one time tell thirty-one fires. In King Street seven or eight; and all along burning and roasting, and drinking for rumps. There being rumps tied upon sticks and carried up and down. The butchers at the May Pole in the Strand rang a peal with their knives when they were going to sacrifice their rump. On Ludgate Hill there was one turning of the spit that had a rump tied upon it, and another basting of it. Indeed it was past imagination, both the greatness and the suddenness of it. At one end of the street you would think there was a whole lane of fire, and so hot that we were fain to keep on the further side."

Charles and his court were at Brussels when the news reached them of these events in London. "They thought all their sufferings over," says Clarendon. And yet the best informed men in London, whether republican or royalist, could not penetrate the thick veil of Monk's real intentions. Aubrey, who lived a gossiping life in places of public resort, and had access to persons of influence, says of certain friends, "they were satisfied that he [Monk] no more intended or designed the king's restoration, when he came into England, or first came to London, than his horse did." Sir Henry Vane, after the menacing letter had been written to the parliament, said to Ludlow, that "unless he were much mistaken, Monk had yet several masks to put off." Ludlow went to see him in the city, and after much discourse Monk exclaimed, "Yea, we must live and die together for a commonwealth." Whatever were his real intentions, he maintained his ascendency by the most earnest professions of fidelity to the republican party and their opinions. Yet his actions were more than doubtful. The house had twice resolved that the secluded members should not be admitted. Monk had determined the contrary. The infusion of so many of these who had been originally thrust out of parliament for the moderation of their opinions was the surest way to neutralize the power of the republican faction, who clung to authority with a tenacity that indicated their real weakness. Monk, on the 21st of February, sent an escort of his soldiers to accompany a body of the secluded members to the House of Commons, he having previously read them a speech, in which he formally declared for a commonwealth. When they took their seats the greatest heats were exhibited; and some of the republicans withdrew from the house. Seventeen of them went in a body to Monk, to demand his reasons for these proceedings. He protested his zeal to a commonwealth government; "and they then pressed him more home by demanding if he would join with them against Charles Stuart and his party?" He took off his glove, and putting his hand within Sir Arthur Haselrig's hand, he said, "I do here protest to you, in the presence of all these gentlemen, that I will oppose to the utmost the setting up of Charles Stuart, a single person, or a House of Peers." Ludlow, who records this, says that Monk then expostulated with them touching their suspicions, saying, "What is it that I have done in bringing these members into the house? Are they not the same that brought the king to the block? though others cut off his head, and that justly." The members thus restored by Monk were chiefly of that great Presbyterian body who had been ejected by the Independents, and who now expected that they should be strong enough, in the event of the restoration of the monarchy, to make terms for the establishment of their form of church government. They immediately became a majority in parliament; appointed Monk general-in-chief; formed a new council of state; and superseded sheriffs, justices of the peace, and militia officers, who were supporters of republican institutions. The covenant was again to be promulgated; the confession of faith of the assembly of divines to be adopted; the penal laws against Catholics, which Cromwell rarely put in force, were to be called into full vigor. The tendencies of some of the members toward monarchy were still very feebly indicated. Uncertainty everywhere prevailed, while the man who had the power of the sword was well known to have no fixed principles of politics or religion—was more greedy of wealth than excited by any daring ambition—and would only declare himself by some irrevocable action when he had made up his mind as to the probable success and permanency of king or commonwealth. On the 2d of March Pepys writes: "Great is the talk of a single person, and that it would now be Charles, George, or Richard. For the last of which my Lord St. John is said to speak high. Great also is the dispute now in the house, in whose name the writs shall run for the next parliament; and it is said that Mr. Prynne, in open house, said, 'In king Charles's!'" Admiral Montague had been appointed "general at sea," the republican Admiral Lawson being put aside. He was the patron of Pepys, and told him, on the 6th of March, that there were great endeavors to bring in the protector again, but that he did not think it would last long if he were brought in. Montague added, "No, nor the king neither—though he seems to think he will come in—unless he carry himself very soberly and well." How Charles carried himself was perfectly well known to his most zealous friends—even to those who themselves lived "soberly and well." When a proposal was made to Oliver Cromwell that Charles should marry his daughter, the protector objected his "debauched life" as an insuperable difficulty. The royalists, Presbyterian or Episcopalian, saw no such objection in the marriage of Charles with the State of England. Very curious combinations of men long separated were now forming. Old faithful friends of his house were flocking to the king at Breda. Among them now and then appeared some country gentleman, whose clothes were of a soberer hue and a more English cut than those of Charles's habitual courtiers. These had discarded the love-locks of the cavaliers, their slashed doublets and flowing mantles, for the hideous periwigs and embroidered surtouts of the Parisian fashion. The staid royalist, who for some twenty years had seen no court costume, wondered at the metamorphosis; and might fancy that there was more sympathy between himself and the Puritan in neat and decorous habit of plain black—neat from the band to the shoe-tie—than the men in the ugliest of laced liveries, who

bent double when they approached their exiled prince, and then turned to Wilmot or Buckingham to laugh at the stalest jest or the newest scandal. Very tarnished were the gold and silver embroideries of the courtiers at Brussels, or Breda, or the Hague, in the early spring of 1660, when Englishmen from home gathered about them. "Their clothes were not worth forty shillings, the best of them," says Pepys. London soon sent money to the exiles, and Paris was ready to provide fineries of which the Louvre might have been proud. For there was a growing confidence that the commonwealth was fast coming to an end. Men, by a sort of instinctive feeling, were setting up the king's arms, and drinking the king's health, though Monk and his bands were still dominating in the city and at Whitehall. The Long Parliament was to terminate its sittings on the 16th of March. On the 13th that once formidable republican assembly voted that the oath of a member of parliament—to be "true and faithful to the commonwealth of England, as the same is now established, without a king or House of Lords"—should be abolished. On the 15th of March the popular sentiment was manifested at the Royal Exchange. A statue of Charles I. had been removed after the tragedy of the 30th of January, and in the niche where it stood was written, "Exit tyrannus, regum ultimus, anno libertatis Angliæ restitutæ primo, annoque Domini 1648." For twelve years few had ventured to affirm that "tyrant and the last of kings" were words of offence, or had asserted that the year 1648 was not the first year of the restored liberty of England. On the evening of the 15th of March a ladder was placed against this niche; soldiers stood around; a house-painter mounted the ladder, painted out the inscription, and waving his cap, shouted, "God bless King Charles the Second!" Again bonfires blazed in the streets. On the 16th of March the parliament met to vote their own dissolution, and England hoped that a long term of rest and security had been earned by the sufferings and changes of twenty years. Some few uplifted their voices against the inevitable event, and still clung to their faith in a commonwealth, to their assured belief that liberty and peace would be best maintained by the absolute authority of a "Grand or General Council of the Nation." This was Vane's opinion, having no misgivings for his past actions and no dread of his future lot, even though it were the hardest: "He had all possible satisfaction of mind as to those actions God had enabled him to do for the commonwealth, and hoped the same God would fortify him in his sufferings, how sharp soever, to bear a faithful and constant testimony thereto."* This was also his friend Milton's opinion: "What I have spoken is the language of that which is not called amiss, the good old cause: if it seem strange to any, it will not seem more strange, I hope, than convincing to backsliders: thus much I should, perhaps, have said, though I were sure I should have spoken only to trees and stones, and had none to cry to but with the prophet, 'O earth, earth, earth!' to tell the very soil itself what her perverse inhabitants are deaf to. Nay, though what I have spoke should happen (which Thou suffer not who didst create mankind free! nor. Thou next who didst redeem us from being servants of men!) to be the last words of our expiring liberty."†

The clouded determinations of Monk were very soon becoming more transparent. He had secretly received his cousin, Sir John Grenville, who had long sought an interview in vain, to deliver a letter from the king. He would write no letter in answer; but he intrusted Grenville to promise to Charles that he would be his devoted servant. Monk made no conditions, but he tendered some advice—that there should be a general amnesty, with only four exceptions; that the possessors of confiscated property should not be disturbed; that there should be liberty of conscience. Grenville repaired to the king at Brussels, where they met in secret. A more formal body of envoys from England now presented themselves to the king—a deputation of Presbyterians, who came to offer the same terms which had been proposed to his father in the Isle of Wight. The parliament was to have the control of the army; the civil war was to be declared lawful; new patents of nobility were to be annulled. Charles laughed in his sleeve. "Little do they think," he said, "that General Monk and I are upon so good terms." The Presbyterians believed that they alone had any chance of success. "Leave the game in our hands," they said to the cavaliers. They probably thought correctly that Charles was indifferent as to the form of worship under which England should be when he came to be king. But they knew that Hyde was devoted to the restoration of the Anglican Church, as a necessary consequence of the restoration of the monarchy. They wished that Hyde should be expelled from power or influence, and used the strongest arguments to induce the belief that the restoration could not be accomplished while he was a royal counsellor. In spite of their conviction of Monk's adhesion to their cause, the few to whom Charles had intrusted the secret of his correspondence with him still sometimes doubted. The French ambassador tried to obtain Monk's confidence. He would give no opinion as to the future government of England. That must be settled by the next parliament. Monk's real opinions were the less necessary to be disclosed; for all England was becoming impatient for the restoration. Old servants of the commonwealth—Broghill, and Thurloe, and Lenthall—offered to Charles their submission and their advice. The king, from mixed motives of indolence and prudence, suffered matters to proceed without committing himself to any party, or making any engagements for his future conduct. He yielded to Monk's advice in one particular. He left the Spanish Netherlands, and established himself at Breda.

In the midst of the apparent certainty of the restoration being at hand, a new cause of alarm suddenly arose. Lambert had been committed to the Tower when Monk's interest became predominant. He escaped on the 9th of April, and was speedily at the head of some soldiers who had revolted; and, marching through the midland counties, he called upon all to join him who would preserve the commonwealth. Monk sent Ingoldsby to encounter Lambert, and declared to Grenville that, if Lambert met with any success, he would no longer have any reservation, but act in the king's name and under his commission, to summon the royalists to arms. On the 22d of April Lambert and his men were met at Daventry by Ingoldsby's troops. A parley was proposed, but Ingoldsby refused any accommodation. The two armies had advanced close to each other, and the conflict seemed imminent, when Lambert's cavalry threw away their pistols, and their leader was quickly a prisoner. The last battle of the commonwealth had now to be fought at the hustings. The elections took place. A few of the old republicans were returned. Some members were elected who believed that the restoration of the monarchy could be effected, without losing any of the liberties which had been won since the days of Laud and Strafford. The greater number were men who were either led away by a fever of loyalty, or were indifferent to any reaction which would end the struggles and uncertainties of twenty years. It was impossible that a king thus restored amid a conflict of passions and prejudices—of old hatreds and new ambitions—should be forward to make any professions of public duty, or cherish any deep affection for the people he was to govern. It was fortunate that Charles was only a heartless voluptuary, and was too selfish in his craving for ease and pleasure to add the personal energy of the tyrant to the almost inevitable tyranny of those who believed that the king and the people could return to the same condition in which they were before Hampden refused to pay ship-money. The king's position with regard to the Church was, in a similar degree, under the control of the same spirit of indifference. Secretly a papist, openly a scoffer, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, or Independent might harass each other, so that Charles was quiet. He fancied himself most safe with those who professed to believe that his authority was divine, and that "Render unto Cæsar" meant, if rightly interpreted, Let Cæsar's will be the one law.

Five hundred and fifty-six members had been elected to the House of Commons, the greater number of whom took their seats on the 26th of April. Ten peers only met in the House of Lords on that day. Presbyterians and cavaliers looked suspiciously at each other; but the Presbyterians, more accustomed to act in union, manœuvred that one of their party should be elected speaker. The first business of both houses was to return thanks to Monk for his services, and the Lords voted that a statue should be erected in his honor. Colonel Ingoldsby also received the thanks of the Commons for his prompt action against Lambert. The house was not yet in the humor to forget the sound advice of Monk to the Lords when he returned them his thanks—"to look forward and not backward in transacting affairs." The cavaliers soon made the house and the nation understand that

* Ludlow, p. 828.

† "Ready and Easy Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth."

the day of a triumphant reaction was fast approaching. Their spirit spread among the moderate and independent: "Every one hoped in this change to change their condition, and disowned all things they had before advised. Every ballad-singer sang up and down the streets ribald rhymes, made in reproach of the late commonwealth."* The day after parliament met Sir John Grenville went to the sitting of the Council of State, and asked to speak with the lord-general. To his hands he delivered a packet sealed with the royal arms. Monk affected surprise and alarm, and it was decided that Grenville should be called in. He said that the packet had been intrusted to him by the king, his master, at Breda. The council resolved that the letters which Grenville brought should be delivered to the parliament. On the first of May Grenville appeared at the door of the Lower House, and being called to the bar presented a letter addressed "To our trusty and well beloved the Speaker of the House of Commons." He then went through the same formality at the House of Lords. With each letter was inclosed a document addressed to the whole nation—the Declaration from Breda.† Grenville then proceeded to the city, and presented a letter from the king addressed to the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council, which also contained the declaration. In all these papers, the composition of Hyde, there was little to alarm, and much to propitiate, the prudent and peaceful. The Commons were assured "upon our royal word—that none of our predecessors have had a greater esteem for parliaments than we have"—parliaments were "so vital a part of the constitution of the kingdom, and so necessary for the government of it, that we well know neither prince nor people can be, in any tolerable degree, happy without them." The declaration professed the king's desire "that all our subjects may enjoy what by law is theirs, by a full and entire administration of justice throughout the land." It declared "a free and general pardon to all our subjects"—excepting only such persons "as shall hereafter be excepted by act of parliament." All are invited to a perfect union among themselves. Deploring the existence of religious animosities, "we do declare a liberty to tender consciences; and that no man shall be disquieted, or called in question, for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom." All matters relating to the possession of estates "shall be determined in parliament." Both houses immediately applied themselves to prepare answers to the royal letters; declared that, "according to the ancient and fundamental laws of this kingdom, the government is, and ought to be, by King, Lords, and Commons;" voted fifty thousand pounds to the king as a gift;‡ and presented Grenville with five hundred pounds to buy a jewel. Commissioners from both houses were chosen to convey their answers to the king. Grenville preceded them with the best proof of loyalty and affection—four thousand five hundred pounds in gold, and a bill of exchange for twenty-five thousand pounds. Pepys tells us that Charles, when Grenville brought him the money, was "so joyful that he called the Princess Royal and Duke of York to look upon it, as it lay in the pormanteau before it was taken out."

On the 8th of May the two houses of parliament proclaimed Charles the Second King of England, Scotland, and Ireland, at Westminster, at Whitehall, and in the city. Although the king had not arrived, the restoration of the monarchy was completed. In a delirium of loyalty the convention parliament never thought of making conditions for the liberties of the country. Hale, the great judge, and Prynne, the learned lawyer, had ventured to propose a committee for considering what propositions should be made to Charles before the destinies of the country were irrevocably committed to his guidance. Monk opposed this. "I cannot answer for the peace either of the nation or of the army, if any delay is put to the sending for the king. What need is there of sending propositions to him? Might we not as well prepare them, and offer them to him when he shall come over? He will bring neither army nor treasure with him, either to fright or corrupt us." The house assented by acclamation. It rested the conservancy of all that the nation had won since the opening of the Long Parliament upon the flimsy foundation of the declaration from Breda. Bills were prepared, which were to be presented for the acceptance of the king, "when he shall come over." Magna Charta and the petition of right; privilege of parliament; pardon, indemnity, and oblivion—were words glibly used as if they were things of course. Bills were prepared for confirming purchases of property during the times of trouble; and for the abolition of knight service, the feudal tenure which was most obnoxious. But the real temper of this parliament was to be subjected to a severer test—the question of amnesty had yet to be settled. Monk had just protested that if he were to suffer any one to be excluded from such amnesty he would be the arrantest rouge that ever lived. Ashley Cooper had said to Hutchinson, "If the violence of the people should bring the king upon us, let me be damned, body and soul, if ever I see a hair of any man's head touched, or a penny of any man's estate, upon this quarrel." Ingoldsby had received the thanks of the Commons for recent services. He, and others who had signed the warrant for the king's execution, were members of the Commons. On the 9th of May the debate on the Amnesty Bill came on in both houses. The earl of Northumberland said that though he had no part in the death of the king, he was against questioning those concerned; "that the example may be more useful to posterity, and profitable to future kings, by deterring them from the like exorbitances." Fairfax, in a noble spirit of generosity, exclaimed, "If any man must be excepted, I know no man that deserves it more than myself; for I was general of the army at that time, and had power sufficient to prevent the proceedings against the king; but I did not think fit to make use of it to that end." Lenthall, the son of the famous speaker, provoked the house to tumult by boldly saying, "He that first drew his sword against the king committed as high an offence as he that cut off the king's head." The house at last voted as to the number of regicides to be excluded from the amnesty, and decided that seven should be excepted. But it also resolved that every one should be arrested who had sat upon the king's trial, and their property seized. Other arrests took place. Some who had labored best with Cromwell to uphold the honor of England, such as Thurloe, were impeached. The titles bestowed by the two protectors were annulled. Upon all great questions, political or religious, which affected the future safety and liberties of these nations, postponement was the ruling policy of the cavaliers. The Presbyterians, who were the first to aim at religious supremacy, began clearly to see that the day was fast approaching when they would regret the tranquillity they had enjoyed under the toleration of that ruler whom they had now agreed to declare a traitor.

The fortunes of Charles had so decidedly changed in the course of a little month that the foreign courts who had looked adversely or coldly upon him now embarrassed him with their rival professions of friendship. He was wisely advised not to be too forward to receive such civilities from France or from Spain as might compromise him in the future policy of England. The States of Holland invited him to take his departure from the Hague; and he arrived there from Breda on the 15th of May. Thither came the commissioners of the parliament; the town clerk of London, with aldermen and lesser dignitaries; deputations of the Presbyterian clergy; and a swarm of Englishmen of every variety of opinion, who wanted to prostrate themselves at the feet of power. Hollis, who had been one of the earliest leaders in the battle of the Long Parliament, was the orator on the part of the House of Commons. Their hearts, he said, were filled with veneration and confidence; their longings for their king, their desires to serve him, expressed the opinions of the whole nation—"lettings out of the soul, expressions of transported minds." Other lords had had dominion over them; but their hearts and souls did abhor such rulers, and ever continued faithful to their king. Anthony Ashley Cooper had civil words from Charles. Fairfax was received with kindness. The king made smooth speeches to the Presbyterians; but they obtained no satisfaction as to the future of England in the great question of religious union. No one, however, pressed hardly upon him. There were no strong words spoken, as

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* Mrs. Hutchinson's "Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 261.

† See note at the end of this chapter.

‡ "Of a tall stature, and of sable hue,
Much like the son of Kish, that lofty Jew;
Twelve years complete he suffered in exile,
And kept his father's assess all the while.
At length, by wonderful impulse of fate,
The people call him home to help the State:
And, what is more, they send him money too,
And clothe him all, from head to foot, anew."
ANDREW MARVELL.

the earlier race of Puritans would have spoken. Burnet, describing the general character of Charles, says, "He was affable and easy, and loved to be made so by all about him. The great art of keeping him long was the being easy, and the making everything easy to him." The modern phrase is "to make things pleasant;" and both phrases mean that there should be a large ingredient of falsehood in human affairs. Admiral Montague, who was to have the honor of receiving the king on board his ship, had long been in communication with him. The ship which carried the admiral's flag had an ugly name, the Naseby. On the 23d the king, with the Dukes of York and Gloucester, and a large train, came on board. "After dinner," says Pepys, who was now Montague's secretary, "the king and duke altered the name of some of the ships, viz., the Naseby into Charles; the Richard, James; the Speaker, Mary; the Dunbar (which was not in company with us), the Henry." Lady Fanshawe, who was on board, is in ecstasies: "Who can express the joy and gallantry of that voyage; to see so many great ships, the best in the world; to hear the trumpets and all other music; to see near a hundred brave ships sail before the wind with vast cloths and streamers; the neatness and cleanness of the ships, the gallantry of the commanders, the vast plenty of all sorts of provisions; but, above all, the glorious majesties of the king and his two brothers were so beyond man's expectation and expression."* The sky was cloudless, the sea was calm, the moon was at the full. Charles walked up and down the quarter-deck, telling all the wonders of his escape from Worcester—his green coat and his country breeches—the miller stopping his night walk—the innkeeper bidding God bless him. "He was an everlasting talker," writes Burnet; and his gossip among his new friends in this moonlight voyage gave some better promise than the cold dignity of his father, which many must have remembered. It was a merry trip; and Pepys chuckles over "the brave discourse," and especially the stories of "Thomas Killigrew, a merry droll, but a gentleman of great esteem with the king." On the morning of the 25th they were close to land at Dover, and every one was preparing to go ashore. "The king and the two dukes did eat their breakfast before they went, and there being set some ship's diet, they ate of nothing else but pease and pork and boiled beef"—a politic appetite, which no doubt won the favor of Blake's old sailors.

When Charles landed at Dover Monk was at hand to kneel before him—"to receive his majesty as a malefactor would his pardon"—says a biographer of the wary general. With a feeling that belonged to another time, the mayor of Dover presented the king with a Bible. "It is the thing that I love above all things in the world," said the ready actor, who knew his part without much study. The royal train went on to Canterbury. There Monk ventured beyond his usual caution, by presenting the king a list of seventy persons that he recommended for employments—men whose names stank in the nostrils of all cavaliers. Hyde, through Monk's confidential adviser, Morrice, made the general understand that such interference was unpleasant, and Monk quickly apologized after a very awkward attempt at explanation. Hyde was at Charles's side, and prevented him being too easy. Monk received a lesson; but he was consoled by the Order of the Garter being bestowed upon him.

On the 28th of May King Charles set out from Canterbury, and slept that night at Rochester. At Blackheath the royal cavalcade had to pass the army of the commonwealth. Thirty thousand men were there marshalled. Many of these veterans had fought against the family and the cause which was now triumphant. The name of Charles Stuart had been with them a name of hatred and contempt. They had assisted in building up and pulling down governments, which had no unity but in their determination to resist him who was now called to command them, with no sympathy for their courage, no respect for their stern enthusiasm. The great soldier and prince who had led them to so many victories had now his memory profaned by being proclaimed a traitor by a parliament that when he was living would have been humbled at his slightest frown. The procession passed on in safety; for the old discipline, that no enemy was ever able to prevail against in the battle-field, was still supreme in this pageant—this last harmless exhibition of that might through which the liberties of England had been won; through whose misdirection they were now imperilled.

* "Memoirs," p. 131.

Charles went on in the sight of all London to Whitehall—a wearisome procession, which lasted till nine at night, amid streets strewed with flowers, past tapestried houses and wine-spouting fountains; with civic authorities wearing chains of gold, and nobles covered with embroidered velvets; trumpets braying, mobs huzzaing. In this delirium of joy there was something beyond the idle shouts of popular intoxication. It was the expression of the nation's opinion that the government of England had at length a solid foundation upon which peace and security, liberty and religion, might be established.

NOTE. HIS MAJESTY'S DECLARATION FROM BREDA, TO ALL HIS LOVING SUBJECTS.

C. R.

CHARLES, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc. To all our loving subjects, of what degree or quality soever, greeting: If the general distraction and confusion which is spread over the whole kingdom doth not awaken all men to a desire and longing that those wounds, which have so many years together been kept bleeding, may be bound up, all we can say will be to no purpose; however, after this long silence, we have thought it our duty to declare how much we desire to contribute thereunto; and that as we can never give over the hope, in good time, to obtain the possession of that right which God and nature hath made our due; so we do make it our daily suit to the Divine Providence, that he will, in compassion to us and our subjects, after so long misery and sufferings, remit, and put us into a quiet and peaceable possession of that our right, with as little blood and damage to our people as is possible; nor do we desire more to enjoy what is ours, than that all our subjects may enjoy what by law is theirs, by a full and entire administration of justice throughout the land, and by extending our mercy where it is wanted and deserved. And to the end that the fear of punishment may not engage any, conscious to themselves of what is past, to a perseverance in guilt for the future, by opposing the quiet and happiness of their country, in the restoration both of king, peers, and people, to their just, ancient, and fundamental rights, we do, by these presents, declare, That we do grant a free and general pardon, which we are ready, upon demand, to pass under our great seal of England, to all our subjects, of what degree or quality soever, who, within forty days after the publishing hereof, shall lay hold upon this our grace and favor, and shall, by any public act, declare their doing so, and that they return to the loyalty and obedience of good subjects; excepting only such persons as shall hereafter be excepted by parliament, those only to be excepted. Let all our subjects, how faulty soever, rely upon the word of a king, solemnly given by this present declaration, That no crime whatsoever, committed against us or our royal father before the publication of this, shall ever rise in judgment, or be brought in question, against any of them, to the least endamagement of them, either in their lives, liberties, or estates, or (as far forth as lies in our power) so much as to the prejudice of their reputations, by any reproach or term of distinction from the rest of our best subjects; we desiring and ordaining, that henceforth all notes of discord, separation, and difference of parties be utterly abolished among all our subjects, whom we invite and conjure to a perfect union among themselves, under our protection, for the resettlement of our just rights and theirs, in a free parliament, by which, upon the word of a king, we will be advised. And because the passion and uncharitableness of the times have produced several opinions in religion, by which men are engaged in parties and animosities against each other (which, when they shall hereafter unite in a freedom of conversation, will be composed, or better understood), we do declare a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted, or called in question, for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom; and that we shall be ready to consent to such an act of parliament as, upon mature deliberation, shall be offered to us, for the full granting that indulgence.—And because, in the continued distractions of so many years, and so many and great revolutions, many grants and purchases of estates have been made to, and by, many officers, soldiers, and others, who are now possessed of the same, and who may be liable to actions at law upon several titles, we are likewise willing that all such differences, and all things relating to such grants, sales, and purchases, shall be determined in parliament; which can best provide for the just satisfaction of all men who are concerned.—And we do further declare, That we will be ready to consent to any act or acts of parliament to the purposes aforesaid, and for the full satisfaction of all arrears due to the officers and soldiers of the army under the command of General Monk, and that they shall be received into our service upon as good pay and conditions as they now enjoy. Given under our sign manual and privy signet, at our court at Breda, this 14th day of April, 1660, in the 12th year of our reign.

CHAPTER CV.

Statutes again present materials for history—Long Parliament declared to be dissolved—Tonnage and poundage—Excise—Knight service

and purveyance abolished—The army disbanded—Church livings—Church lands and crown lands—Act of Indemnity—Exceptions of the regicides, and of others—Executions—Insults to the dead—Episcopacy—King's declaration—Convention parliament dissolved—Anabaptist insurrection—Conferences at the Savoy—New parliament—Marriage of the Duke of York—Prerogatives of the crown—Corporation Act—Act of Uniformity.

We can once more open the ponderous "Statutes of the Realm," and therein find the most important materials for the history of the state and the history of the people. The last statute of Charles I. bears the date of 1640. The first statute of Charles II. bears the date of 1660. During these twenty years of civil war, and of the commonwealth, there were ordinances and acts of parliament which had the force of laws—many directed to temporary objects, but many, also, of permanent utility. Some of the statutes of the restored monarchy were founded upon these—often without the slightest reference to them. But occasionally, when a wise law of the Long Parliament, or of the protectorate, had become an established principle, it was recognized in a new statute, in which it was called "a pretended act." The royalist theory of the constitution was that there was no vitality in any legislative body not called into being by the crown—that all laws were a dead letter that had not received the assent of the crown. The royalists maintained that from the 30th of January, 1649, Charles the Second had been king *de facto* as well as king *de jure;* that although kept out of the exercise of his authority by traitors and rebels, he had been for twelve years the sole governor of England; that 1660 was the twelfth year of his reign, as the dates of acts of parliament, and of other instruments, set forth.* The parliament of the restoration, which was begun to be holden on the 25th of April, 1660—the Convention Parliament, as it is called—in their first statute declared the Long Parliament to be dissolved, and enacted that the Lords and Commons then sitting at Westminster were the two houses of parliament "notwithstanding any want of the king's majesty's writ or writs of summons." † They had recalled the legitimate heir of the crown; but this their first act virtually acknowledged that they had no constitutional power to do so. The next parliament, which was duly summoned by the king's writ, always termed this Convention Parliament "the last assembly;" for the second parliament was far more servile in its royalist fevor than the first; and many of its members regarded Charles Stuart simply as the heir who had come to take possession of his estate of England, together with five millions of people, his lawful chattels. In a few years this so-called loyalty put on more offensive shapes; and the people began to see that the old battle against arbitrary power had to be renewed, with the full benefit of a bitter experience.

The parliament of 1660, in the exuberance of its devotion, but not altogether unwisely, resolved to make such an ample provision for the executive power as should place it beyond the pretended necessity of raising money by unlawful means. They settled the yearly revenue of the crown at an amount considerably beyond the supplies voted to Charles I., and they voted the subsidy of tonnage and poundage for the term of the king's life. ‡ One stipulation, of great importance to the owners of landed property, was associated with this liberality of the Commons. When the king and the parliament came to the fatal issue of civil war in 1641, the feudal revenues of the crown were necessarily set aside. There was an end to the ancient claims of the crown upon tenures by knight-service, with all their oppressive conditions of fines for alienation, of forfeitures, and of wardship. There was an end, also, of the more generally obnoxious demands of purveyance. These relics of prerogative would have revived with the re-establishment of the monarchy. The parliament made a bargain to relieve the landed proprietors; but this bargain was completed at the expense of the commonalty. Charles surrendered the Court of Wards, and purveyance, and the Commons granted him and his successors the excise of beer and other liquors,* a tax first introduced during the civil war. It was originally a temporary tax. The two great sources of modern revenue were thus placed absolutely in the king's hands. Charles was rendered more independent of parliament for the ordinary expenditure of the crown than his father, or grandfather, or Elizabeth, had been. No one seems to have dreaded that the money destined in great part for the proper dignity of the sovereign, and the due administration of all executive authority, was likely to be wasted in the most unblushing profligacy. The character of the king, and the habits of his associates, were not unknown; but men deceived themselves into the belief that long years of exile and poverty would have taught their lessons of prudence and moderation; that adversity, "stern, rugged nurse," would have inspired some thoughts of honor and justice. But with Charles "self-pleasing folly's idle brood" had not been scared at adversity's frown. The house had voted an especial sum, to be raised by an especial mode of taxation, for disbanding the army. In his speech at the close of the session the king said, "I do promise you, which is the best way I can take to gratify you, I will not apply one penny of that money to my own particular occasions, what shift soever I make, till it is evident to me that the public will not stand in need of it." † He seems to think that there is something magnanimous in this declaration; that he might do what he liked with the sum which was considered as intrusted to him for a specific purpose, but that he would abstain from exercising his right of doing what he pleased with his own as a gracious condescension to "the public." In six years more the parliament discovered the value of his majesty's self-denial; and in the bill for a poll-tax introduced a clause that a commission should be appointed to inspect all the accounts of the money supplied and the expenses incurred during the war. Pepys records that in the lord treasurer's accounts there was a sum unaccounted for of more than two millions; and that it was thought that 400,000*l.* of the money voted for the war had gone into the privy purse. He then says that the notion of a commission to inspect the accounts "makes the king and court mad, the king having given order to my lord chamberlain to send to the play-houses and brothels, to bid all the parliament men that were there to go to the parliament presently." ‡ To the play-houses and brothels to search for the parliament men! The times were altered since they were to be sought for in the churches and conventicles.

At the period of the restoration, the army, which had been the instrument of effecting that great change, as it had effected so many other great changes, consisted of fifteen regiments of horse and twenty-two regiments of foot, besides garrisons. That army was supported by monthly assessments of seventy thousand pounds. An act was passed "for the speedy provision of money for disbanding and paying off the forces of this kingdom both by land and sea." § A contribution was to be raised from all ranks and degrees, under a commission in every county; and large sums were voted for the complete disbanding, in subsequent acts. ‖ The act for the speedy disbanding of the army and garrisons, and also for paying off twenty-five ships, ¶ was followed by "an act for enabling the soldiers of the army now to be disbanded, to exercise trades." This salutary statute provides that the disbanded men, who would willingly employ themselves in the trades they had formerly been accustomed to, or those who were apt and fit for trades, might exercise their employments in corporate cities and towns, without being restrained by any by-laws; and that those who had been apprenticed to trades, but had not served the seven years required by the statute of the 5th of Elizabeth, should be qualified to labor in their vocation as freely as if they had completed their legal term. The industry of the country absorbed this formidable army. It was composed of a higher order of men than were usually found in military service; and they

* "This had not been the usage of former times. Edward IV., Richard III., Henry VII., had dated their instruments either from their proclamation or at least from some act of possession."—Hallam.

† 12 Car. II. c. i.

‡ 12 Car. II. c. 4. The duties of tonnage and poundage, or, as we now term them, customs, as settled by the schedule of rates of merchandise in this statute, continued, with little variation, through the reigns of Charles II., James II., William III., and part of the reign of Anne. Reduced to one half, they continued till George III. had reigned twenty-seven years. This statute of the Convention Parliament was thus the foundation of that system of taxing at a separate rate the smallest as well as the largest article of merchandise—a system which embarrassed all commercial operations almost up to the present day. In the Table of Rates of 1660 there are about fourteen hundred articles of import upon which there is a varying duty. Looking at the value of money at that time, the duties were enormous, and their effect in retarding all manufacturing and commercial progress for half a century cannot be overestimated.

* 12 Car. II. c. 24.

† "Parl. Hist." vol. iv. p. 122.

‡ "Diary," December 8th, 1666.

§ 12 Car. II. c. 9.

‖ Ibid., c. 20, and c. 21.

¶ Ibid., c. 15.

became the most industrious of citizens as they had been the best disciplined of soldiers. The revenue assigned to the crown did not contemplate the continuance of any standing army; but Charles retained two regiments of horse in his pay, who were called his guards. Upon this narrow foundation was the present regular army of the United Kingdom established. In 1662 the king had five thousand troops in his service. A few years afterward he began to talk of making the Commons "a courageous speech," for that he was "master of an army." *

The great question of the Church Establishment was not brought forward in the Convention Parliament. The Presbyterian members were too strong in that assembly to render it safe to propose such a sweeping change as would again make the Anglican Church supreme in endowments and political power. Amid all the sectarian violence of the civil war and of the commonwealth, the legal provision for the clergy had never been disturbed, and the private rights of presentation to benefices had been uninterruptedly exercised. The pulpits were, indeed, for the most part filled with ministers of Puritan principles, Presbyterian or Independent; and the Liturgy, with the ceremonial observances connected with it, had been abolished. These ministers, although they were not encouraged to believe that the Presbyterian form, which had never been universal, would be adopted, hoped for some compromise that would insure them the quiet possession of their livings, and free them from any obligations repugnant to their consciences. "Because," said the king's declaration from Breda, "the passion and uncharitableness of the times have produced several opinions in religion, by which men are engaged in parties and animosities against each other (which, when they shall hereafter unite in freedom of conversation will be composed, or better understood), we do declare a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted, or called in question, for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom." In the Convention Parliament no attempt was made to contravene the spirit of this declaration. The imposition of the covenant upon all the beneficed clergy had ejected large numbers of conscientious men from their livings.† Seventeen years had intervened; and another large body of conscientious men, differing as to church government, had succeeded to the duties and emoluments of the Episcopal clergy. The parliament of 1660 enacted that all the ejected ministers who survived should be restored to their benefices, but without the right of claiming any past emoluments. By the same statute those who were in actual possession of those livings for which there was no claimant as previous possessor were confirmed in their titles. This measure, apparently so just, was in reality a delusion. Clarendon, the ruling minister of the first years of the restoration, although infinitely superior in honesty and ability to the profligate courtiers and unprincipled politicians with whom he was associated, seldom scrupled to "palter" with "the word of promise," when he had a long-cherished hope to realize, or a deliberate revenge to gratify.

The settlement of the Church Establishment was only one among the complicated questions that arose, of necessity, out of the restoration. Many of the crown lands and the church lands had been sold under the authority of the Long Parliament. The title seemed so safe that in many cases they had been sold at fifteen, and even eighteen years' purchase. A bill was brought in to determine this matter, which involved so many adverse interests. It was strenuously debated by the Commons, in 1660; and the only agreement that the house came to was, that the crown lands should be left out of the proposal for sales to be confirmed or indemnity to be given. One member declared himself against the purchasers of the crown lands by quoting a proverb that "He that eats the king's goose should be choked by its feathers." The house was disinclined to such an unconditional restoration of church property. But the discussion was at length cut short by the dissolution of the parliament; and the purchasers had no protection against the due course of law, under which their titles were defective. Unconditional restitution was the necessary result. The declaration of Breda had said, "because, in the continued distractions of so many years, and so many and great revolutions, many grants and purchases of estates have been made to, and by, many officers, soldiers, and others, who are now possessed of the same, and who may be liable to actions at law upon several titles, we are likewise willing that all such differences, and all things relating to such grants, sales, and possessions, shall be determined in parliament." By the adroit management of Clarendon, parliament was relieved from the responsibility of the determination. Loud complaints, no doubt, were made by many who had been honest purchasers; but their complaints were neutralized by the louder murmurings of the cavaliers, who, although some had returned to the possession of their estates, were deprived of any compensation for their sequestrations, and compositions for delinquency, during the authority of the Long Parliament. They were shut out from any legal process for relief by the Act of Indemnity. Bitter were their murmurings against the ingratitude of the king, from whom they expected the magician's power of annihilating all the natural and moral consequences of twenty years of vicissitude. Such are the mortifications and miseries to be endured by all parties when revolutions have run their course. During the conflicts of great principles men are elevated above their merely selfish interests; but when the sword is sheathed there arise the bitterer animosities of changed fortunes and disappointed hopes. Then come the odious thoughts of revenge for the past—schemes of insulting triumph or dangerous machination. The calm after a great revolution is more to be dreaded than its storms. Clarendon saw this danger, though, when his own passions and prejudices were concerned, he yielded to the baser influences. At the adjournment of the parliament, in September, after the Act of Oblivion and Indemnity had been passed, he thus spoke, as chancellor: "Shall we fold our arms toward one another, and contract our hearts with envy and malice to each other, by any sharp memory of what hath been unneighborly or unkindly done heretofore? What is this but to rebel against the person of the king, against the excellent example and virtue of the king, against the known law of the land, this blessed Act of Oblivion? My Lords and Gentlemen, the king is a suitor to you, makes it his suit very heartily, that you will join with him in restoring the whole nation to its primitive temper and integrity, to its old good manners, its old good humor, and its old good nature—good nature, a virtue so peculiar to you, so appropriated by God Almighty to this nation, that it can be translated into no other language, hardly practised by any other people: And that you will, by your example, by the candor of your conversation, by your precepts, and by your practice, and by all your interest, teach your neighbors and your friends how to pay a full obedience to this clause of the statute, how to learn this excellent art of forgetfulness." "This excellent art of forgetfulness" was not easy to be learned. Certainly the government did not encourage its acquirement by the example of its own magnanimity; but, eager as the court was for the exercise of some vengeance for the past, it was but a faint expositor of the passions of many of the Lords and Commons, who cried "havoc" with their loudest voices.

Three weeks before the return of Charles II. the House of Commons had decided that seven persons should be excepted from a proposed amnesty; and that all who had sat upon the king's trial should be arrested, as well as some others who had been ministers of the protectorate.* After the resoration it became evident that the court was by no means satisfied with so limited an exception from a general pardon as that of seven who had been engaged in the transactions of twelve years of revolution. The debates in both houses on the Bill of Indemnity and Oblivion are very imperfectly recorded; but there is enough to show how the spirit of the country had been abased and demoralized—how completely the feeling of national pride had departed from the public men of England—how insensible the majority had become to those principles of honor by which the evils of the civil war had been mitigated on both sides. For three months this Bill of Indemnity was debated in both houses. The Commons went on adding name after name to those of the seven who were originally excepted. The Lords voted that all who had signed the death-warrant of Charles I., as well as five others, should be excepted, either as regarded life or estate. They carried the principle of private revenge so far that they declared that the surviving relations of four peers who had been executed under the Long Parliament should nominate four to be put to death of the surviving members of the High Court of Justice by which those peers had been

* Pepys, October 4th, 1666.

† See vol. iii., p. 464.

* See *ante*, p. 532.

condemned. There was a difficulty, however, in the way of the sweeping proscription which the Lords desired, which became a touchstone of honorable feeling in both houses. The king, shortly after his landing, had issued a proclamation, in which he commanded those who had sat as judges of his father to render themselves up within fourteen days, "on pain of being excepted from any pardon or indemnity as to their lives or estates." The parliament had suggested this proclamation. Was it a trap to induce these men to surrender, or was it an indirect pledge that, so surrendering, they should partake of the benefits of a general pardon? The honor of the king was unquestionably committed to the most favorable construction of the proclamation. Some, such as Ludlow, had the prudence not to place confidence in ambiguous words; and they fled abroad. "Other poor gentlemen were trepanned that were brought in by proclamation." * Clarendon, the chancellor, shuffled odiously about a document whose ambiguity was doubtless well studied by him. Southampton, the treasurer, with the high spirit of the old cavaliers, maintained "that since it was not thought fit to secure the lives of those who had been ordered to surrender their persons upon the faith of the proclamation, they ought at least to give them the like number of days for saving themselves as were appointed by that paper for their coming in." † The Commons debated this point of the proclamation with a more moderate and honester feeling than the majority of the Lords. Although one rabid member had the baseness to say "that these people's lives were but as a bucket of water in the ocean, in regard of so many more as were to receive benefit by the Act of Pardon;" and another had the effrontery to maintain that "their coming in upon the proclamation was, that God had infatuated them to bring them to justice;" yet the general temper of the Commons was better represented by Hale, who pleaded "for the honor of the king and the two houses;" and by Colonel Birch, who said "if he should give articles to a garrison, he should think himself very unworthy to break them." This matter was at last compromised between the Lords and Commons by a proviso in the bill that if the nineteen persons therein named should be legally attainted, then nevertheless the execution of the persons so attainted should be suspended until execution should be ordered by act of parliament. ‡ The most remarkable exceptions to the Statute of Indemnity, in addition to all the regicides with few omissions, were Sir Henry Vane and General Lambert; but the houses concurred in an address to the king that if these two leading men of the revolution were tried and attainted, their lives should be spared. The king assented.

The trials of the regicides and others in custody, who were excepted from pardon as to life and estate, took place in October. Twenty-five of those who had sat in judgment upon Charles I. were dead; nineteen had fled to foreign countries. Twenty-nine persons were brought to trial as traitors, before a court of thirty-four commissioners; and they were all convicted. Of these, the nineteen who had surrendered under the proclamation were imprisoned for life. Ten were executed. These were Harrison, and five others, who had subscribed the death warrant of Charles; Cook, who acted as leading counsel upon the trial; Axtell and Hacker, two officers who commanded the guard over the royal prisoner; and the famous Hugh Peters. These men died in the belief that they unjustly suffered for the discharge of a great public duty. In their strong religious principles, which approached to the enthusiasm of martyrs, in Harrison especially, they found support under the cruelties of the old law of treason, which was executed to the minutest point of its brutality. It is not creditable to Charles that he was a spectator of these scenes. Evelyn writes, on the 17th of October, "Scott, Scroop, Cook, and Jones suffered for reward of their iniquities at Charing Cross, in sight of the place where they put to death their natural prince, and in the presence of the king his son, whom they also sought to kill. I saw not their execution, but met their quarters, mangled, and cut, and reeking, as they were brought from the gallows in baskets on the hurdle." A more disgusting spectacle took place on the 30th of January, 1661, which Evelyn also records: "This day (O the stupendous and inscrutable judgments of God!) were the carcasses of those arch-rebels, Cromwell, Bradshaw (the judge who condemned his majesty), and Ireton (son-in-law to the usurper), dragged out of their superb tombs in Westminster among the kings, to Tyburn, and hanged on the gallows there from nine in the morning till six at night, and then buried under that fatal and ignominious monument in a deep pit, thousands of people who had seen them in all their pride being spectators." On the 4th of December the parliament, upon the motion of Colonel Titus—the Colonel Titus who now claimed the honor of having written "Killing no Murder"—had voted unanimously that this revolting exhibition should take place. One Englishman has recorded his sentiment upon this vote as regarded Cromwell—"which, methinks, do trouble me that a man of so great courage as he was should have that dishonor." * On the 12th of September, by a special order of the king to the Dean of Westminster, these bodies had been taken out of their vaults and thrown into a pit. On the same day the body of Blake was removed from its honored resting-place and reinterred in St. Margaret's churchyard. To our minds there is nothing in the whole course of this evil reign so prophetic of the coming national degradation as the indignities offered to the remains of the greatest soldier and the greatest sailor that England had produced. Cromwell and Blake by their genius and their patriotism made their country the most honored and dreaded of the nations. They bequeathed to the heir of the ancient kings a national dignity which was more solid than the glories of the Edwards and Henries, and as dearly prized by the people as the triumphs of Elizabeth. This miserable heir of the grand English monarchy was utterly destitute of that nationality without which a sovereign is more degraded than the meanest of his subjects. The future pensioner of France was incapable of comprehending what England owed to the man whose corpse he hung up on the gallows at Tyburn. The restoration of surviving bishops to their sees, with the consecration of new bishops, was a policy which the Presbyterian party must have considered inevitable. That party had to a great extent become powerless; and was in no condition to renew the struggles against Episcopacy which had so materially interfered with any pacific arrangement with Charles I. For twenty years there had been no display of copes and surplices in the service of cathedrals. The young had never heard organs and choral voices in parish churches. Now the bishops assembled in Westminster Abbey "all in their habits," as Pepys records. "But, Lord! at their going out, how people did most of them look upon them as strange creatures, and few with any kind of love or respect." † The passion for the restoration of the monarchy did not extend to this necessary consequence of that restoration. The serious citizens of London and other towns had been accustomed to the ministration of the Puritan clergy, whether Presbyterian or Independent; and they looked with apprehension and dislike to any change that would interfere with their old habits. Their spiritual welfare had not been neglected; nor had they been committed to the guidance of ignorant or unlearned men, looking at the majority of the Puritan ministers. The serious portion of the community were sufficiently represented in the Convention Parliament to render some caution necessary in the measures of the court. On the 25th of October the king published a declaration, in which he avowed his own attachment to episcopacy, but expressed his opinion that it might be so modified as to remove all reasonable objections; and he declared that the reading of the Liturgy, certain ceremonial observances, subscription to all the articles, and the oath of canonical obedience, should not be pressed upon those who had conscientious scruples. Calamy, Baxter, and other Presbyterian ministers had been appointed chaplains in ordinary to the king, in the month after his restoration. The Puritans appear to have deceived themselves into the belief that a happy concord would be established; and the court, whether from duplicity or weakness, appears to have fostered the delusion. Some of the leading Puritan ministers, among whom were Calamy, Baxter, Ash, and Reynolds, were introduced to the king; and declared "their large hope of a happy union among all dissenters by his means." Baxter records that the king gave them a gracious answer; professed his gladness to hear their inclinations for agreement; suggested that both sides should abate somewhat of their pretensions; nay, that he was resolved to see this agreement brought to pass—with much more to the same effect; "insomuch that old Mr. Ash burst out into tears with joy, and could

* Hutchinson, vol. ii. p. 279.
† Ludlow, iii. p. 43.
‡ 12 Car. II. c. 11.

* Pepys' "Diary," December 4th, 1660.
† Ibid., October 4th, 1660.

not forbear expressing what gladness this promise of his majesty had put into his heart."* In less than a year the value of his majesty's promise was to be better understood, when the Act of Uniformity was passed. In two years nonconformity was made penal. We shall have briefly to notice these healing measures. Their general effect is set forth with all the bitterness of disappointed hope by the most eminent interpreter of the feelings of the Puritan divines—those who, "in times of usurpation had mercy and happy freedom," but who, "under the lawful governors which they desired, and in the days when order is said to be restored, do some of us sit in obscurity and unprofitable silence, and some lie in prisons, and all of us are accounted as the scum and sweepings and offscourings of the earth."†

The king's declaration, and his promises to the Presbyterian ministers, were looked upon with satisfaction by honest men of both parties. There was a possibility of such an agreement upon points of discipline as would have made the Protestant Church of England a real barrier against the revival of popery, which was not altogether a frivolous apprehension; and, through the concord of earnest men who had long exercised an important spiritual influence, would have opposed a sober religious spirit equally removed from indifference or fanaticism, to the profligacy which was fast becoming fashionable. To render the king's declaration effectual a bill was brought into parliament by Sir Matthew Hale. It was opposed by the united power of the courtiers in parliament, and was rejected. This was the test by which the royal professions were to be tried. "Such as were nearest the king's councils well knew that nothing else was intended by the declaration than to scatter dust in men's eyes, and to prevent the interference of parliament."‡ While the Convention Parliament lasted, all such awkward questions were tided over. It was dissolved on the 29th of December.

Among the non-political acts passed in this parliament was the Navigation Act, which was in substance a re-enactment of the famous measure of the Long Parliament in 1651.§ An act for the establishment of a general post-office in London was also framed upon the model of the postal establishments of the protectorate. The complex arrangements which prevailed till our own time were prescribed by this act—one rate for a single sheet, another rate for two sheets; one rate for a distance not exceeding eighty miles, another rate for a greater distance. The rates for foreign letters were not exorbitant. No private persons were to carry letters; and all ship letters brought from foreign ports were to be delivered to the postmaster-general or his deputies.

The parliament had not risen longer than a week when an extraordinary insurrection broke out in London. It was a renewal of that fanatical outbreak which Cromwell put down with a troop of horse on the 9th of April, 1657. The Fifth Monarchy men again rose on the 6th of January, 1661, under their old leader, Thomas Venner, the wine-cooper. These men had a meeting-house in the city; and some fifty or sixty of them, after an encounter with the feeble municipal police, marched to Caen Wood, near Highgate, and having been there concealed for two days, returned to encounter the trained bands, and even a regular body of guards, in the confidence that their cause, the establishment of the reign of Christ on earth, and the suppression of all other authority, would be miraculously upheld. The capital was in fearful alarm; the shops were shut; the city gates barricaded. But these wild men drove all before them; till a rally was made, and they were for the most part slaughtered, refusing quarter. Venner and sixteen of his followers who were secured were tried and executed. This mad tumult was made the excuse for a proclamation for closing the conventicles of Quakers, Anabaptists, and other sectaries. The members of various sects throughout the country, who were proscribed as dangerous, were very numerous; but the severity exercised toward them was really more favorable to their extension than the toleration of Cromwell. The Quakers especially held their ground against every severity—even against an act of parliament of 1662, by which they were to be fined for assembling for public worship, and for a third offence to be banished.

The coronation of the king took place on the 23d of April. Every ceremony in Westminster Abbey and in Westminster Hall was of the most gorgeous nature. In the streets there were bonfires out of number; and "many great gallants, men and women," drinking the king's health upon their knees.* The people of London had not recovered from their delirium. Throughout the land men were equally intoxicated by the return to the ancient order of things. The Maypoles had been again set up; the Christmas ale was again flowing in the squire's hall; the peasantry were again wrestling and cudgel-playing on the village green; the stocks were no longer a terror to the drunkard; the play-houses were open in London, and itinerant actors again gathered their gaping audiences in booth or barn. The old asceticism of the Puritans was bitterly remembered. Their zeal for liberty, their pure lives, their earnest religion, were regarded as disloyalty and hypocrisy. The great share which the larger number of them had taken in the restoration of the monarchy was also forgotten; and amid an exaggerated contempt for their formal manners, and a real dislike of the restraint which they imposed upon audacious profligacy, the cavaliers carried the elections for a new parliament by immense majorities. The first session lasted from the 8th of May to the 30th of July; and in that short time reflecting persons began to see "how basely things have been carried in that parliament by the young men, that did labor to oppose all things that were moved by serious men."† But "to oppose all things that were moved by serious men" was a very small part of the zeal of the parliament of 1661. Far more eagerly than Charles himself, or his minister Clarendon, the royalists labored as much as possible to prepare the way for the return of the glorious days of the Star Chamber and the High Commission. The king and the chancellor carried on a little farther the artifice of a desire for agreement in ecclesiastical affairs. Before the meeting of parliament conferences were held at the Savoy, between the bishops and twelve of the leading Puritan divines, for the revision of the Liturgy. These discussions, which were protracted for more than three months, could only conclude in one way. The objections of those who called themselves "primitive Episcopalians" were put with a due acknowledgment that the Book of Common Prayer is "an excellent and worthy work;" but they desired that "such further emendations may be now made therein as may be judged necessary for satisfying the scruples of a multitude of sober persons who cannot at all, or very hardly, comply with the use of it as now it is."‡ The emendations which they desired were very numerous, both in the prayers and in the rubric. While the churchmen were discussing these objections, sometimes not in the most Christian spirit, the parliament was settling the question of conformity in a very summary manner; and when the Liturgy, a few months after, came to be reviewed in convocation, the points which gave offence to "tender consciences" were left untouched. The Anglican Church felt its power; and the notion of conciliation, if ever seriously entertained, was soon supplanted by the readier and simpler principle of coercion.

The altered character of the House of Commons was very soon indicated by its proceedings. The parliament met on the 8th of May. On the 17th it was voted that every member should receive the sacrament according to the forms of the Anglican Church. It was also resolved that the Solemn League and Covenant should be burned by the hands of the common hangman. There was no hesitation now in proclaiming that the Presbyterians were a crushed and degraded party. In the common hatred of all Puritans, the Independents were necessarily included. The one great principle of the policy of Clarendon was to re-establish the Church of England in its ancient splendor; and this desire would have been as commendable as it was natural, could it have been accomplished without a violation of those principles of religious freedom to which the royal word was pledged. But Clarendon, who in exile had been surrounded by suffering dignitaries of the Established Church, had contracted a violent hatred of the entire body of the Puritan clergy; and he constantly speaks of them in terms of contempt, which only indicate his real ignorance of the condition of the people during the long period in which he was shut out from any intercourse with the great majority of his countrymen. With him the whole body of the nonconforming ministers were "fellows." He bitterly opposed the inclination of the king to mitigate some of the evils which the temper of the cavaliers was ready to inflict upon them. This temper is thus accounted for by our constitutional historian: "The gentry, connected for the

* Baxter, "Life," Part II. p. 231; folio. † Ibid., Part I. p. 84.
‡ Hallam, chap. xii. § *Ante*, p. 503.

* Pepys. † Ibid., "Diary," August 4th.
‡ Baxter, "Life," Part II. p. 316.

most part by birth or education with the Episcopal clergy, could not for an instant hesitate between the ancient establishment and one composed of men whose eloquence in preaching was chiefly directed towards the common people." The gentry did "not for an instant hesitate" to deprive "the common people" of the spiritual instructors to whom they looked up with reverence, and to thrust upon them a new set of ministers who had little sympathy with their religious or political convictions. The inevitable consequence was that the indifference of "the higher classes" to all earnest principles gradually spread through the whole community; that the clergy were more intent upon preaching the doctrine of passive obedience, so as to produce a nation of slaves and sycophants, than desirous of setting forth the great truths of Christian doctrine and Christian morals, so as to separate "the common people" from the contagion of the horrible profligacy of the court. Lauderdale related to Burnet that the king told him to let presbytery go, "for it was not a religion for gentlemen." The religion which the king and his courtiers desired, was something that would be as kind to their merits as blind to their faults; and their wishes were gratified to an extent which makes the most sincere friend of the Church of England look back with loathing at the servility, the intolerance, and the cowardice with which its hierarchy so long grovelled at the feet of tyranny and sensuality. But if Clarendon went beyond all the bounds of honest and wise statesmanship in his zeal to replace the Church in the position which it had occupied before the days of the Long Parliament, he manifested both wisdom and integrity in firmly clinging to the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion. At the opening of this second parliament he put the king forward to desire the confirmation of that act, in stronger terms of entreaty than were usually placed in the mouth of the sovereign. Clarendon himself says, "This warmth of his majesty upon this subject was not then more than needful; for the armies being now disbanded, there were great combinations entered into not to confirm the Act of Oblivion, which they knew without confirmation would signify nothing. Men were well enough contented that the king should grant indemnity to all men that had rebelled against him; that he should grant their lives and fortunes to them who had forfeited them to him: but they thought it unreasonable and unjust that the king should release those debts which were immediately due to them, and forgive those trespasses which had been committed to their particular damage." * One example of the extent to which the passions of the cavaliers carried them away from the high feeling which was their general characteristic is very striking. The pen of the novelist has made us familiar with the real or fancied wrongs of the house of Stanley; and there is another record not quite so enduring as the laments of Scott's Charlotte de la Tremouille: "At the Earl of Derby's seat of Knowsley in Lancashire, a tablet is placed to commemorate the ingratitude of Charles II., in having refused the royal assent to a bill which had passed both houses for restoring the son of the Earl of Derby, who had lost his life in the royal cause, to his family estate. This has been so often reprinted by tourists and novelists that it passes current for a great reproach on the king's memory. It was, however, in fact, one of his most honorable actions. The truth is, that the cavalier faction carried through parliament a bill to make void the conveyances of some manors which Lord Derby had voluntarily sold before the Restoration, in the very face of the Act of Indemnity, and against all law and justice. Clarendon, who, together with some very respectable peers, had protested against this measure in the Upper House, thought it his duty to recommend the king to refuse his assent." †

The firmness of the great minister of the restoration in maintaining the Act of Indemnity made him as unpopular with the extreme royalists, now all-powerful, as his somewhat extravagant zeal for the Church of England rendered him odious to the Puritans, now all-humiliated. His position was one of extreme difficulty. He was an object of dislike and ridicule to Charles and his courtiers because, from his age and his character, he looked disapprovingly upon their excesses. He had become connected in a remarkable way with the royal family, by the marriage of his daughter with the Duke of York. Unless he conducted himself with the most extreme duplicity, the possible injurious consequences to himself of this unequal union appear to have terrified him beyond the bounds of sanity. The mother of two future reigning queens of England had indulged the passions of the king's brother under an alleged betrothal. Six months after the king was placed on the throne a private marriage was avowed, and soon after the lady gave birth to a son. Clarendon has himself recorded that he proposed to send his daughter to the Tower; and he maintained that an act of parliament should be passed for cutting off her head, which he was ready himself to propose. The passion, real or feigned, of the chancellor, received no encouragement from the king; and the licentious courtiers, after an attempt had been made to blacken the character of Miss Hyde, in the relation of circumstances which only the basest natures could have detailed, accepted the lawyer's daughter as a properly qualified Duchess of York. The story is told in the "Memoirs of Grammont," with a dramatic force worthy of the imitation of "the dignity of history." Hamilton, the author of these memoirs, which so completely exhibit the character of the courtiers of Charles II., in their perfect unconsciousness of their degradation, tells how the Earl of Arran, Talbot, Jermyn, and Killigrew, at the desire of James himself, each related "the particulars of what he knew, and more than he knew, of poor Miss Hyde." The duke then went into his brother's cabinet, and continued there a long while in secret conversation. The scandal-mongers remained without, in eager expectation; and when the duke came forth with marks of agitation on his countenance, they had no doubt of the result of the conference. "Lord Falmouth began to be affected for her disgrace, and to relent that he had been concerned in it, when the Duke of York told him and the Earl of Ossory to meet him in about an hour's time at the chancellor's. They were rather surprised that he should have the cruelty himself to announce such a melancholy piece of news: they found his royal highness at the appointed hour in Miss Hyde's chamber; a few tears trickled down her cheeks, which she endeavored to restrain. The chancellor, leaning against the wall, appeared to them to be puffed up with something, which they did not doubt was rage and despair. The Duke of York said to them, with that serene and pleasant countenance with which men generally announce good news, 'As you are the two men of the court whom I most esteem, I am desirous you should first have the honor of paying your compliments to the Duchess of York: there she is.'" *

Clarendon, really strengthened in power and influence by the high marriage of his daughter, met with little opposition in leading a willing parliament to trample upon all dissent from the Episcopal Church; to restore those prerogatives of the crown which had been set aside by the Long Parliament; and to keep alive the spirit of revenge against the republican party. The act for the preservation of the king and government increased the strictness of the law of treason; and declared that no legislative power existed in the parliament, except in conjunction with the king. † The act for the command of the militia went rather beyond the constitutional principle of recognizing the sole power of the crown to command the forces by land or sea. It declared not only that neither house of parliament could pretend to such power, but could not lawfully levy any war, offensive or defensive, against the king. ‡ "These last words," says Mr. Hallam, "appeared to go to a dangerous length, and to sanction the suicidal doctrine of absolute non-resistance." Tumultuous petitioning was provided against by limiting the number to ten who should present a petition to the king or the parliament, with some stringent regulations as to the mode of signing petitions. § The Corporation Act went much farther than justly attempting to restore the executive power to its due authority in the state. Mingling the political and religious principles of coercion, it required that all persons elected to corporate offices should have received the sacrament, according to the rites of the English Church, within one year before their election; and it required an oath from such officers that they believed it unlawful, on any pretence whatever, to take arms against the king; and required them to abjure the traitorous position of taking arms by the king's authority against himself or his officers. ‖ In the municipal boroughs the supporters of the contest against Charles I. had been principally found—men equally resolved in their love of civil liberty and their hatred of prelacy. The Corporation

* "Continuation of Life."
† Hallam, chap. xi.

* "Memoirs of Grammont," Sir Walter Scott's edition.
† 13 Car. II. c. 1.
‡ Ibid., 2, c. 6.
§ Ibid., c. 5.
‖ Ibid., Session 2, c. 1.

Act put as strong a restraint upon them as an oath could effect. The restoration of the bishops to the House of Lords was accomplished without any opposition by this parliament, in which the Presbyterians had lost all influence. The crowning measure of ecclesiastical polity was the Act of Uniformity.* By this statute it was required that all the beneficed clergy, all fellows of colleges, and all schoolmasters, should declare their unfeigned assent and consent to all and everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer, as amended in convocation and approved by the king. By another clause in this act, Episcopal ordination was required of all persons holding ecclesiastical preferments. Those of the clergy who, previous to the feast of St. Bartholomew, 1662, had not declared their acceptance of the Book of Common Prayer, in the terms of the statute, were to be absolutely ejected from their livings. On that day more than two thousand ministers of religion went forth into the world without any provision for their future support. They had received a striking example of conscientious integrity in the refusal of the Episcopal clergy to take the Covenant in 1643.† In that revolutionary crisis the ejected incumbents had not been wholly unprovided for, one fifth of the income of the new incumbents having been allotted to them. Such a merciful consideration for men of piety and learning—and most of the Puritan clergy were zealous in their callings and pure in their lives—was not granted by this revengeful parliament. Measures of absolute persecution against the ejected ministers were subsequently enacted—measures which, in their application to all nonconformity, it required a long and arduous struggle to obliterate from the statute-book.

CHAPTER CVI.

Scotland—The Scottish parliament—Execution of Argyle—Episcopacy restored in Scotland—Temper of the English parliament—Trial of Vane and Lambert—Execution of Vane—Catherine of Braganza—Marriage of the king—Profligacy of the king and his court—Insurrection in the north—Conventicle Act—Repeal of the Triennial Act—Dutch war—The Plague—The Five Mile Act—The Settlement Act.

The real spirit of the Restoration is more clearly illustrated by the proceedings of the government in Scotland than by its actions at corresponding periods in England. Practically, since the victory of Dunbar, Scotland had ceased to be an independent kingdom. For the true prosperity of both countries it was desirable that this union should have been continued. To give the Stuart a fair field for carrying matters with a high hand in his ancient kingdom, it was expedient again to isolate the smaller and poorer portion of the island from the larger and wealthier. Of course, when the survivors of the Committee of Estates, that had been nominated by Charles in 1651, were again called to resume the government of Scotland; when a lord commissioner and other high officers were appointed; when a parliament was summoned to meet at Edinburgh—the national pride was abundantly gratified, and Charles the Second was the best of kings. The people soon found that they had to pay a heavy price for this nationality, which was to involve the loss of the civil and religious rights which were dearest to the nation.

The parliament which met at Edinburgh on the 1st of January, 1661, has been honored with the name of "the drunken parliament." Burnet says, "It was a mad roaring time, full of extravagance; and no wonder it was so, when the men of affairs were almost perpetually drunk." In England the passions of the cavaliers were less fierce, and were held more in subjection by the obvious danger of provoking another civil war. In Scotland the dominant party had no thought beyond that of keeping its opponents under its feet. Argyle, as the great leader of the Covenanters, was now to offer the satisfaction of his head for the fall of his rival Montrose. Upon the restoration of Charles, Argyle had hastened to London to offer his homage to the king. He was arrested, and then sent to Scotland, to be brought to trial for his alleged offences. When questioned before the parliament he pleaded the amnesty of 1651, and the English government determined to admit the plea. He was then accused of having received a grant from Cromwell; of having aided the English invaders; and of having sat in Richard Cromwell's parliament, and voted for a bill which abjured the rights of the Stuarts to the crown. The fate of Argyle was sealed when a packet arrived from England containing letters from him to Monk, inimical to the king and favorable to Cromwell. To produce such private letters against an old associate in the same cause was as base in Monk as it was infamous in the parliament to be moved by such treachery to Argyle's condemnation. He was sentenced to be beheaded within forty-eight hours. He accepted his fate with courage and resignation. At the same time Guthrie, a Presbyterian minister, violent and uncompromising in his opinions, was put to death as an example to the clergy. He was personally obnoxious to Middleton, who in this, and in every other instance, went headlong to the gratification of his revenge. He procured the condemnation by the Scottish parliament of the son of the Marquis of Argyle, for writing a letter reflecting upon the acts of the government; and he would have put this nobleman to death, under the barbarous law of "leasing-making"—sowing dissensions by falsehood—had not Clarendon interfered to stop the iniquity. Amid these excesses against individuals, the more extensive tyranny of forcing episcopacy upon a people so devoted to presbytery was resolutely pushed forward. James Sharpe, who had been sent to London on a mission from his Presbyterian brethren, returned bishop of St. Andrew's and primate of Scotland. Other prelates were appointed, of whom four were consecrated in London. In the parliament of 1662, by the first act of the session, "the whole government and jurisdiction of the Church in the several dioceses was declared to be lodged in the bishops, which they were to exercise with the advice and assistance of such of their clergy as were of known loyalty and prudence: all men that held any benefice in the Church were required to own and submit to the government of the Church, as now by law established."* The violence of the drunken parliament was finally shown in the wanton absurdity of what was called the "Act Recissory," by which every law that had been passed in the Scottish parliament during twenty-eight years was wholly annulled. The legal foundations of presbytery were thus swept away. "The bill was put to the vote, and carried by a great majority; and the Earl of Middleton immediately passed it without staying for an instruction from the king. The excuse he made for it was, that since the king had by his letter to the Presbyterians confirmed their government as it was established by law, there was no way left to get out of that but the annulling all those laws."†

The parliament of England, as if to furnish a little excitement to the dull debates that had reference to nonconformity, in the beginning of 1662 turned its attention to the duty of shedding a little more blood, to expiate that of the royal martyr. The parliament was hounded on to this work from the high places of the restored Church. The 15th of January was a general fast-day, "to avert God's heavy judgments on this land," the season being unusually rainy. Dr. Ryves, or Reeves, dean of Windsor, preached before the House of Commons, "showing how the neglect of exerting justice on offenders (by which he insinuated such of the old king's murderers as were yet reprieved and in the Tower) was a main cause of God's punishing a land."‡ His text was from Joshua, c. vii., v. 13, "There is an accursed thing in the midst of thee, O Israel: thou canst not stand before thine enemies until ye take away the accursed thing from among you." In the week in which Evelyn coolly records this Christian exhortation to avert the judgments of God, he has looked upon "an accursed thing," against which the pulpit of Westminster has no denunciations—the passion of gaming "in a court which ought to be an example of virtue to the rest of the kingdom." Mr. Pepys says of this roaring time: "At court things are in very ill condition, there being so much emulation, poverty, and the vices of drinking, swearing, and loose amours, that I know not what will be the end of it, but confusion. Rumors of conspiracies were rife at this period; and the virtuous cavaliers of the Lower House thought, with Dr. Ryves, that it would be a salutary measure to execute all the regicides whose fate, after conviction, had been suspended for the decision of parliament. The Commons passed a bill for their immediate execution, in direct opposition to the feeling of the Convention Parliament that their lives should be spared. The Lords read this bill a first time, and then let it drop. Charles, to his honor, said to

* 14 Car. II. c. 4.

† See vol. iii., p. 463.

* Burnet, "Own Times," book ii.

† Ibid.

‡ Evelyn's "Diary."

Clarendon, "I am weary of hanging, except for new offences;" and he trusted that the bill against the regicides would not come to him; "for," said he, "you know that I cannot pardon them." Some of the minor offenders who had been excepted from the penalty of death were now degraded from honors and deprived of their estates. Lord Monson, Sir Henry Mildmay, and Robert Wallop, who were sentenced by act of parliament,‡ to be drawn upon sledges, with ropes about their necks, from the Tower to Tyburn, and back again, suffered this indignity. The nineteen condemned regicides were confined in various prisons, and wore out their lives in such hopeless captivity as Henry Marten endured at Chepstow. Three regicides, Okey, Corbet, and Barkstead, who had not surrendered upon the king's proclamation, were captured in Holland, in March, 1662, by the agency of Downing, who had been Cromwell's ambassador at the Hague. "The Dutch were a good while before they could be persuaded to let them go, they being taken prisoners in their land. But Sir G. Downing would not be answered so: though all the world takes notice of him for a most ungrateful villain for his pains."† They were executed on the 19th of April, and died defending the justice of their actions. The compliance of the Dutch government in the surrender of political offenders contrasted unfavorably with the sturdy independence of the little states of Vevay and Berne. Ludlow, and others, received ample protection and liberal hospitality in Switzerland; and the royalists, thus failing to secure them, had resort to base attempts at assassination. One of these only was successful. John Lisle was shot at Lausanne, in 1664, as he was going to a church near the town-gate.

For some time after the promise of the king to the Convention Parliament that Vane and Lambert, in their exception from the Act of Indemnity, should not suffer death if found guilty of treason, they had remained prisoners in the Tower. On the 30th of October, 1661, Pepys enters in his diary, "Sir Henry Vane, Lambert, and others, are lately sent suddenly away from the Tower, prisoners to Scilly; but I do not think there is any plot, as is said, but only a pretence." Vane solaced his captivity by compositions which show how earnestly he sought the one true and abiding comfort in misfortune. His enthusiastic religion, his ardent aspirations for civil liberty, his unselfish life, his eminent ability, render him the most interesting of the republican party. Clarendon sought his exemption from the Act of Indemnity because he was "a man of mischievous activity." On the 7th of March, 1662, in a letter to his wife, Vane writes, "They that press so earnestly to carry on my trial do little know what presence of God may be afforded me in it, and issue out of it, to the magnifying of Christ in my body, by life or by death. Nor can they, I am sure, imagine how much I desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ, which of all things that can befall me I account best of all."‡ Thus fortified against the worst, he was arraigned before the Court of King's Bench on the 2d of June, 1662, as "a false traitor." The overt acts of treason alleged against Vane and Lambert were their exercise of civil and military functions under the commonwealth. When we consider the number of men who had filled high offices during the suspension of the monarchy, and yet had been active instruments in its restoration, we marvel at the effrontery which should wrest the law to the conviction of two men who had been faithful servants of their country. The condemnation of Vane and Lambert was wholly against the spirit, if not the letter, of the statute of Henry VIII., which declared indemnity for all persons rendering obedience to a king for the time being, although his title might be defective. By parity of reasoning, obedience to the parliament, which stood in the place of a king, could not be deemed a crime against the king *de jure*. But the judges maintained that Charles the Second was a king *de facto*, and had never been out of possession. Vane, who defended himself throughout with marvellous ability, replied that if the king was never out of possession the indictment against him must fall to the ground; for it alleged that he endeavored to keep out the king. The courage, the proud consciousness of right, the lofty principles of Vane, were the reasons which would have induced a high-minded sovereign to adhere gladly to his promise that his life should be spared in the event of his condemnation. Charles was not a high-minded sovereign—he was selfish, corrupt, faithless, shameless. The letter which he wrote to Clarendon the day after Vane's trial is as characteristic of the man as any other of the acts of his unworthy life:

"The relation that has been made to me of Sir Henry Vane's carriage yesterday in the hall is the occasion of this letter, which, if I am rightly informed, was so insolent as to justify all he had done, acknowledging no supreme power in England but a parliament, and many things to that purpose. You have had a true account of all; and if he has given new occasion to be hanged, certainly he is too dangerous a man to let live, if we can honestly put him out of the way. Think of this, and give me some account of it to-morrow, till when I have no more to say to you.—C. R."

The deportment of a prisoner on his trial could not "give new occasion to be hanged," even if it had been most violent. Vane in his justification avoided every topic of offence to the king personally, as none of Vane's public acts had been marked by any personal hostility to him. The "if we can honestly put him out of the way," was not a scruple which Charles would long entertain. He was put out of the way on the 14th of June, dying with a courage which, says Pepys, "is talked on everywhere as a miracle." The life of Lambert was spared, according to that promise which the king did not scruple to violate when his victim was "too dangerous a man to let live." Vane was the last of the sacrifices on the scaffold to the revenges of the monarchy.

On the opening of the parliament of 1661 the king announced that he was about to marry "a daughter of Portugal." This marriage had been advised by Louis XIV., who, although he had engaged to Spain to give no support to Portugal, in its struggles to maintain its independence, saw in this English alliance a mode of strengthening Portugal against the power which entered into rivalry with him. The Spanish ambassador in London opposed the match, declaring that Spain would never cease to maintain her claims against the house of Braganza. Vatteville, the ambassador from Spain, and Bastide, the ambassador from France, each pressed their opinions upon the council of Charles. When the Portuguese alliance was settled, they entered into a personal contest, which is an amusing variety of the dull battles of protocols. They resolved to fight out, in the streets of London, the claims of the two crowns for precedency. Charles issued a proclamation forbidding his subjects to take part in the conflict which was to take place on the expected entry of the Swedish ambassador. On the Tower wharf was drawn up, on one side of the stairs, the carriage of the Spanish ambassador; on the other side the carriage of the French ambassador. They were each surrounded by many liveried servants, on foot and horseback, fully armed. The Swede landed and, occupying a royal carriage, went on his way. Then began the mighty strife of the representatives of the two greatest sovereigns in Europe as to which should next follow. Their attendants fought till fifty were killed or wounded; but the Spaniard won the race, by cutting the traces of the Frenchman's carriage. Why should not the quarrels of *courts* always be fought out in this fashion, which might give ambassadors some real business that would allow them less leisure to embroil *nations*?

In spite of the triumphant Vatteville, Charles married Catherine of Braganza. She was not remarkable for beauty, but she was sensible and amiable; and the king professed himself fortunate, and avowed his resolution to seek his future happiness in conjugal affection. His first act of devotion to his queen was to present Lady Castlemaine to her in the midst of the court. It was known to all, and to the queen herself, that "the lady" was his avowed mistress. Catherine suppressed her indignation; but the effort caused the blood to gush from her nose, and she was carried in a fit from the royal presence. The gracious king was indignant at the squeamishness of the queen, and insisted that Castlemaine should be one of the ladies of her bedchamber. Clarendon remonstrated with his master, and ventured to compare royal harlots with other lewd women; but the remonstrances ended by the chancellor undertaking to persuade the queen "to a full compliance with what the king desired." Catherine threatened to return to Portugal. Charles did more than threaten—he sent away her old servants, with the exception of a few, who were allowed to remain when the queen's spirit was humbled to ask a favor. Clarendon, in his "Life," tells the issue of this characteristic scoundrelism of "our most religious and gracious king"—the title which the discriminating bishops now gave Charles in the Liturgy;

* 13 Car. II. c. 15.
† Pepys, "Diary," March 17.
‡ Quoted in Mr. Forster's "Life of Vane," p. 210.

"The king pursued his point; the lady came to the court, was lodged there, was every day in the queen's presence, and the king in continual conference with her, while the queen sat untaken notice of; and if her majesty rose at the indignity and retired into her chamber, it may be one or two attended her; but all the company remained in the room she left, and too often said those things aloud which nobody ought to have whispered. . . . All these mortifications were too heavy to be borne; so that at last, when it was least expected or suspected, the queen on a sudden let herself fall first to conversation and then to familiarity, and, even in the same instant, to a confidence with the lady; was merry with her in public, talked kindly of her, and in private used nobody more friendly."

The infanta of Portugal brought to Charles three hundred and fifty thousand pounds as her dowry. The English crown also acquired Tangier, a fort on the coast of Africa. The possession of Tangier, which the nation regarded as worthless, was to compensate for the sale of Dunkirk, which the nation regarded as one of the chief triumphs of the foreign policy of the great protector. Charles was more eager to put money into his purse than to gratify the national pride; and Louis the Fourteenth was as desirous to obtain Dunkirk as Charles to convert the Gibraltar of that day into jewels for new mistresses. Louis made a cunning bargain. He gave four millions of livres in bills, and then employed his own ready money to discount his own bills, at a saving of half a million. According to Louis' own account of the transaction, his rival in the treaty was the city of London, the lord mayor having been deputed to offer any sum, that Dunkirk might not be alienated. Clarendon had advised the sale, although he had a little before, in a speech in parliament, dwelt on the value of the place. The people, naturally enough, however unjustly, held that the chancellor had been bribed. The magnificent palace that he was building near St. James's was popularly called "Dunkirk House;" and the national dislike of the sale of Dunkirk was one of the first symptoms that his power was on the wane. His participation in that sale subsequently formed an article of his impeachment. The popular opinion that the sale of Dunkirk was to supply new funds for the profligacy of the court was confirmed by the public demonstrations of that profligacy. Lord Buckhurst and Sir Charles Sedley had outraged all decency by an exhibition which Pepys recorded in cipher, but which his editor says is "too gross to print." Baxter gives us some notion of "the horrid wickedness" of these titled blackguards, "acting the part of preachers, in their shirts, in a balcony" in Covent Garden.* With such companions was Charles now generally surrounded. All thoughts of business were abhorrent to him. To Lady Castlemaine's lodgings he was followed by his "counsellors of pleasure," who laughed at the "old dotards" who presumed to talk in a serious vein. Rivals to "the lady" now sprung up, with the usual incidents of jealousies and poutings, to be averted by lavish presents to the old favorite, or heavier bribes to the new. The English court became the ridicule of foreigners. The Dutch caricatured the king in various of his characteristic positions. In one print he was shown with "pockets turned the wrong side outward, hanging out empty;" in another, with two courtiers picking his pockets; in a third, leading two ladies, while other ladies were abusing him.† The heartless swindler had appropriated great part of his queen's jointure to his rapacious mistresses. The people, who groaned under the tax of "chimney-money," and declared they would not pay it without force, were yet pleased with the gossiping familiarity of the king, as he sauntered among them, feeding his ducks in the new canal in St. James's Park, or joining his nobles in a game at "Pell-mell." The Chevalier de Grammont saw Cromwell "feared at home, yet more dreaded abroad, at his highest pitch of glory." He then saw "an affectation of purity of manners instead of the luxury which the pomp of courts displays." He came to the court of Charles II., and "accustomed as he was to the grandeur of the court of France, he was surprised at the politeness and splendor of the court of England." What that "politeness and splendor" really covered is disgusting to look back upon when we know that we are beholding the manners of our own countrymen. There were other men than the republican John Milton who felt that they had "fallen on evil days." There were others than Puritans who listened not to

"the barbarous dissonance
Of Bacchus and his revellers."

But, taken as a whole, the nation was degraded. Its old spirit was gone. There was a feeble attempt at insurrection in the north in 1663. This outbreak was partly of a religious character, and partly of a political. The insurrection, which was put down by a few of the king's guards, was an excuse for persecuting some of the surviving republicans—among others, Colonel Hutchinson, whose quiet and decorous life was an offence which was to be expiated by his death in the damp vaults of Sandown Castle. The day of retribution was not yet come, but the handwriting was on the wall. "We are much indebted," says Mr. Hallam, "to the memory of Barbara, Duchess of Cleveland, Louisa, Duchess of Portsmouth, and Mrs. Eleanor Gwyn. We owe a tribute of gratitude to the Mays, the Killigrews, the Chiffinches, and the Grammonts. They played a serviceable part in ridding the kingdom of its besotted loyalty. They saved our forefathers from the Star Chamber and the High Commission Court; they labored in their vocation against standing armies and corruption; they pressed forward the great ultimate security of English freedom, the expulsion of the House of Stuart."

The abortive insurrection of the autumn of 1663 was made the pretext for a new measure against nonconformists in the session of 1664, and for an important change in the constitution of parliament. The king, in his speech on the opening of this session, said, "You may judge by the late treason in the north, for which so many men have been executed, how active the spirits of many of our old enemies still are. . . . It is evident they have correspondence with desperate persons in most counties, and a standing council in this town. . . . Some would insist upon the authority of the Long Parliament, of which, they say, they have members enough, willing to meet; others have fancied to themselves, by some computation of their own upon some clause in the Triennial Bill, that this present parliament was at an end some months since." The alleged connection of some Fifth Monarchy men with this trifling insurrection of Farnley Wood, near Leeds—of which Bennet, one of Charles's ministers, said that the country was too ready to prevent the disorders—was made the pretext for "An Act to prevent and suppress seditious conventicles."* The preamble states that the act is "for providing further and more speedy remedies against the growing and dangerous practices of seditious sectaries and other disloyal persons, who under pretence of tender consciences do at their meetings contrive insurrections, as late experience hath showed." But, insolently assuming that all religious assemblies of nonconformists were seditious, it enacted that if five or more persons besides the household were present at "any assembly, conventicle, or meeting, under color or pretence of any exercise of religion in other manner than is allowed by the Liturgy or practice of the Church of England," then every person so present should, upon record before two justices of the peace, or the chief magistrate of a corporate town, be liable to certain fines, imprisonment, or transportation, for a first, second, or third offence. Under this abominable statute, Puritan ministers who had been ejected from their benefices, and their admiring followers, were thrown into prison. Baxter has related in his plain and forcible manner how this law interfered with the ordinary affairs of life among serious people: "It was a great strait that people were in, especially that dwell near any busy officer, or malicious enemy (as who doth not?). Many durst not pray in their families, if above four persons came in to dine with them. In a gentleman's house it is ordinary for more than four, of visitors, neighbors, messengers, or one sort or other, to be most or many days at dinner with them: and then many durst not go to prayer, and some durst scarce crave a blessing on their meat, or give God thanks for it: Some thought they might venture if they withdrew into another room, and left the strangers by themselves. But others said, 'It is all one if they be but in the same house, though out of hearing, when it cometh to the judgment of the justices.' In London, where the houses are contiguous, some thought if they were in several houses, and heard one another through the wall or a window, it would avoid the law. But others said, 'It is all in vain while the justice is judge whether it was a meeting or no.' Great lawyers said, 'If you come on a visit or business, though you be present at prayer or sermon, it is no breach

* "Life," part iii. p. 13. † Pepys, November 28th, 1663.

* 16 Car. II. c. 4.

of the law, because you meet not on pretence of a religious exercise.' But those that tried them said, 'Such words are but wind when the justices come to judge you.' And here the fanatics called Quakers did greatly relieve the sober people for a time: for they were so resolute, and gloried in their constancy and sufferings, that they assembled openly (at the Bull and Mouth, near Aldersgate) and were dragged away daily to the common jail; and yet desisted not, but the rest came the next day nevertheless; so that the jail at Newgate was filled with them. Abundance of them died in prison, and yet they continued their assemblies still."* For years were the persecutions under this statute continued with all the severity that the government could call forth. Clarendon intimates that the act was not rigorously executed, otherwise it would have produced a thorough reformation. Dr. Creighton, preaching before the king, said that "the greatest part of the lay magistrates in England were Puritans, and would not do justice; and the bishops' powers were so taken away and lessened that they could not exercise the power they ought."† With accommodating magistrates and a persecuting hierarchy, the times of the Star Chamber would soon have come back. But some magistrates were honest, and some church dignitaries merciful and tolerant. The parliament was still compliant enough. They were yet far from manifesting any serious doubts of the value of passive obedience. But their very intolerance toward Protestant dissenters was, in some degree, a result of their suspicion of the king's desire to show favor to the papists. He claimed a dispensing power as to the relaxation of penal laws in ecclesiastical matters. The parliament gently denied the king's right to this dispensing power, and a bill to confirm that power was dropped, to Charles's great displeasure. In the constitutional point of the duration of parliaments, the crown was more successful in carrying out its own desires. By the Triennial Act of 1641, in default of the king summoning a new parliament within three years after a dissolution, the peers might issue writs; or the sheriffs in default of the peers; or in default of constituted authorities the people might elect their representatives without any summons whatever. These provisions against such violations of the constitution as had been seen in the time of Charles I. could not affect a sovereign who desired to govern in connection with parliaments. Charles, in his opening speech in the session of 1664, said, "I need not tell you how much I love parliaments. Never king was so much beholden to parliaments as I have been; nor do I think the crown can ever be happy without frequent parliaments. But, assure yourselves, if I should think otherwise, I would never suffer a parliament to come together by the means prescribed by that bill."‡ The first Charles, in the pride of his triumphant despotism, could not have made a more insolent avowal. The famous Triennial Act was repealed; all its provisions for holding parliaments in defiance of an arbitrary power of the crown were set aside; and yet it was declared that parliaments should not be suspended for more than three years. Charles II. lived to violate this law.

The first war in which the government of the restored monarchy was engaged originated in the commercial rivalry of the English and the Dutch. The African Company of England and the African Company of Holland quarrelled about the profits derived from slaves and gold-dust. They had fought for some miserable forts on the African coast; and gradually the contests of the traders assumed the character of national warfare. The merchants petitioned parliament to redress their injuries; the House of Commons listened with ready ear; the king saw plentiful supplies about to be granted him, some of which might be diverted from their destined use; the Duke of York was desirous of showing his prowess as lord high admiral. War was declared; and on the 3d of June, 1665, the fleets of the two great commercial nations were engaged off Lowestoffe. The victory was complete on the side of England. The old sailors of the commonwealth had still some animating remembrances of Blake, with which they inspired the emulation of their new comrades. The Duke of York was not deficient in animal courage; and the courtiers who served as volunteers had not lost the national daring in their self-indulgence. But the victory raised no shouts of exultation in the marts and thoroughfares of London. The great city was lying under the dread of the most terrible infliction, which was approaching to sweep away a third of its crowded population. The destroying angel was abroad: his avenging weapon was the plague!

The June of 1665 comes in with extraordinary heat. The previous winter and spring have been the driest that ever man knew. The summer was coming with the same cloudless sky. There was no grass in the meadows around London. "Strange comets, which filled the thoughts and writings of astronomers, did in the winter and spring a long time appear." The "great comet," says Burnet, "raised the apprehensions of those who did not enter into just speculations concerning those matters." The boom of guns from the Norfolk coast is heard upon the Thames; and the merchants upon 'Change are anxiously waiting for letters from the fleet. In the coffee-houses two subjects of news keep the gossipers in agitation—the Dutch fleet is off our coast, the plague is in the city. The 7th of June, writes Pepys, was "the hottest day that ever I felt in my life. This day, much against my will, I did in Drury Lane see two or three houses marked with a red cross upon the doors, and 'Lord have mercy upon us' writ there; which was a sad sight to me, being the first of the kind that to my remembrance I ever saw." The red cross upon the doors was too familiar to the elder population of London. In 1636, of twenty-three thousand deaths ten thousand were ascribed to the plague. The terrible visitor came to London, according to the ordinary belief, once in every twenty years, and then swept away a fifth of the inhabitants. From 1636 to 1647 there had been no cessation of the malady, which commonly carried off two or three thousand people annually. But after 1648 there had been no record of deaths from the plague amounting to more than twenty in any one year. In 1664 the bills of mortality only registered six deaths from this cause. The disease seemed almost to belong to another generation than that which had witnessed the triumph and the fall of Puritanism—which had passed from extreme formalism to extreme licentiousness. How far the drunken revelries of the five years of the restoration might have predisposed the population to receive the disease is as uncertain as any belief that the sobriety of the preceding time had warded it off. One condition of London was, however, unaltered. It was a city of narrow streets and of bad drainage. The greater number of houses were deficient in many of the accommodations upon which health, in a great degree, depends. The supply of water was far from sufficient for the wants of the poorer population; and with the richer classes the cost of water, supplied either by hand-labor or machinery, prevented its liberal use. The conduits, old or new, could only afford to fill a few water-cans daily for household uses. There was much finery in the wealthy citizens' houses, but little cleanliness. It is to be remarked, however, that the plague of 1665 was as fatal in the less crowded parts of Westminster and its suburbs as in the city within the walls. Building had been going forward from the time of Elizabeth in St. Giles's-in-the-Fields and in St. Martin's-in-the-Fields; and we might conclude that the streets would be wider and the houses more commodious in these new parts than in the close thoroughfares, over which the projecting eaves had hung for many a year, shutting out air and light. But in these suburban liberties the plague of 1665 first raged, and then gradually extended eastward. On the 10th of June the disease broke out in the city, in the house of Dr. Burnett, a physician, in Fenchurch Street. "I saw poor Dr. Burnett's door shut; but he hath, I hear, gained great good will among his neighbors; for he discovered it himself first, and caused himself to be shut up of his own accord—which was very handsome." This is a quaint comment upon the good doctor's voluntary subjection to misery worse than death—to be shut up—with the red cross on the door; no one coming with help or consolation; all stricken with the selfishness of terror.*

* "Life," p. 436. † Pepys, "Diary," March 26th, 1664.
‡ "Parliament Hist.," vol. iv. col. 291.

* There is a remarkable picture of a solitary man abiding in a house while the plague was around him, written by one who has many of the qualities of the true poet. George Wither, during the plague of 1625, resolved to remain in his lodging in London, and thus he describes a night of "darkness and loneliness:"

"My chamber entertain'd me all alone,
And in the rooms adjoining lodged none.
Yet, through the darksome silent night, did fly
Sometime an uncouth noise; sometime a cry;
And sometime mournful callings pierc'd my room,
Which came, I neither knew from whence, nor whom.

Defoe's famous "Journal of the Plague Year" has made this terrible season familiar to most readers. The spirit of accuracy is now more required than when the editor of a popular work informed his readers that Defoe continued in London during the whole time of the plague, and was one of the examiners appointed to shut up infected houses.* Defoe, in 1665, was four years old. Yet the imaginary saddler of Whitechapel, who embodies the stories which this wonderful writer had treasured up from his childhood, relates nothing that is not supported by what we call authentic history. The "Citizen who continued all the while in London," as the title of Defoe's journal informs us, and whose dwelling was "without Aldgate, about midway between Aldgate church and Whitechapel bars," relates how, through May and June, the nobility and rich people from the west part of the city filled the broad street of Whitechapel with coaches and wagons and carts, all hurrying away with goods, women, servants, and children; how horsemen, with servants bearing their baggage, followed in this mournful calvacade, from morning to night; how the lord mayor's doors were crowded with applicants for passes and certificates of health, for without these none would be allowed to enter the towns or rest in any wayside inn. The citizen of Whitechapel thought "of the misery that was coming upon the city, and the unhappy condition of those who would be left in it." On the 21st of June Pepys writes, "I find all the town almost going out of town; the coaches and wagons being all full of people going into the country." In the country the population dreaded to see the Londoners. Baxter remarks, "How fearful people were thirty, or forty, if not an hundred miles from London, of anything that they bought from any mercer's or draper's shop; or of any goods that were brought to them; or of any persons that came to their houses. How they would shut their doors against their friends; and if a man passed over the fields, how one would avoid another, as we did in the time of wars; and how every man was a terror to another." The Broadstone of East Redford, on which an exchange was made of money for goods, without personal communication, is an illustration of these rural terrors. A panic very soon took possession of the population of London. They talked of the comet, "of a faint, dull, languid color, and its motion very heavy, solemn, and slow." They read "Lily's Almanac," and "Gadbury's Astrological Predictions," and "Poor Robin's Almanac," and these books "frightened them terribly." A man walked the streets day and night, at a swift pace, speaking to no one, but uttering only the words, "O the great and the dreadful God!" These prognostications and threatenings came before the pestilence had become very serious; and they smote down the hearts of the people, and thus unfitted them for the duty of self-preservation, and the greater duty of affording help to others. Other impostors than the astrologers abounded. The mountebank was in the streets with his "infallible preventive pills," and "the only true plague-water." Pepys records that "my Lady Carteret did this day give me a bottle of plague-water home with me." But gradually the astrologers and the quacks were left without customers, for London was almost wholly abandoned to the very poorest. Touchingly does Baxter say, "the calamities and cries of the diseased and impoverished are not to be conceived by those who are absent from them. . . . The richer sort remaining out of the city, the greatest blow fell on the poor." The court fled on the first appearance of the disease. Some few of the great remained, among others the stout old Duke of Albemarle, who fearlessly chewed his tobacco at his mansion of the Cockpit. Marriages of the rich still went on. Pepys is diffuse about a splendid marriage at Dagenham's, which narrative reads like the contrasts of a chapter of romance. "Thus I ended this month (July) with the greatest joy that ever I did any in my life, because I have spent the greatest part of it with abundance of joy and honor, and pleasant journeys, and brave entertainments, and without cost of money." A week after he writes, "Home, to draw over anew my will, which I had bound myself by oath to dispatch to-morrow night, the town growing so unhealthy that a man cannot depend upon living two days."

And oft, betwixt awaking and asleep,
Their voices, who did talk, or pray, nor weep,
Unto my list'ning ears a passage found,
And troubled me, by their uncertain sound."

* "Beauties of England and Wales."

The narrative of Defoe and other relations have familiarized most of us from our boyhood with the ordinary facts of this terrible calamity. We see the searchers, and nurses, and watchmen, and buryers marching in ominous silence through the empty streets, each bearing the red wand of office. We see them enter a suspected house, and upon coming out marking the door with the fatal red cross, a foot in length. If the sick within can pay, a nurse is left. We see the dead-cart going its rounds in the night, and hear the bell tinkling, and the buryers crying "Bring out your dead." Some of the infected were carried to the established pest-houses, where the dead-cart duly received its ghastly load. The saddler of Whitechapel describes what he beheld at "the great pit of the churchyard of our parish at Aldgate:" "I saw two links come over from the end of the Minories, and heard the bellman, and then appeared a dead-cart, as they called it, coming over the streets, so I could no longer resist my desire of seeing it, and went in. . . . It had in it sixteen or seventeen bodies; some were wrapped up in linen sheets, some in rugs, some little other than naked, or so loose that what covering they had fell from them in the shooting out of the cart, and they fell quite naked among the rest; but the matter was not much to them, nor the indecency to any one else, seeing they were all dead, and were to be huddled together into the common grave of mankind, as we may call it, for here is no difference made, but poor and rich went together; there was no other way of burials, neither was it possible there should, for coffins were not to be had for the prodigious numbers that fell in such a calamity as this." Soon, as Pepys tells us on the 12th of August, "the people die so that now it seems they are fain to carry the dead to be buried by daylight, the night not sufficing to do it in." The terrors which the sleek secretary of the navy feels when he thus encounters a dead body are almost ludicrous. The Reverend Thomas Vincent, one of the nonconforming clergy who remained in the city, has thus described the scenes of August: "Now people fall as thick as the leaves in autumn when they are shaken by a mighty wind. Now there is a dismal solitude in London streets; every day looks with the face of a Sabbath-day observed with a greater solemnity than it used to be in the city. Now shops are shut in, people rare and very few that walk about, insomuch that the grass begins to spring up in some places, and a deep silence in every place, especially within the walls. No prancing horses, no rattling coaches, no calling in customers nor offering wares, no London cries sounding in the ears. If any voice be heard it is the groans of dying persons breathing forth their last, and the funeral knells of them that are ready to be carried to their graves. Now shutting up of visited houses (there being so many) is at an end, and most of the well are mingled among the sick, which otherwise would have got no help. Now, in some places, where the people did generally stay, not one house in a hundred but what is affected; and in many houses half the family is swept away; in some from the eldest to the youngest: few escape but with the death of one or two. Never did so many husbands and wives die together; never did so many parents carry their children with them to the grave, and go together into the same house under earth who had lived together in the same house upon it. Now the nights are too short to bury the dead: the whole day, though at so great a length, is hardly sufficient to light the dead that fall thereon into their graves." At the beginning of September the empty streets put on another aspect, equally fearful. The bonfire, which was the exhibition of gladness, was now the token of desolation. Every six houses on each side of the way were to be assessed toward the expense of maintaining one great fire in the middle of the street for the purification of the air—fires which were not to be extinguished by night or by day. A heavy rain put out these death-fires, and perhaps did far more good than this expedient. As winter approached, the disease began rapidly to decrease. Confidence a little revived. A few shops were again opened. The York wagon again ventured to go to London with passengers. At the beginning of 1666 "the town fills again." "Pray God," says Pepys, "continue the plague's decrease; for that keeps the court away from the place of business, and so all goes to rack as to public matters." He rides in Lord Brouncker's coach to Covent Garden: "What staring to see a nobleman's coach come to town. And porters everywhere bow to us; and such begging of beggars." The sordid and self-indulgent now began to come back: "January 22d. The first meeting of Gresham College since the

plague. Dr. Goddard did fill us with talk, in defence of his and his fellow-physicians' going out of town in the plague-time; saying that their particular patients were most gone out of town, and they left at liberty, and a great deal more." This is Pepys' entry of the 4th of February: "Lord's day: and my wife and I the first time together at church since the plague, and now only because of Mr. Mills his coming home to preach his first sermon; expecting a great excuse for his leaving the parish before anybody went, and now staying till all are come home: but he made but a very poor and short excuse, and a bad sermon." Mr. Mills, and his doings, and the doings of such as Mr. Mills, were not without important consequences, which bring us back to the political history of this time of suffering, in which the few manifested a noble devotion to their duty, and the many exhibited the more general characteristic of their generation—intense selfishness. Defoe tells, with the strictest accuracy, the mode in which the spiritual condition of the plague-struck city was attended to: "Though it is true that a great many of the clergy did shut up their churches, and fled, as other people did, for the safety of their lives, yet all did not do so; some ventured to officiate, and to keep up the assemblies of the people by constant prayers, and sometimes sermons, or brief exhortations to repentance and reformation, and this as long as they would hear them. And dissenters did the like also, and even in the very churches where the parish ministers were either dead or fled; nor was there any room for making any difference at such a time as this was." Baxter also relates that, when "most of the conformable ministers fled, and left their flocks in the time of their extremity," the nonconforming ministers, who, since 1662, had done their work very privately, "resolved to stay with the people; and to go into the forsaken pulpits, though prohibited; and to preach to the poor people before they died; and also to visit the sick, and get what relief they could for the poor, especially those that were shut up." The reward which the nonconforming ministers received for their good work was "The Five Mile Act."

The statute which popularly bore this name is entitled, "An act for restraining nonconformists from inhabiting in corporations."* In consequence of the plague raging in London, the parliament met at Oxford on the 9th of October. Their first act was for a supply of 1,250,000*l*. Their second was this "new and more inevitable blow aimed at the fallen Church of Calvin."† All persons in holy orders who had not subscribed the Act of Uniformity were required to take the following oath: "I, A. B., do swear, that it is not lawful, under any pretence whatsoever, to take arms against the king; and that I do abhor the traitorous position of taking arms by his authority against his person, or against those that are commissionated by him, in pursuance of such commissions; and that I will not at any time endeavor any alteration of government either in Church or State." In default of taking this oath they were forbidden to dwell, or come, unless upon the road, within five miles of any corporate town, or any other place where they had been ministers, or had preached, under a penalty of forty pounds and six months' imprisonment. They were also declared incapable of teaching in schools, or of receiving boarders. This act had for its object wholly to deprive the conscientious Puritans of any means of subsistence connected with their former vocation of Christian ministers or instructors of youth. Mr. Hallam truly says, "The Church of England had doubtless her provocations; but she made the retaliation much more than commensurate to the injury. No severity comparable to this cold-blooded persecution had been inflicted by the late powers, even in the ferment and fury of a civil war." An attempt was made to impose the non-resisting oath upon the whole nation; but it was defeated by a small majority.

The extent of the miseries inflicted by the plague in London was probably diminished by "The Settlement Act" of 1662.‡ This was entitled, "An Act for the better relief of the Poor." The preamble of the statute declares the continual increase of the poor, not only within the cities of London and Westminster, but also through the whole kingdom; but there is little reason to doubt that the main object of the bill was to thrust out from the parishes of the metropolis all chargeable persons occupying tenements under the yearly value of ten pounds. By this act the power of removal was first established—a measure which, however modified, has done as much evil to the laboring population in destroying their habits of self-dependence, as a legal provision for their support, prudently administered, has been a national blessing. The Settlement Act was carried by the metropolitan members, with little resistance from the country members. "The habitual congregating of the vagrant classes in London, and the dread of pestilence likely to be thereby engendered, appear to have overborne or neutralized all other considerations at the time, and hastened the passing of the act."* The united efforts made by the Londoners to carry this bill leave little room to doubt that they acted upon it very promptly and vigilantly; and thus some considerable portion of the indigent population must have been driven forth from London and Westminster, to seek their parishes under the old laws which determined their lawful place of abode. The ten-pound rental, either in London or the country, could protect none of the really indigent. It gave a privilege only to the well-to-do artisan or tradesman who had no legal settlement by birth, apprenticeship, or other legal claim. In 1675, in a debate on a bill for restraint of building near London, one member said that "by the late act the poor are hunted like foxes out of parishes, and whither must they go but where there are houses?" Another declared that "the act for the settlement of the poor does, indeed, thrust all people out of the country to London."† The intent of the framers of the act had probably been defeated by the reprisals of the rural magistrates and overseers. The system of hunting the poor went on amid the perpetual litigation of nearly two centuries; and it is not yet come to an end.

* 17 Car. II. c. 2. † Hallam. ‡ 14 Car. II. c. 12.

* Sir G. Nicholls: "History of the English Poor Law," vol. i. p. 297. † "Parl. Hist.," vol. iv. col. 679.

CHAPTER CVII.

Naval affairs—Annus Mirabilis—France joins the Dutch against England—The sea-fight of four days—The London Gazette—Restraints upon the press—Ravages of the English fleet on the Dutch coast—The great fire of London—Note on Wren's plan for rebuilding the city.

The naval victory of the 3d of June, 1665, was a fruitless triumph, won at a lavish expenditure of blood. The most loyal of the subordinate administrators of public affairs considered that a great success had been thrown away. Evelyn writes (June 8th), "Came news of his highness' victory, which indeed might have been a complete one, and at once ended the war, had it been pursued; but the cowardice of some, or treachery, or both, frustrated that." When the Dutch fled from off Lowestoffe to their own shores the English fleet commenced a pursuit; but in the night the King Charles, the Duke of York's ship, slackened sail and brought to. In a council of war, as Burnet relates upon the authority of the Earl of Montague, Admiral Penn affirmed that they must prepare for hotter work in the next engagement; for he well knew the courage of the Dutch was never so high as when they were desperate. The courtiers said that the duke had got honor enough, and why should he venture a second time? His royal highness went to sleep; and in the night Brunkhard, one of his servants, delivered an order to the master of the King Charles to slacken sail, which order purported to be written by the duke. The House of Commons instituted an inquiry; and it was alleged that Brunkhard forged the order. Burnet says, "Lord Montague did believe that the duke was *struck*, seeing the Earl of Falmouth, the king's favorite, and two other persons of quality, killed very near him; and that he had no mind to engage again." Some members of the House of Commons thought it a very desirable thing for the nation that the king's brother should incur no more such dangers. The duke remained at home, to contribute his share to the scandals which the court habitually provoked, whether at Whitehall or at Oxford.

The plague-year has passed; the "Year of Wonders" is come. Dryden called his "Annus Mirabilis" "an historical poem." In his preface he says, "I have taken upon me to describe the motives, the beginning, progress, and successes, of a most just and necessary war; in it, the care, management, and prudence of our king; the conduct and valor of a royal admiral, and of two incomparable generals; the invincible courage of our captains and seamen; and three glorious victories, the result of all. After this, I have, in the fire,

the most deplorable, but withal the greatest, argument that can be imagined: the destruction being so swift, so sudden, so vast and miserable, as nothing can parallel in story." The year 1666 is indeed an eventful year; and the relation of its miseries, so closely following upon the calamity of the plague, carries with it the consolation that the spirit of the English people, founded upon their industrious habits and their passion for liberty, has always been able to surmount the greatest political evils, and to acquire, even under the severest dispensations of Providence, the courage and perseverance which convert chastisements into blessings.

At the beginning of 1666 Louis XIV., for objects purely personal, joined the Dutch against England, and declared war. This policy of the French court had a tendency to make the war with the Hollanders more popular in England. Prince Rupert, who was now a resident in London, and who had a command in the engagement off Lowestoffe, was not regarded with any public confidence; and the king felt it necessary to associate the Duke of Albemarle with him in the command of the fleet. On the 8th of May the two generals were at the Nore with their squadrons. "I sailed to the buoy of the Nore to my lord-general and Prince Rupert, where was the rendezvous of the most glorious fleet in the world, now preparing to meet the Hollander." * The people of London, dispirited by the ravages of the plague, many outraged by the persecutions against the nonconformists, unable or indisposed to pay the taxes for the war, had little enthusiasm as to its results. The 29th of May came, and Pepys is heavily afflicted at beholding few bonfires on the east side of Temple Bar. Clarendon says, "Monies could neither be collected nor borrowed where the plague had prevailed, which was over all the city, and over a great part of the country; the collectors durst not go to require it or receive it." † On the 31st a public fast-day was appointed to pray for the success of the fleet; "but," says Pepys, "it is a pretty thing to consider how little a matter they make of this keeping a fast, that it was not declared time enough to be read in the churches, the last Sunday, but ordered by proclamation since: I suppose upon some sudden news of the Dutch having come out." The Dutch fleet had come out, and on the 1st of June it was in the Downs, with Monk in sight of their formidable line of fighting vessels. On the 2d there is a curious spectacle at Greenwich. The king and the Duke of York have come down the river in their barge; and they walk to the park to hear the loud firing of the ships in the Channel. The group of lordly attendants on Greenwich Hill, whispering and pointing as the sullen boom of the guns comes up the Thames—Charles and James standing apart in puzzled conference, or laughing at some ill-timed jest—a bowing courtier approaching the royal presence to bring news just arrived at Whitehall—this is a scene which painting might properly make its own. That distant roar of cannon was not imaginary. Monk and Rupert had separated. It had been believed that the Dutch fleet was not ready for sea; and Monk, with fifty-four sail, had floated calmly from the Nore; when behold there are eighty Dutch men-at-war at anchor off the North Foreland. The surprise was unaccountable; but it is a proof how rashly naval warfare was conducted when landsmen were the chief commanders. The English courage was too much relied upon; the science and experience which can alone make courage truly efficient were thought subordinate requisites. Monk was a hardy soldier, but a very imperfect naval tactician; moreover he was now elated and presumptuous. He dashed at the Dutch; fought all day; and at night looked round upon disabled ships. De Witt was in the fleet of Holland; and chain-shot, of which he was held to be the inventor, cut the English rigging to pieces. They fired at our towering sails; we at their high-raised decks. The battle was resumed at the early dawn of the 2d of June. De Ruyter had received a reinforcement of sixteen ships during the night. Monk was looking in vain for Rupert to come to his aid. Another day of terrible fight, with losses severe enough on the English side to have driven to despair a commander less resolute than Monk. Dryden has pictured him at nightfall, standing upon deck, while "the moon shone clear on the becalmed flood," musing on the probable issue of another day, and mournfully preparing for an ocean grave. On the 3d he burned some of his disabled ships, and retreated, fighting De Ruyter's rearguard. The noblest ship of the English navy ran on the Galloper sand, and was lost. Late on the 3d Rupert arrived from St. Helen's, and the battle was renewed with more equality. The poet describes how the anxious prince had heard the cannon long, and drew dire omens of English overmatched.* The historian says, "He had received orders to return from St. Helen's on the first day of the battle; nor was it ever explained why he did not join Albemarle till the evening of the third." † The diarist divides the blame between the government at home and the proud prince whose obstinate self-reliance had produced so many of the royalist disasters in the civil war: "I to Sir G. Carteret, who told me there hath been great bad management in all this; that the king's orders that went on Friday for calling back the prince were sent but by the ordinary post on Wednesday; and come to the prince his hands but on Friday; and then instead of sailing presently he stays till four in the evening. And that which is worst of all, the Hampshire, laden with merchants' money, come from the Straits, set out with or but just before the fleet, and was in the Downs by five of the clock yesterday morning; and the prince with his fleet come to Dover, but at ten of the clock at night. This is hard to answer, if it be true. This puts great astonishment into the king, and duke, and court, everybody being out of countenance. Home by the 'Change, which is full of people still, and all talk highly of the failure of the prince in not making more haste after his instructions did come, and of our managements here in not giving it sooner and with more care and oftener." The first desire of the court, and the more natural one, was to set forth that there had been a great victory. Newspapers, then, had no peculiar sources of information, to check the tendency of all governments to deceive the people as to the results of their warlike enterprises—a tendency which only makes disappointment more severe when truth comes out, and thus exhibits falsehood not only as a crime but as a fault. The court had now got its *Gazette*, which was first published at Oxford, on the 7th of November, 1665, and soon after became *The London Gazette*. Roger L'Estrange, esquire, had commenced his "Intelligence published for the satisfaction and information of the people," and his *Newes* in 1663; the one issued on a Monday, the other on a Thursday. What real satisfaction and information the public could derive from these productions may be gathered from the address of their conductor. He was "Surveyor of the Imprimery and Printing-Presses;" and he tells his readers that his sacred majesty has been graciously pleased "to grant and commit the privilege of publishing all intelligence, together with the survey and inspection of the press, to one and the same person." He candidly informs his subscribers that, "supposing the press in order, the people in their right wits, and news or no news to be the question, a public Mercury should never have my vote." He is of opinion that it makes the multitude "too familiar with the actions and councils of their superiors, too pragmatical and censorious; and gives them, not only an itch, but a colorable right and license to be meddling with the government." To keep the multitude in the right course he thinks "the prudent management of a gazette may contribute to a very high degree." ‡ This worthy licenser was preceded in his high endeavors for the reformation of the pragmatical and censorious multitude by the licensing act of 1662, by which all books, according to their subjects, were to be licensed by the chancellor, the secretary of state, the bishops, and other great personages. All these authorities, practically, became merged in Roger L'Estrange, esquire. The number of master printers in London was limited to twenty; no books were allowed to be printed out of London, except at the two universities and at York; and all unlicensed books were to be seized, and the publisher punished by heavy penalties. The Stationers' Company was made a principal agency for carrying through these despotic regulations. We may well judge, therefore, that the real issue of the four days' fight in the Downs would be explained to the multitude after a fashion which the "prudent management" of the virtuous licenser of the press, and candid monopolist of all intelligence, would prescribe. When Mr. Pepys entered in cipher in his Diary, "Lord, to see how melancholy the court is, under the thoughts of this last overthrow, for so it is, instead of a victory, so much and so unreasonably expected," it was the duty of Roger L'Estrange to make the ignorant multitude very joyful. Still there were

* Evelyn, "Diary," May 8. † "Life."

* "Annus Mirabilis," stanza cvi. † Lingard.
‡ See Nicholls's "Literary Anecdotes," 1812, vol. iv. p. 36.

material evidences of the truth. There were no Dutch prizes in the Thames; and when Mr. Evelyn, with all his royalist devotion, went to Sheerness on the 15th of June he made this record: "Here I beheld the sad spectacle—more than half that gallant bulwark of the kingdom miserably shattered; hardly a vessel entire, but appearing so many wrecks and hulls, so cruelly had the Dutch mangled us." The "sad sight" makes him acknowledge that none knew "for what reason we first engaged in this ungrateful war." There was a partial success when a portion of the two fleets met again on the 25th of July, each being refitted. The Dutch were chased to their ports, and Monk and Rupert kept their coasts in alarm. A squadron of boats and fire-ships entered the channel at Schelling; burned two men-of-war and a hundred and fifty merchantmen; and, to the disgrace of civilized warfare, reduced to ashes the thousand houses of the unfortified town of Brandaris. For this success a day of thanksgiving was appointed. It was kept; "though many muttered that it was not wisely done, to provoke the Dutch, by burning their houses, when it was easy for them to do the like by us, on our seacoasts."* De Witt saw the havoc of Brandaris; and he swore a solemn oath that till he had obtained revenge he would never sheathe the sword. He kept his oath. The "Annus Mirabilis" was at an end before the great Dutch statesman inflicted a terrible retribution. At the close of the year came Dryden, intent upon earning the laureate wreath, and proclaimed the glories of 1666, in magnificent quatrains:

> "Already we have conquered half the war,
> And the less dangerous part is left behind:
> Our trouble now is but to make them dare,
> And not so great to vanquish as to find." †

The story of the great fire of London has been related with minuteness by many trustworthy observers. We can place ourselves in the midst of this extraordinary scene, and make ourselves as familiar with its details as if the age of newspapers had arrived, and a host of reporters had been engaged in collecting every striking incident. But it is not in the then published narratives that we find those graphic touches which constitute the chief interest of this event at the present time. Half a century ago the materials for a faithful record of the great fire were to be sought in the report of a committee of the House of Commons, in the state trials, and in various tracts issued at the period. There are also several striking passages of Baxter's "Life" which relate to the fire. But such notices are meagre compared with the personal records in the two remarkable diaries which have been rescued from obscurity during our own day. We are with Mr. Pepys in his night-gown at three o'clock in the morning of Sunday, the 2d of September, looking out of his window in Seething Lane, at the east end of the city, and, thinking the fire far enough off, going to sleep again. We accompany him later in the morning to a high place in the Tower, and see the houses near London Bridge on fire. The weather is hot and dry, and a furious east wind is blowing. The active Mr. Pepys takes a boat from the Tower Stairs, and slowly sculling up stream looks upon the burning houses in the streets near the Thames; distracted people getting their goods on board lighters; and the inhabitants of the houses at the water's edge not leaving till the fire actually reached them. He has time to look at the pigeons—of which the Londoners generally were then as fond as the Spitalfields weavers of our time—hovering about the windows and balconies till they burned their wings and fell down. There is nobody attempting to quench the fire in that high wind. Everything is combustible after the long drought. Human strength seems in vain, and the people give themselves up to despair. The busy secretary of the navy reaches Whitehall, and tells his story to the king; and he entreats his majesty to order houses to be pulled down, for nothing less would stop the fire. The king desires Pepys to go to the lord mayor and give him this command. In Cannon Street he encounters the lord mayor, who cries, like a fainting woman, "Lord! what can I do? I am spent. People will not obey me." He had been pulling down houses. He did not want any soldiers. He had been up all night and must go home and refresh himself. There is no service in the churches, for the people are crowding them with their goods. The worthy Pepys had invited a dinner-party on this Sunday; and so he goes home; and "we had an extraordinary good dinner, and as merry as at that time we could be." But he and his guests sit not long over their feast. He walks through the streets; and again he takes boat at Paul's Wharf. He now meets the king and the Duke of York in their barge. They ordered that houses should be pulled down apace; but the fire came on so fast that little could be done. We get glimpses in this confusion of the domestic habits of the citizens. "The river full of lighters and boats taking in goods; and good goods swimming about in the water; and I observed that hardly one lighter or boat in three that had the goods of a house in, but there was a pair of virginals in it." The severer Puritans had not driven out the old English love of music; the citizens' wives and daughters still had the imperfect spinet upon which Elizabeth and her maids of honor played. That hot September evening is spent by our observer upon the water. Showers of fire-drops are driving in his face. He sees the fiery flakes shooting up from one burning house and then dropping upon another five or six houses off, and setting that on flame. The roofs were in many streets only thatched: the walls were mostly timber. Warehouses in Thames Street were stored with pitch, and tar, and oil, and brandy. The night came on; and then Pepys, from a little alehouse on the Bankside, saw the fire grow and shoot out between churches and houses, "in a most horrid, malicious, bloody flame, not like the fire flame of an ordinary fire." And then, as it grew darker, he saw the fire up the hill in an arch of above a mile long. Then rose the moon, shedding a soft light over the doomed city; and amid the terrible glare and the gentle radiance the whole world of London was awake, gazing upon the conflagration, or laboring to save something from its fury.

We turn to the diary of Mr. Evelyn—a more elegant writer than Pepys, but scarcely so curious an observer of those minute points that give life to a picture. He has seen the fire from the Bankside on Sunday afternoon; and on Monday he returns to see the whole south part of the city burning. It was now taking hold of the great cathedral, which was surrounded by scaffolds for its repair. "The noise and cracking and thunder of the impetuous flames, the shrieking of women and children, the hurry of people, the fall of towers, houses, and churches, was like a hideous storm; and the air all about so hot and inflamed, that at the last one was not able to approach it, so that they were forced to stand still, and let the flames burn on, which they did, for near two miles in length and one in breadth. The clouds also of smoke were dismal, and reached, upon computation, near fifty miles in length. Thus I left it this afternoon burning, a resemblance of Sodom, or the last day."

On Tuesday, the 4th, Evelyn saw that the fire had reached as far as the Inner Temple. All Fleet Street, the Old Bailey, Ludgate Hill, Warwick Lane, Newgate, Paul's Chain, Watling Street, now flaming, and most of it reduced to ashes; the stones of Paul's flew like grenados, the melting lead running down the streets in a stream, and the very pavements glowing with fiery redness, so as no horse, nor man, was able to tread on them, and the demolition had stopped all the passages, so that no help could be applied; the eastern wind still more impetuously driving the flames forward." On that day the houses near the Tower were blown up; and the same judicious plan was pursued in other places. On the 5th the court at Whitehall was in unwonted bustle. The king and his brother had set an excellent example of personal activity; and gentlemen now took charge of particular streets, and directed the means of extinguishing the flames. The people now began to bestir themselves. The civic authorities no longer rejected the advice, which some seamen had given at first, to blow up the houses before the flames reached them, instead of attempting to pull them down. The wind abated. Large gaps were made in the streets. The desolation did not reach beyond the Temple westward, nor beyond Smithfield on the north. On Wednesday, the 5th, the mighty devourer was arrested in his course. Three days and three nights of agony had been passed; but not more than eight lives had been lost. Mr. Pepys at last lies down and sleeps soundly. He has one natural remark: "It is a strange thing to see how long this time did look since Sunday, having been always full of variety of actions, and little sleep, that it looked like a week or more, and I had forgot almost the day of the week."

The contemporary accounts of the fire, such as we find in a sensible pamphlet entitled "Observations on the Burning of Lon-

* Baxter, "Life," part iii. p. 16. † "Annus Mirabilis," cccliii.

don," * have little pretension to be picturesque in their details. The more elaborate passages of Evelyn's Diary have been quoted again and again; and, grouped together, they form the best connected narrative of an eye-witness. There is one passage in Baxter's "Life" which is not so familiar; but which, in its rapid eloquence, is as impressive as Evelyn, and more truly poetical than Dryden's vague sublimities: "It was a sight that might have given any man a lively sense of the vanity of this world, and all the wealth and glory of it, and of the future conflagration of all the world. To see the flames mount up toward heaven, and proceed so furiously without restraint: To see the streets filled with people astonished that had scarce sense left them to lament their own calamity: To see the fields filled with heaps of goods; and sumptuous buildings, curious rooms, costly furniture and household stuff, yea, warehouses and furnished shops and libraries, all on a flame, and none durst come near to receive anything: To see the king and nobles ride about the streets, beholding all these desolations, and none could afford the least relief: To see the air, as far as could be beheld, so filled with the smoke, that the sun shone through it with a color like blood; yea, even when it was setting in the west, it so appeared to them that dwelt on the west side of the city. But the dolefullest sight of all was afterward to see what a ruinous confused place the city was, by chimnies and steeples only standing in the midst of cellars and heaps of rubbish; so that it was hard to know where the streets had been, and dangerous, of a long time, to pass through the ruins, because of vaults, and fire in them. No man that seeth not such a thing can have a right apprehension of the dreadfulness of it."

While indifferent spectators were gazing on the fire from Bankside, and the high grounds on the south of the Thames, the fields on the north were filled with houseless men, women, and children. "I went," says Evelyn, "toward Islington and Highgate, where one might have seen two hundred thousand people of all ranks and degrees, dispersed and lying along by their heaps of what they could save from the fire, deploring their loss; and, though ready to perish for hunger and destitution, yet not asking one penny for relief." There were liberal contributions from the king, and the nobility, and the clergy. Collections were made and distributed in alms to the most needy. But the real difficulty must have been to insure a supply of food, when all the usual channels of interchange were choked up. Proclamations were made for the country people to bring in provisions. Facilities were offered to the people to leave the ruins, by a command that they should be received in all cities and towns to pursue their occupations; and that such reception should entail no eventual burden on parishes. No doubt it was necessary to strive against the selfishness that vast calamities too often produce in the sufferers and the lookers-on. The country people for miles around had gazed upon the flames.† There was an immense destruction of books; and their half-burned leaves were carried by the wind even as far as Windsor. The dense cloud of smoke shut out the bright autumn sun from the harvest-fields, and upon distant roads men travelled in the shade. The extent of the calamity was apparent. Yet it may be doubted if many of the great ones received the visitation in a right spirit. Pepys says, "none of the nobility came out of the country at all, to help the king, or comfort him, or prevent commotions at this fire." Some of the insolent courtiers exulted in the destruction: "Now the rebellious city is ruined, the king is absolute, and was never king indeed till now." ‡ One profligate "young commander" of the fleet "made mighty sport of it;" and rejoiced that the corruption of the citizens' wives might be effected at a very reduced cost.§

The monument erected in commemoration of the fire has an elaborate Latin inscription, in which it is set forth that the destruction comprised eighty-nine churches, the city gates, Guildhall, many public structures, hospitals, schools, libraries; a vast number of stately edifices; thirteen thousand two hundred dwelling-houses, four hundred streets. An account, which estimates the houses burned at twelve thousand, values them at an average rent of £25 a year, and their value, at twelve years' purchase, at £3,600,000. The public buildings destroyed are valued at £1,800,000; the private goods at the same rate. With other items the total amount of the loss is estimated at £7,335,000.*

But the interruption to industry must have involved even a more serious loss of the national capital. We have stated, on the authority of Clarendon, how the plague had rendered it difficult to collect the revenue. He says of the necessities of the crown in 1666, "Now this deluge by fire had dissipated the persons and destroyed the houses which were liable to the reimbursement of all arrears; and the very stocks were consumed which should carry on and revive the trade." †

The monument which was erected on the spot where the fire first broke out recorded that the burning of this Protestant city was begun and carried on by the treachery and malice of a popish faction. The "tall bully" lifted his head and lied in choice Latin for a century and three quarters; and when the majority of men had grown more truly religious, and did not hold it the duty of one Christian to hate another who differed from him in doctrines and ceremonies, the corporation of London wisely obliterated the offensive record. In the examinations before the Committee of the House of Commons there was nothing beyond the most vague babble of the frightened and credulous, except the self-accusation of one Hubert, a French working silversmith, who maintained that he was the incendiary. He was hanged, much to the disgrace of the administration of justice. "Neither the judges," says Clarendon, "nor any present at the trial, did believe him guilty; but that he was a poor distracted wretch, weary of his life, and chose to part with it this way."

Dryden's stanzas on the fire thus conclude, with reference to the popular superstition, which had its influence even upon the well-informed:

> "The utmost malice of the stars is past,
> And two dire comets, which have scourg'd the town,
> In their own Plague and Fire have breathed their last,
> Or dimly in their sinking sockets frown."

A medal was struck in commemoration of the plague and fire. The eye of God is in the centre; one comet is showering down pestilence and another flame. The east wind is driving on the flames. Death in the foreground is encountering an armed horseman. The legend is "*Sic punit*"—So He punishes.

NOTE ON WREN'S PLAN FOR REBUILDING THE CITY.

Our noble cathedral of St. Paul's, and many churches which exhibit the genius of Sir Christopher Wren in many graceful and original forms of towers and spires, grew out of the Great Fire. But the occasion was lost for a nobler city to arise, of wide streets and handsome quays. The old wooden fabrics were replaced by those of brick; but the same narrow thoroughfares were preserved as of old. The owners of property could not be brought to unite in any common plan; and each built his house up again, upon his own spot of ground. The constant labor of succeeding times, and of our own especially, has been to clear away, at enormous cost, what the fire had cleared away in three days and nights. This want of co-operative action was not the result of any ignorance of what required to be done. Wren's labors and wishes are thus recorded: "In order to a proper reformation, Wren, pursuant to the royal command, immediately after the fire, took an exact survey of the whole area and confines of the burning, having traced over with great trouble and hazard the great plain of ashes and ruins; and designed a plan or model of a new city, in which the deformity and inconveniences of the old town were remedied, by the enlarging the streets and lanes, and carrying them as near parallel to one another as might be; avoiding, if compatible with greater conveniences, all acute angles; by seating all the parochial churches conspicuous and insular; by forming the most public places into large piazzas, the centre of six or eight ways; by uniting the halls of the twelve chief companies into one regular square annexed to Guildhall; by making a quay on the whole bank of the river, from Blackfriars to the Tower. . . . The streets to be of three magnitudes; the three principal leading straight through the city, and one or two cross streets, to be at least ninety feet wide; others sixty feet; and lanes about thirty feet, excluding

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* Reprinted in "Harleian Miscellany."

† The author of this history, talking of the fire of London with a friend, in his 88th year, whose intellect is as bright as his knowledge is extensive, was much impressed by the fact that an event happening two centuries ago may have come to the ear of one now living, with only a single person intervening between himself and an eye-witness. Such a fact ought to lead us not to reject traditional information as unworthy of historical record. Our friend was born in 1769. His aunt, who died at 84 years of age, was accustomed to talk with him about his great-grandfather, who died in 1739, at 93 years of age That great-grandfather used to describe his impressions of the fire of London, which he saw from a hill at Bishop's Stortford.

‡ Baxter.

§ Pepys.

* "Harleian Miscellany," vol. vii. p. 331.

† "Life."

all narrow dark alleys without thoroughfares, and courts. . . . The practicability of this scheme, without loss to any man or infringement of any property, was at that time demonstrated, and all material objections fully weighed and answered. The only, and as it happened insurmountable difficulty remaining, was the obstinate averseness of great part of the citizens to alter their old properties, and to recede from building their houses again on the old ground and foundations; as also the distrust in many and unwillingness to give up their properties, though for a time only, into the hands of public trustees or commissioners, till they might be dispensed to them again, with more advantage to themselves than otherwise was possible to be effected. . . . The opportunity in a great degree was lost of making the new city the most magnificent, as well as commodious for health and trade, of any upon earth." *

CHAPTER CVIII.

Meeting of parliament—Discontents—Public accounts—Insurrection of Covenanters in Scotland—State of the navy—Dutch fleet at the Nore—Ships burned in the Medway—Blockade of London—Peace with the Dutch—Clarendon deprived of office—He is impeached—He leaves England—The Cabal ministry—Treaty of Triple Alliance—Secret negotiations of the king with Louis the Fourteenth.

The flames of London were still smouldering when the parliament met at Westminster on the 21st of September. The king said, "Little time hath passed since we were almost in despair of having this place left us to meet in; you see the dismal ruins the fire hath made." There had been a prorogation for ten months. But money was wanting. "I desire," said Charles, "to put you to as little trouble as I can; and I can tell you truly, I desire to put you to as little cost as is possible. I wish with all my heart that I could have the whole charge of this war myself, and that my subjects should reap the benefit of it to themselves." No doubt it was very disagreeable that the king's subjects, being to be called upon to pay largely, should by any possibility take the liberty of asking what they were to pay for. Clarendon tells us of the somewhat dangerous temper which was spreading after the experience of six years and a half of the happy Restoration. "Though they made the same professions of affection and duty to the king they had ever done, they did not conceal the very ill opinion they had of the court and the continual riotings there." † They were tending to the accomplishment of Harrington's prophecy: "Well! The king will come in. Let him come in, and call a parliament of the greatest cavaliers in England, so they be men of estates, and let them sit but for seven years, and they will all turn commonwealth's men." ‡ A bill was brought in for the appointment of commissioners "to examine all accounts of those who had received or issued out any moneys for this war; and where they found any persons faulty, and who had broken their trust, they should be liable to such punishment as the parliament should think fit." Sir George Carteret and Lord Ashley, who were chiefly aimed at, "both applied themselves to the king for his protection in this point. His majesty was no less troubled, knowing that both had issued out many sums upon his warrant, which he would not suffer to be produced." To such a bill the king was resolved never to give the royal assent. This is Clarendon's relation of the matter; and yet he is not ashamed to say that he urged the king "to prevent the excesses in parliament, and not to suffer them to extend their jurisdiction to cases they have nothing to do with." Mr. Hallam says, "Such a slave was Clarendon to his narrow prepossessions, that he would rather see the dissolute excesses which he abhorred suck nourishment from that revenue which had been allotted to maintain the national honor and interests, and which, by its deficiencies thus aggravated, had caused even in this very year the navy to be laid up, and the coasts to be left defenceless, than suffer them to be restrained by the only power to which thoughtless luxury would submit." § Every effort was made to oppose the bill; ‖ and the parliament was prorogued in 1667 without its being passed. Next year, 1668, the parliament carried its salutary measure of control. A supply of 1,800,000*l.* was granted; and at the prorogation the king said, "I assure you the money shall be laid out for the ends it is given."

The calamities which London had endured of pestilence and conflagration were not wholly unacceptable to the corrupt court. Clarendon informs us that there were those about the king who assured him that the fire "was the greatest blessing that God had ever conferred on him, his restoration only excepted; for the walls and gates being now burned and thrown down of that rebellious city, which was always an enemy to the crown, his majesty would never suffer them to repair and build them up again, to be a bit in his mouth, and a bridle upon his neck; but would keep all open, that his troops might enter upon them whenever he thought it necessary for his service, there being no other way to govern that rude multitude but by force." Charles was not pleased with these suggestions, adds Clarendon. Desirable as it might be to have the Londoners under his feet at this time of their desolation, there was still the old spirit abroad in England. "Mr. Williamson stood, in a little place, to have come into the House of Commons, and they would not choose him; they said 'No courtier.' And, which is worse, Bab May went down in great state to Winchelsea with the Duke of York's letters, not doubting to be chosen; and there the people chose a private gentleman in spite of him, and cried out they would have no court pimp to be their burgess; which are things that bode very ill." * The indiscretion of the king, to apply the least offensive term to his conduct, was sufficient to alienate the affection which had been so lavishly bestowed upon him, even if the people, with their bitter experience, stopped short of rebellion. There were large numbers of the humble retainers of the royal household who, when Lady Castlemaine ordered of her tradesmen every jewel and service of plate that she fancied, and told her servant to send a note of their cost to the privy purse, were themselves absolutely starving. It sounds very like exaggeration when we read that one of the king's musicians, "Evans, the famous man upon the harp, having not his equal in the world, did the other day die for mere want, and was fain to be buried by the alms of the parish." But this is not idle gossip of Mr. Pepys. There is an account in existence of "The state of the Treasurer of the Chamber, his office, at midsummer, 1665," which shows the yearly payments due to officers of the king's household, and of the sums "behind unpaid." † There were forty-two musicians, to whom their salaries had been due for three years and one quarter. High and low, the bishop almoner and the rat-killer, the justice in oyer beyond Trent and the bird-keeper, footmen, falconers, huntsmen, bear-warders, wardrobe officers, watermen, messengers, yeomen of the guard, and many others, useful or useless, had been "behind unpaid," some for five years, some for four years, some for three or two years, very few only for one year. To three apothecaries, more than 5000*l.* was due. That these persons, frequenting the coffee-houses or alehouses of London, did not spread abroad their griefs, cannot reasonably be imagined. A sullen discontent, a silent indignation, settled deep into the hearts of the whole community. If a sword had been drawn against the English people, there would have been another civil war, with one certain result. Men were satisfied for twenty years longer to endure and murmur. "It is strange how everybody do nowadays reflect upon Oliver, and commend him, what brave things he did, and made all the neighbor princes fear him; while here a prince, come in with all the love and prayers and good-liking of his people, who have given greater signs of loyalty and willingness to serve him with their estates than ever was done by any people, hath lost all so soon, that it is a miracle what way a man could devise to lose so much in so little time." Not at all strange, Mr. Pepys, that the people looked back upon Oliver, and what brave things he did. But the vicissitudes of nearly twenty years—the dread of property becoming insecure—the religious divisions—the respect for the monarchical principle, however degraded in the immediate wearer of the crown—the love for the ancient Church, amid all its pride and intolerance—these considerations kept Englishmen quiet. The government, moreover, was corrupt, but in England it was not cruel, beyond the cruelty of preventing men's religious opinions by statute. On this side the Tweed the government provoked little more than the contempt of those whom it fined and imprisoned for nonconformity. In Scotland it drove them to desperation; and

* Wren's "Parentalia," p. 269.
‡ Aubrey's "Lives," vol. ii. p. 373.
§ "Constitutional History," c. 12.
† "Life."
‖ See *ante*, p. 534.

* Pepys, "Diary," October 21st, 1666.
† Preface to "Secret Services of Charles II. and James II." Camden Society.

when they rebelled the thumbikin and the boot were ready to be administered to the victims, under the forms of justice by the apostate Lauderdale, or they were shot down and hanged by the brute Dalziel. The archbishops of St. Andrew's and Glasgow hounded on the persecutors.

The restoration of the monarchy was to Scotland the establishment of a policy of unmitigated despotism. The orders of the king and council in matters ecclesiastical were to have the force of laws. A large army was raised to hold the people in subjection, while Episcopacy, which they abominated, was established, without any modification by general assemblies. The churches were deserted; and the nonconforming preachers had immense congregations in barns and fields; on wild heaths, and in the gorges of the mountains. The assemblies were dispersed by the soldiers; but no violence could put them down. Those who were most zealous had soldiers quartered in their houses, to grind out of them the fines which they were unwilling or unable to pay. In the west of Scotland, where the nonconformists were most numerous and most determined, Sir James Turner, a fitting instrument of tyranny, was sent to enforce obedience by mulcts and severer penalties, levied at his bidding by his rapacious dragoons. To a resolute and hardy population, maddened by injuries and defiant of danger, resistance in arms seemed not only a worldly policy but a sacred duty. A body of Covenanters of the west marched to Dumfries, and seized Sir James Turner. They were for the most part peasants, with a few Presbyterian ministers among them. But they were not ignorant of military discipline, and soon became alarming in their numbers and their subordination. About three thousand set off to march from Lanark to Edinburgh, but these bands gradually dwindled to eight or nine hundred. When they had reached within four miles of the city, they learned that it was fortified, and its gates shut against them. They retreated to the Pentland Hills. On the evening of the 28th of November Dalziel came upon them with a body of horse. Twice the insurgents drove back the cavalry; but their ranks were at last broken, and they were utterly dispersed. The slaughter was inconsiderable; but many were executed, and some tortured. "One Maccail, that was only a probationer preacher, and who had been chaplain in Sir James Steward's house, had gone from Edinburgh to them; it was believed he was sent by the party in town, and that he knew their correspondents; so he was put to the torture, which in Scotland they called the boots; for they put a pair of iron boots close on the leg, and drive wedges between these and the leg. The common torture was only to drive these in the calf of the leg; but I have been told they were sometimes driven upon the shin-bone. He bore the torture with great constancy; and either he could say nothing, or he had the firmness not to discover those who trusted him. Every man of them could have saved his own life, if he would accuse any other; but they were all true to their friends. Maccail, for all the pains of the torture, died in a rapture of joy: his last words were, farewell sun, moon, and stars—farewell kindred and friends—farewell world and time—farewell weak and frail body—welcome eternity—welcome angels and saints—welcome Saviour of the world, and welcome God, the judge of all; which he spoke with a voice and manner that struck all that heard it." *

On the 31st of December, 1666, the official person who had the most intimate knowledge of the affairs of the navy thus writes in his diary: "Thus ends this year of public wonder and mischief to this nation. Public matters in a most sad condition; seamen discouraged for want of pay, and are become not to be governed; nor, as matters are now, can any fleet go out next year. . . . A sad, vicious, negligent court, and all sober men there fearful of the ruin of the whole kingdom this next year: from which good God deliver us." † Such ships as were in commission were commanded by haughty young nobles, wholly ignorant of naval affairs. One of these fair-weather captains, a son of Lord Bristol, was heard to say that he hoped not to see "a tarpawlin" in command of a ship for a twelvemonth. The honest tarpawlins confessed that "the true English valor we talk of is almost spent and worn out." ‡ Direful calamities at the hands of the All-seeing had not broken the national spirit; but the infamous corruption of the higher classes was eating into the foundation of England's greatness. Her people were losing that masculine simplicity, that healthy devotion to public and private duties, that religious earnestness—intolerant, no doubt, but rarely simulated by the followers of Calvin or the followers of Arminius in the greatest heat of their conflicts—the English were losing that nationality, whose excess may be ludicrous, but whose utter want is despicable. Their high intellect was being emasculated by a corrupt literature. Science was groping in the dark under the auspices of the Royal Society; and divinity was holding forth from orthodox pulpits on the excesses of the early reformers, and the duty of non-resistance to kings deriving their power direct from Heaven. These follies probably did little harm; and men gradually shook off their delusions, and went forward to seek for experimental science that had useful ends, and for practical theology that would make them wiser and happier. But the corruptions of the court soon worked upon the principles of the people, through a debasing popular literature. The drama had come back after an exile of twenty years. When the drama was banished, tragedy was still a queen wearing her purple and her pall; and the "wood-notes wild" of comedy were as fresh and joyous as those of the lark in spring. The drama came back in the shameless garb, and with the brazen look and the drunken voice of the lowest strumpet. The people were to be taught that Shakespeare was a barbarian, and not to be tolerated in his own simplicity. He was, if heard at all, to furnish the libretto of an opera, to be got up with dresses and decorations by Sir William D'Avenant. "I saw," says Evelyn in 1662. "'Hamlet, Prince of Denmark,' played; but now the old plays began to disgust this refined age, since his majesty being so long abroad." This refined age, when it brought women to personate female characters, heard from the lips of Eleanor Gwynn and Mary Davis the foulest verses, which they were selected to speak to furnish additional relish to the licentiousness of the poet. The theatre was at the very height of fashion when it was most shameless. The actresses were removed from "The King's House," to become the mistresses of the king, by their gradual promotion from being the mistresses of the king's servants. Nelly threw up her parts, and would act no more when Lord Buckhurst gave her a hundred a year, in 1667. In 1671, when Mr. Evelyn walked with the king through St. James's Park, Mrs. Nelly looked out of her garden on a terrace at the top of the wall, and there was "familiar discourse" between his majesty and the "impudent comedian," at which scene Mr. Evelyn was "heartily sorry." It was well for England that her salt had not wholly lost its savor; that the middle-class of London, though they rushed to the savage bull-baitings of the bear-garden, which had been shut up during the time of the Long Parliament, were too indignant at the costliness of the court to be enamored of its gilded profligacy. It was better still for England that some little of the old Puritan spirit was left among the humblest classes—that the Bible was read by the poor, and Rochester and Shadwell were to them unknown.*

Amid the abandonment of the court to its pleasures—the rapacity of the royal favorites, who received gratuities and pensions not to be counted by hundreds but by thousands of pounds—the jealousy of the parliament in granting money which they knew would be wasted—the spring of 1667 arrived, without any preparations for carrying on the naval war. When the king's treasurer had got some of the money which the House of Commons tardily voted, there were more pressing necessities to be supplied than the pay of sailors or the fitting out of ships. The satirical verse of Andrew Marvell has represented this crisis with historic accuracy:

> "Each day they bring the tale, and that too true,
> How strong the Dutch their equipage renew.
> Meantime through all the yards their orders run
> To lay the ships up, cease the keels begun.

* Burnet's "History of his own Time."

† Pepys. ‡ Ibid., October 29th, 1666.

* We recommend to the *genre* painters subjects for a picture of two compartments, representing high life and low life, after sketches by Mr. Pepys, at Epsom, on Sunday, the 14th of July, 1667:

"By eight o'clock to the Well, where much company. And to the town to the King's Head; and hear that my Lord Buckhurst and Nelly are lodged at the next house, and Sir Charles Sedley with them; and keep a merry house. Poor girl! I pity her."

"I walked upon the Downs, where a flock of sheep was; and the most pleasant and innocent sight that ever I saw in my life. We found a shepherd, and his little boy reading, far from any houses or sight of people, the Bible to him."

The timber rots, the useless axe doth rust ;
Th' unpractised saw lies buried in its dust ;
The busy hammer sleeps, the ropes untwine,
The store and wages all are mine and thine ;
Along the coasts and harbors they take care
That money lacks, nor forts be in repair." *

On the 23d of January the sailors were in mutiny at Wapping, and the horse-guards were going to quell them. They were in insurrection for the want of pay. When the money was obtained from parliament they still mutinied, for they were still unpaid. On the 5th of June the Portuguese ambassador had gone on board the Happy Return, in the Hope, ordered to sail for Holland ; but the crew refused to go until they were paid. Other ships were in mutiny the same day. On the 8th of June the Dutch fleet of eighty sail was off Harwich. It was time to stir. The king sent Lord Oxford to raise the militia of the eastern counties ; and "my Lord Barkeley is going down to Harwich also to look after the militia there ; and there is also the Duke of Monmouth, and with him a great many young Hectors, the Lord Chesterfield, my Lord Mandeville, and others ;" but, adds Mr. Pepys, "to little purpose, I fear, but to debauch the country women thereabouts." On the 10th of June the Dutch were at the Nore. Then, indeed, the matter was past the skill of the "young Hectors." The enemy had advanced almost as high as the Hope. Monk has rushed down to Gravesend—"in his shirt," writes Marvell. Money is now forthcoming to pay the revolted seamen ; but, sighs Pepys, "people that have been used to be deceived by us as to money won't believe us ; and we know not, though we have it, how almost to promise it." The Dutch fleet has dropped down to Sheerness. "The alarm was so great," writes Evelyn, "that it put both country and city into fear—a panic and consternation, such as I hope I shall never see more ; everybody was flying, none knew why or whither." Monk was at Gravesend, "with a great many idle lords and gentlemen." Opposite them was Tilbury. Did any of these "idle lords and gentlemen, with their pistols and fooleries," think of the time when the great queen stood like a rock upon that shore, and her people gathered round her with invincible confidence ; and the greatest armament that ever threatened England was scattered by her true gentlemen—the Raleighs and Carews, who loved their country with a filial love, and hurled foul scorn at the invader ? Charles, if not belied by the Dutch, was deliberating in council on the propriety of a flight to Windsor, by way of example to his terrified people.† On the 11th news came to London that Sheerness was taken. The drums were beating all night for the trained bands to be in arms in the morning, with bullets and powder and a fortnight's victuals. The Londoners were momentarily relieved of their panic ; for the Dutch fleet had sailed up the Medway. Chatham was safe, the courtiers said. Monk had stopped the river with chains and booms, and Upnor Castle was fortified. Chains and booms and Upnor Castle availed not long against the resolution of Ruyter and De Witt, who were about to exact the penalty for the wanton desolation of the coasts of the Texel. They went about their work in a manly way—not burning Gravesend, which was really defenceless, but breaking through the defences of the Medway, behind which our ships lay unrigged. They were quickly set on fire. In Upnor Castle and the forts at Chatham there was little ammunition ; and the Dutch "made no more of Upnor Castle's shooting than of a fly." The proud ship which bore the king to England, the Royal Charles, was secured by the invaders as a trophy ; and when they had made their strength sufficiently manifest to the panic-stricken sycophants of the depraved court, they quietly sailed back to the Thames, and enforced a real blockade of London for many weeks. The spirit of patriotism was trodden out of the sailors by neglect and oppression. There were many of them on board the Dutch ships, who called out to their countrymen on the river, "We did heretofore fight for tickets ; now we fight for dollars." The sailors' wives went up and down the streets of Wapping, crying, "This comes of your not paying our husbands." Mobs assembled at Westminster, shouting for "a parliament, a parliament." They broke the lord chancellor's windows, and set up a gibbet before his gate. Had the Dutch gone up the Thames beyond Deptford, it is not impossible that the iniquities of the Stuarts might have more quickly come to an end. Such a consummation was not to be desired. The English people had to endure two more decades of misrule, that they might gather strength to fit themselves for constitutional government. Besides the disgrace and humiliation, England suffered little from the Dutch in the Thames and the Medway. The Londoners were cut off from their supply of sea-borne coal—no irremediable evil in summer, but one that probably hastened a peace. On the 24th of June Mr. Evelyn writes, "The Dutch fleet still continuing to stop up the river, so as nothing could stir or come out, I was before the council, and commanded by his majesty to go with some others and search about the environs of the city, now exceedingly distressed for want of fuel, whether there could be any peat or turf fit for use." The report was that there was abundance. On the 28th the Dutch fleet was lying triumphantly at the Nore—"a dreadful spectacle," says Evelyn, "as ever Englishmen saw, and a dishonor never to be wiped off." It was a spectacle of dishonor which has never been seen since, and will never be seen again, unless there should again be such a combination of anti-national elements as in the days of Charles the Second—a profligate and corrupt court, avaricious and selfish ministers, a bribed parliament, an intolerant church, a slavish bench of justice. If such instruments of evil should again unite their forces, then the ordinary supineness of office may become a heartless indifference to every duty ; then the pretensions of the high-born to engross all the functions of administration may become the most shameless avidity for the exorbitant pay of useless posts ; then the people may be gradually brought to lick the dust like oriental slaves ; then our soldiers and sailors may be marshalled in our enemy's ranks, and pilot our enemy's ships, and exult that they fight for dollars. The disgrace of 1667 will not have been in vain, if it teach the great lesson that the corruption of the high is the corruption of the national honor at its fountain-head.

On the 29th of July a treaty of peace between England, Holland, and France was concluded at Breda.

The fall of Lord Clarendon from power, in 1667, is one of those events whose causes can only be adequately developed, if they can ever be fully and satisfactorily set forth, through an intimate acquaintance with the public documents and private memorials of the period. To attempt such an exposition here, even if the materials for it were at our hand, would manifestly be beyond the scope of a history so general as this. The intrigues of rival statesmen, the vacillations of the sovereign, the passions of parliamentary factions, require to be fully examined, if we would thoroughly comprehend the concurring influences which hurled the most eminent statesman of the Restoration from his high position. A faint outline of these combinations, in connection with an estimate of the character of the fallen man, is all that we can pretend to offer.

Sir Edward Hyde, of all the companions of the adversity of Charles, was by far the fittest minister to guide him through the extreme difficulties of his altered position. He was hated by the queen-mother. His habits of thought and action were diametrically opposed to the levities and vices of the king and the younger courtiers. He had many early associations with the struggle for civil rights, which made him a stumbling-block in the way of any broad attempts to emulate the despotisms of other European monarchies. He was by principle and education devotedly attached to the Protestantism of the Church of England. He was thus no object of affection among many whose poverty he had shared, but from whose habits he was altogether alien. But his great abilities were indispensable to Charles ; and thus Sir Edward Hyde became the Earl of Clarendon, lord chancellor, and the real minister of England, all other administrative functionaries being subordinate to him. It was necessary to govern through parliaments ; and Clarendon, by his experience, his dignified carriage, his rhetorical and literary powers, was eminently fitted for the duties of a parliamentary minister. He was for a while all-successful. The rooted dislike of the queen-mother was neutralized, even to the point of her graciously receiving the plebeian Duchess of York. The king and his associates were compelled to manifest respect to the decorous chancellor, and to compensate their submission to his wisdom by their ridicule of his manners. Clarendon's notions of the prerogative, and of the rights of parliaments, were not in accordance with the vague schemes of being "every inch a king," that silly nobles and slavish churchmen whispered to

* "Instructions to a Painter about the Dutch Wars."—Works, vol. ii. p. 101 ; 1726.

† "Correspondence of Evelyn," vol. iii. p. 213 ; 1852.

Charles; but then Clarendon had imbibed none of the broader doctrines of civil liberty which had entered into the popular mind since 1640, and was heartily disposed to remodel the monarchy upon the precedents of the days of Elizabeth and the first Stuart. Charles was indifferent to the Church of England, for which Clarendon was strenuous; and Charles was for such a toleration of Protestant dissenters as would include the Catholic; but when Clarendon equally persecuted Puritans and Papists, Charles let him have his way, for, a papist at heart himself, if anything, he thought that a general persecution would hasten on a general toleration. There was thus, with the court, a perpetual compromise between the dislike of Clarendon's personal character and the desire to snatch from his policy such advantages as a less scrupulous minister could not have obtained from parliament. He was hated by the king and the favorites because he had not, when the parliament was lavish and the nation mad, extracted from the temper of the hour a far greater fixed revenue, such as would have made parliaments less necessary for the king. But when parliament had the presumption to ask for an account of the disposal of the sums that had been voted, then Clarendon's opposition to any interference with the old power of the crown made his conscientious scruples about the limits of prerogative less obnoxious. The principles of the man were not fitted for the retrogressive objects of the crown, or the progressive movement of the nation. He was a Conservative, to use the party name of our own day, clinging to the non-essentials of old institutions and laws with the obstinate tenacity which makes conservatism a mere negation. The triumphs of statesmanship are not to be accomplished like the victory of the deliverers of Gibeon, while the sun remains in the same place of the heavens.

As early as 1663 the Earl of Bristol, a Catholic peer, in his seat in parliament, attributing to the lord chancellor all the evils under which the country labored, impeached him of high treason. The opinion of the judges was required; and they answered that by the laws of the realm no articles of high treason could be originally exhibited in the House of Peers, by any one peer against another; and that the matters alleged in the charge against the lord chancellor did not amount to treason. Personal hostility appears to have provoked this ill-judged attack. Four years afterward it was pretty well known that the king was alienated from his grave adviser. Clarendon had made enemies all around him by his faults as well as by his virtues. He was haughty and passionate. He was grasping and ostentatious. He had returned from exile in the deepest poverty. In seven years he had acquired a sufficient fortune to build a mansion superior to ducal palaces, and to furnish it with the most costly objects of taste and luxury. He was envied by the nobility. He was hated by the people; for in the grandeur of what they called "Dunkirk House" they saw what they believed to be the evidence of foreign bribery. The Duke of Buckingham had been banished from court through a quarrel with Lady Castlemaine; and revenge threw him into the ranks of those to whom the government was obnoxious. He became the advocate of the sectaries; he became the avowed and especial enemy of the chancellor. For a short time he was sent to the Tower, upon the supposed discovery of some treasonable intrigues; but he soon regained his liberty, and his royal master was propitiated when the duke had made his peace with "the lady." She interceded for Buckingham; but at first was unsuccessful. The court tattle said that the king had called Castlemaine a jade that meddled with things she had nothing to do with; and that Castlemaine called the king a fool, who suffered his businesses to be carried on by those who did not understand them.* But very soon "the lady" carried her point; Buckingham was restored to favor; Clarendon was sacrificed. Charges of the most serious nature were got up against him. The imputation of having sold Dunkirk for his private advantage was confidently maintained. It became known that while the Dutch were in the Thames, and the treasury was without a guinea, he had resisted the advice of the council that parliament should be called together, upon the plea that it had been prorogued to a more distant day; but had recommended that money should be levied to pay the troops in the places where they were quartered, and that the sums so raised from individuals should be deducted out of their future taxes. That he had some scheme for forced contributions as a temporary expedient was admitted by himself. Other accusations, all of a very vague nature, were poured into the king's ear; who, no doubt, was not indisposed to get rid of one who was a severe monitor, and, though pliant in some things, was not an unscrupulous tool. Charles, through the Duke of York, asked Clarendon to resign. He indignantly refused, saying that his resignation would amount to a confession of guilt. After a conference of two hours the great minister saw that his disgrace was resolved upon—disgrace which "had been certainly designed in my Lady Castlemaine's chamber." Her aviary looked into Whitehall garden; and when he went from the king, she rushed from her bed at twelve o'clock at noon—"and thither her woman brought her her night-gown; and she stood blessing herself at the old man's going away; and several of the gallants of Whitehall—of which there were many staying to see the chancellor's return—did talk to her in her bird-cage."* The king sent for the seals. Evelyn went to see Clarendon, and says, "I found him in his bed-chamber, very sad. . . . He had enemies at court, especially the buffoons and ladies of pleasure, because he thwarted some of them, and stood in their way." The parliament had assembled. On the 15th of October the two houses voted an address of thanks to the throne for the removal of the chancellor, and the king in his reply pledged himself never to employ Lord Clarendon again in any capacity. This was not enough. Seventeen charges were prepared against him by a committee of the Commons; and on the 12th of November the house impeached him of high treason at the bar of the Peers. There were animated debates in that house, in which Clarendon had many supporters. The two houses got angry. The court became alarmed. Clarendon was advised to leave the kingdom clandestinely, but he refused. Then the king sent him an express command to retire to the Continent. He obeyed, addressing a letter, vindicating himself, to the House of Peers. An act was passed on the 29th of December, banishing him for life, unless he should return by the following 1st of February.

The close of the political career of Clarendon, under circumstances of punishment and disgrace so disproportioned to his public or private demerits, has left no stain upon his memory. Whatever were his faults as a statesman, he stands upon a far higher elevation than the men who accomplished his ruin. As to the king, his parasites and his mistresses, who were in raptures to be freed from his observation and censure, their dislike was Clarendon's high praise. In the encouragement which Charles indirectly gave to attacks upon the minister who had saved him from many of the worst consequences of the rashness of the royalists, and had labored in the service of his father and himself for twenty-seven years, either in war, or in exile, or in triumph, with a zeal and ability which no other possessed, we see only the heartless ingratitude of the king, and his utterly selfish notions of the duties of a sovereign. Clarendon had become disagreeable to him, through the very qualities which made the government endurable to high-minded and sober men. Nor was it from any desire to carry out more tolerant principles of ecclesiastical rule, nor from any conviction that his chancellor's notions of civil policy were antiquated and in many respects unsuited to the times, that the king sought other advisers. The men who succeeded the great minister made one attempt to remove some of the oppressions under which the nonconformists labored. They failed; and their failure was followed by a more indiscriminate persecution. They made one bold endeavor at a course of foreign policy which might have again placed England at the head of a union of Protestant free states. For a very brief period the influence of France was shaken off; and then England's king was the pensioner of Louis. Clarendon went into exile. He was some time before he was permitted to find a resting-place; but he found it at last at Montpelier. He was probably never sincerely reconciled to the loss of power and grandeur; but he believed that he was reconciled; and in dedicating himself to a renewal of that literary employment which has given him the best title to the respectful remembrance of mankind, he found that consolation which industry never failed to bestow upon a robust understanding, that was also open to religious impressions. He says of himself: "It pleased God, in a short time, after some recollections, and upon his entire confidence in Him, to restore him to that serenity of mind and resignation of himself to the disposal and good pleasure of God, that they who conversed most with him could not discover the least

* Pepys, July 12.

* Pepys, August 27.

murmur or impatience in him, or any unevenness in his conversations."

When the seals were taken away from Clarendon they were given to Sir Orlando Bridgman. The conduct of affairs fell into new hands. Southampton, the most respectable of Charles's first advisers, was dead. Monk was worn out. Buckingham first came into power with Arlington as secretary of state, and Sir William Coventry. But soon the ministry comprised the five persons known as "The Cabal"—a name which signified what we now call the Cabinet; but which name was supposed incorrectly to have been formed out of the initial letters of the names of the members—Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, Lauderdale. The word Cabal had been used long before to indicate a secret council. Of the new advisers of Charles, Buckingham was the most influential at court, and he made great efforts to be at the same time the most popular. When Buckingham was taken to the Tower, Clarendon was depressed by the acclamations of the people, who shouted round the prisoner. As Clarendon had supported the Church, Buckingham was the champion of the sectaries. Baxter says, "As the chancellor had made himself the head of the prelatical party, who were all for setting up themselves by force, and suffering none that were against them, so Buckingham would now be the head of all those parties that were for liberty of conscience." The candid nonconformist adds, "For the man was of no religion, but notoriously and professedly lustful;" but he qualifies his censure with this somewhat high praise—"and yet of greater wit and parts, and sounder principles as to the interests of humanity and the common good, than most lords in the court."* The duke lived in York House, the temporary palace which his father had built, of which nothing now remains but the Water Gate. Here he dwelt during the four or five years of the Cabal administration, affording, as he always continued to afford, abundant materials for the immortal character of Zimri:

"A man so various, that he seem'd to be
Not one, but all mankind's epitome:
Stiff in opinion, always in the wrong,
Was every thing by starts and nothing long;
But, in the course of one revolving moon,
Was chemist, fiddler, statesman, and buffoon:
Then all for women, painting, rhyming, drinking,
Besides ten thousand freaks that died in thinking."†

Ashley, afterward Earl of Shaftesbury—the Antony Ashley Cooper of the protectorate, who clung to the Rump Parliament till he saw that Monk had sealed its fate, and then made his peace with Charles with surprising readiness—the ablest, and in some respects the most incomprehensible, of the statesmen of his time—has had the double immortality of the satire of Butler as well as of Dryden. In Thanet House, in Aldersgate Street, Ashley was at hand to influence the politics of the city. When the mob were roasting rumps in the streets, and were about to handle him roughly as he passed in his carriage, he turned their anger into mirth by his jokes. When the king frowned upon him, he went straight from office to opposition, and made the court disfavor as serviceable to his ambition as the court's honors and rewards:

"For by the witchcraft of rebellion
Transform'd to a feeble state-cameleon,
By giving aim from side to side
He never fail'd to save his tide;
But got the start of every state,
And at a change ne'er came too late." ‡

In a few years more Shaftesbury had earned the praise, or dispraise, of Dryden.

"A daring pilot in extremity,
Pleas'd with the danger when the waves run high."

The history of the Cabal ministry, which extends over a period of six years, is not the history of a cabinet united by a common principle of agreement upon great questions of domestic and foreign policy. Nor is it the history of a sovereign asserting his own opinions, and watching over the administration of affairs, under the advice of a council, and through the agency of the great officers of state. The monarchs of England, from the Norman times, had been, for the most part, men of remarkable energy of character; and in default of their capacity for warlike action and public business, some representative of adequate qualifications wielded the executive power. The great kings of the Plantagenet race were essentially their own ministers. Henry VII., Henry VIII., Elizabeth, were remarkable for their laborious attention to the duties of their great office. Charles I., whether aiming to be despotic or struggling for his crown and his life, was zealous, active, and self-confident. Charles II. was absolutely indifferent to any higher objects than personal gratification; and to this circumstance we must refer some of the extraordinary anomalies of the government after the fall of Clarendon. Abraham Cowley heard Tom Killigrew say to the king, "There is a good, honest, able man that I could name, that if your majesty would employ, and command to see all things well executed, all things would soon be mended; and this is one Charles Stuart, who now spends his time in employing his lips about the court, and hath no other employment; but if you would give him this employment, he were the fittest man in the world to perform it."* Killigrew's estimate of the character of his royal master was altogether false. He was neither honest nor able, with reference to any aptitude for the condition of life to which he was called. He did not desire, he said, to sit like a Turkish sultan, and sentence men to the bowstring; but he could not endure that a set of fellows should inquire into his conduct. Always professing his love of parliaments, he was always impatient of their interference. There is something irresistibly comic in the way in which he tried to manage the House of Lords, in 1669, by being present at their debates. He first sat decently upon the throne, thinking to prevent unpleasant reflections by this restraint upon the freedom of speech. But what he commenced out of policy, under the advice of the crafty Lauderdale, he continued for mere amusement. "The king," writes Burnet, "who was often weary of time, and did not know how to get round the day, liked the going to the house as a pleasant diversion: so he went constantly. And he quickly left the throne, and stood by the fire, which drew a crowd about him, that broke all the decency of that house; for, before that time, every lord sat regularly in his place; but the king's coming broke the order of their sitting as became senators. The king's coming thither had a much worse effect; for he became a common solicitor, not only in public affairs, but even in matters of justice. He would in a very little time have gone the round of the house, and spoke to every one that he thought worth speaking to. And he was apt to do that upon the solicitation of any of the ladies in favor, or of any that had credit with them." With such a sovereign, as utterly indifferent to the proprieties of his public station as to the decencies of his private life, we can scarcely expect that there should have been any consistent principle of administration. The terrible experience of thirty years imposed upon Charles some caution in the manifestation of his secret desire to be as absolute as his brother Louis of France. The great Bourbon was incumbered with no parliament; he had not to humble himself to beg for supplies of insolent Commons; he was not troubled with any set of fellows to inquire into his conduct, and ask for accounts of expenditure; he had the gabelle and other imposts which fell upon the prostrate poor, without exciting the animosity of the dangerous rich; he was indeed a king whose shoe-latchet nobles were proud to unloose, and whose transcendent genius and virtue prelates rejoiced to compare with the divine attributes. Such a blissful destiny as that of the Bourbon could not befall the Stuart by ordinary means. Charles would become as great as Louis, as far as his notion of greatness went, by becoming the tributary of Louis. He would sell his country's honor—he would renounce the religion he had sworn to uphold—for an adequate price. But this bargain should be a secret one. It should be secret, even from a majority of his own ministers. Upon this point hinges the disgraceful history of the cabal.

But though Charles and two of his ministers, Arlington and Clifford, were ready to go any length to make the policy of Whitehall utterly subservient to the policy of the Louvre, and to bring the creed of Lambeth into very near if not exact conformity with the creed of the Vatican—though Buckingham and Shaftesbury had some complicity in these iniquitous purposes—yet there was a power in the

* "Life," part iii. p. 21.
† Dryden, "Absalom and Achitophel." ‡ "Hudibras," part iii.

* Pepys, December 2d, 1666.

state which had become too formidable for king and ministers utterly to despise. The parliament, servile and corrupt in many compliances, was yet a power that might be roused into sudden indignation by any outrageous exercise of prerogative, and, above all, by any daring attack upon the Protestant tendencies of the nation. The shiftings of politicians, of whom Shaftesbury was the type, from courtiers one day to demagogues the next, were the natural result of the want, during the first ten years of the restoration, of any great principle of action which would raise politicians on either side above the mere influences of personal ambition. The monarchy was an accomplished fact: to fight again for a commonwealth was no longer possible. The Church was re-established, in triumphant intolerance; Presbyterians and Independents had no standing place for a new struggle. The crown and the parliament were both open to corruption; and their venality tainted, though not in an equal degree, the advocates of non-resistance and the enemies of that debasing principle. Placemen and patriots each held out the "itching palm" to France. There was no manifest struggle of opinion against power, till the design to bring back England to the communion of Rome became evident. The resistance to this attempt roused the nation out of its apparent apathy. The intolerant passion of the multitude—blind, cruel, frantic in its fears—was quickly absorbed into the general determination that England should be Protestant, which identified itself with civil liberty. Religious liberty grew slowly out of the contest, when the reign of the great enemies of all freedom was terminated by their own folly and bigotry.

The story of the next twenty years, which brings us to the great era of our modern history, would be incomprehensible if we did not constantly bear in mind that public opinion had become a real element in national progress. The crown was constantly dreaming of the revival of despotism, to be accomplished by force and by corruption. Yet the crown, almost without a struggle, was bereft of the power of imprisoning without trial, by the passing of the Habeas Corpus Act; and it lost its control over the freedom of the press by the expiration of the licensing system. The Church thought it possible to destroy nonconformity by fines and fetters. In its earlier liturgy it prayed to be delivered from "false doctrine and heresy;" it now prayed for deliverance from "false doctrine, heresy, and schism." Yet when it had ejected the Puritans from the churches, and had shut up the conventicles, it laid the foundation of schisms which, in a few years, made dissent a principle which churchmen could not hope to crush and statesmen could not dare to despise. How can we account for the striking anomaly, that with a profligate court, a corrupt administration, a venal House of Commons, a tyrannous Church, the nation during the reign of Charles II. was manifestly progressing in the essentials of freedom, unless we keep in view that from the beginning of the century there had been an incessant struggle of the national mind against every form of despotic power? The desire for liberty, civil and spiritual, had become almost an instinct. The great leaders in this battle had passed away. The men who by fits aspired to be tribunes of the people were treacherous or inconstant. But the spirit of the nation was not dead. It made itself heard in parliament, with a voice that grew louder and louder, till the torrent was once again dammed up. A few more years of tyranny without disguise—and then the end.

The first movements of the cabal ministry were toward a high and liberal policy—toleration for nonconformists, and an alliance with free Protestant states. A greater liberty to dissenters from the Church followed the fall of Clarendon. We see transient and accidental motives for this passing toleration, rather than the assertion of a fixed principle. The bishops had supported Clarendon, and the king and his new ministers and favorites were therefore out of humor with the bishops. The fire of London had rendered it impossible to carry on the spiritual instruction of the people by the established clergy; and therefore assemblies to hear the sermons of Presbyterians and Independents were not visited with the penalties of the Conventicle Act. It was, says Baxter, "at the first a thing too gross to forbid an undone people all public worshipping of God, with too great rigor; and if they had been so forbidden, poverty had left them so little to lose as would have made them desperately go on."* Sir Orlando Bridgman, now lord keeper, desired a conference with Baxter, "about a comprehension and toleration," in January, 1668. The Lord Chief Baron Hale and Bishop Wilkins were agreed with the lord keeper in promoting this salutary work. The king, says Burnet, "seemed now to go into moderation and comprehension with so much heartiness, that both Bridgman and Wilkins believed he was in earnest in it; though there was nothing that the popish councils were more fixed in than to oppose all motions of that kind. But the king saw it was necessary to recover the affections of his people." The opportunity of recovering the affections of the great Puritan body, scattered, depressed, but still influential, was thrown away. There were propositions on the part of the nonconformists; and amendments were suggested and accepted. Baxter says that fourteen hundred nonconformable ministers would have yielded to these "hard terms;" but that when the parliament met, the active prelates and prelatists prevailed to prevent any bill of comprehension or indulgence to be brought in; "and the lord keeper that had called us, and set us on work, himself turned that way, and talked after as if he understood us not." In the king's speech, February 10th, 1668, he recommended that they would seriously think of some course to beget a better union and composure in the minds of his Protestant subjects in matters of religion. On the 8th of April a motion in the House of Commons that his majesty should send for such persons as he should think fit, to make proposals to him in order to the uniting of his Protestant subjects, was negatived by 176 votes against 70.

At the opening of the session of parliament in 1668, the king announced that he had made a league defensive with the States-General of the United Provinces, to which Sweden had become a party. This was the triple alliance. The nation saw with reasonable apprehension the development of the vast schemes of ambition of Louis XIV. He was at war with Spain; but the great empire upon which the sun never set was fast falling to pieces—not perishing like a grand old house, overthrown by a hurricane's fury, but mouldering away with the dry-rot in every timber. France, on the contrary, was rising into the position of the greatest power in Europe. Her able but vain-glorious king already looked upon the Spanish Netherlands as his certain prey. The United Provinces were hateful to him as the seat of religious and civil liberty. The crisis was come when England, by a return to the policy of Cromwell, might have taken her place again at the head of the free Protestant states of Europe. Was there any real intention in the king or in his ministry to raise up England as a barrier against the designs of France? Or was the mission of Temple to the Hague, by which a defensive alliance was concluded with De Witt in five days, a mere blind to conceal the dark and dangerous schemes for a secret alliance with France? When Charles announced to parliament this league with the United Provinces and Sweden, it was thought to be "the only good public thing that hath been done since the king came into England."* It was a marvel of diplomacy. De Witt and Temple met as two honest men, without any finesse; and they quickly concluded a treaty which they believed to be for the honor and safety of both their countries. "Their candor, their freedom, and the most confidential disclosures, were the result of true policy."† This treaty, says Burnet, "was certainly the masterpiece of King Charles's life; and if he had stuck to it, it would have been both the strength and glory of his reign. This disposed the people to forgive all that was past, and to renew their confidence in him, which was shaken by the whole conduct of the Dutch war."

At the very time when the ambassador of England was negotiating the treaty which promised to be "the strength and glory of his reign," the king was making proposals to Louis for a clandestine treaty, by which England was to be "leased out" to France,

"Like to a tenement or pelting farm."

CHAPTER CIX.

Visit to England of the Duchess of Orleans—Secret negotiations of the king with Louis XIV.—Renewed persecutions of Nonconformists—Trial of William Penn—The Coventry Act—Assault on the Duke of Ormond—Blood attempts to steal the regalia—The mystery of his pardon—Shutting-up of the exchequer—Alliance with

* "Life," part iii. p. 22.

* Pepys.

† Burke, "Regicide Peace."

France—War with Holland—Naval war—Invasion of the United Provinces—Murder of the De Witts—The Prince of Orange—Shaftesbury lord chancellor—Declaration of indulgence—The Test Act.

THERE is a brief record, in the memoirs of Sir John Reresby, of an event, seemingly unimportant, which led to very serious consequences: "In the summer of 1670 the Duchess of Orleans, the king's sister, came over to Dover, where she was met by the king, the Duke of York, and the whole court. Here it was that she confirmed his highness the duke in the popish superstition, of which he had as yet been barely suspected."* The Duke of York required no confirmation in his belief. He had long been in secret a Roman Catholic, and attended the private rites of that religion; but at the same time he was in communion with the Church of England. A Jesuit missionary remonstrated with him against this double dealing. James communicated to the king his determination publicly to embrace the Roman Catholic faith. Charles professed the same desire. He, also, though known to be indifferent as to religious matters, had been suspected. Cosmo, the Duke of Tuscany, came to England in 1669; and the author of the duke's travels says of Charles, that though he "observes with exact attention the religious rites of the Church of England, there is reason to believe that he does not exactly acquiesce, and that he may perhaps cherish other inclinations." Of the Cabal ministry Clifford and Arlington were attached to the Church of Rome. Charles and James took these ministers into their confidence at the beginning of 1669. The result was, a negotiation with France, which went on for many months, and of which the Duchess of Orleans came over, in 1670, to urge the points which the French king was anxious to accomplish by irresistible temptations. The secret treaty between Louis XIV. and Charles II. was concluded at Dover on the 22d of May, 1670.† Its principal stipulations were that the king of England should publicly profess himself a Catholic, when he should consider it expedient to make such declaration; that he should join with the king of France in a war against the United Provinces; that to enable Charles to suppress any insurrection of his own subjects, he should receive two millions of livres, and be aided with an armed force of six thousand men; that of the conquests arising out of the joint war Charles should be satisfied with a part of Zealand. The secret treaty having been accomplished, another treaty was prepared, in which the article concerning the king's change of religion was omitted; and to this Shaftesbury, Buckingham, and Lauderdale were privy. Charles and his ministers went back to London, to carry on a system of falsehood toward the nation, almost unmatchable among the frauds of courts and cabinets. The beautiful Duchess of Orleans returned to France, to die a victim, as many believed, to the jealousy of her husband. At the meeting of parliament in October, 1670, the lord keeper Bridgman—who we may conclude to have been ignorant of the atrocious confederacy of the king and his more confidential servants—set forth the advantages of the Triple Alliance, and the necessity of being prepared against the ambition of France, by an augmentation of the fleet. The Commons voted that "his majesty should be supplied proportionably to his present occasions;" and when a grant of eight hundred thousand pounds was obtained, the parliament was prorogued.

The manifestation of a tolerant principle at home, at the beginning of 1668, was as short-lived as the inclination to a high and honorable foreign policy. The act of 1664 against conventicles, which was about to expire in 1670, was renewed in a more stringent shape. The 12th clause of this statute threw down the barriers against the most illegal exercise of its severities: "That this act, and all clauses therein contained, should be construed most largely and beneficially for the suppressing of conventicles, and for the justification and encouragement of all persons to be employed in the execution thereof; and that no record, warrant, or mittimus to be made by virtue of this act, or any proceedings thereupon, shall be reversed, avoided, or any way impeached, by reason of any default in form."‡ Waller, who, at his advanced age, was still the wit of the House of Commons, said of the dissenters, "These people are like children's tops; whip them, and they stand up; let them alone, and they fall."* Calamy attributes the saying to Bishop Wilkins, who, with one other bishop, opposed this statute. Sheldon, the primate, urged the most vigorous execution of the penal clauses, which were to drive the nonconforming preachers from the boarded hovels, which they called tabernacles, fitted up by their congregations when the parish churches of London were in ruins. This act, according to Burnet, "put things in such disorder that many of the trading men of the city began to talk of removing with their stocks over to Holland." The spirit of too many of the higher clergy was in decided opposition to the temper of Bishop Wilkins. Parker, chaplain to Sheldon, and afterward Bishop of Oxford, laid himself open to the lash of Andrew Marvell, when he proclaimed that "tender consciences, instead of being complied with, must be restrained with more peremptory and unyielding rigor than naked and unsanctified villainy."† Burnet says of this statute against conventicles, "The king was much for having it pass, not that he intended to execute it, but he was glad to have that body of men at mercy, and to force them to concur in the design for a general toleration." This was a part of the scheme, upon which the secret treaty with France was built. Severity at one time against nonconformists, indulgence at another time, had one sole object in view—to prepare the nation for such an exercise of the prerogative as would dispense with the laws against papists, and make the people indifferent to a Roman Catholic king and a Roman Catholic heir-apparent. It was not that Charles cared for any form of religion; but he had an earnest longing for the wages of proselytism which Louis was to bestow.

The fines and imprisonments under the Conventicle Act fell, for the most part, upon obscure persons. But there was one young man, whose father was of historical celebrity and of an elevated station, who came under the penalties for nonconformity, and fought the battle of dissent in a manner very embarrassing to intolerant churchmen and arbitrary lawyers. William Penn, the only son of the famous admiral, much to the annoyance of his family, had embraced the principles of George Fox, the founder of the sect of Quakers. He had manifested his spiritual tendencies when a student at Oxford. He had been imprisoned in Ireland, in 1667, for attending the meetings of Friends; he had begun to preach and to publish in 1668. On the 14th of August, 1670, William Penn, who, in common with others of his fraternity, wholly disregarded the Conventicle Act, going to the meeting-house in Gracechurch Street, found the door closed and guarded; and having addressed the people outside, was arrested. On the 1st of September he, with William Mead, a linendraper, was indicted at the Old Bailey for preaching and speaking, to the great disturbance of the king's peace. On the 3d of September they were brought to trial. It was altogether a remarkable scene; in which the prisoners conducted themselves with unusual boldness; the lord mayor and recorder manifested more than the common insolence of authority in bad times; and the jury could not be compelled to give a dishonest verdict. In the first instance the jury acquitted Mead, and found Penn guilty of speaking to an assembly in Gracechurch Street. They refused to find that it was an unlawful assembly, as the recorder insisted. They were locked up without fire or food through Saturday night. On Sunday they again and again refused to amend their verdict. The recorder, Howel, a fitting predecessor of George Jefferies, who afterward carried judicial infamy to its extreme height, in a paroxysm of fury declared it would be never well with England till something like the inquisition was introduced. For another night the jury were locked up, to endure hunger and thirst. When they were brought into court on Monday morning they still clung to their first verdict. But the recorder maintaining it was no verdict, they jointly and separately pronounced William Penn not guilty. The jury were each fined forty marks; Penn was fined for contempt of court. All refused to pay the fines, and were imprisoned. The jury appealed to the Court of Common Pleas, and were released by a decision of the judges. Penn's fine was paid without his knowledge.‡

Doctor Parker, in his zeal for arbitrary power, had ventured to say

* "Travels and Memoirs of Sir John Reresby," 1831; p. 171.

† It was published for the first time by Dr. Lingard, from the original in the possession of Lord Clifford. But the most important of the articles had long previously appeared in Sir John Dalrymple's history. ‡ Statutes of the Realm, 22 Car. II. c. i. vol. v. p. 656.

* "Parliamentary History," vol. iv. col. 445.

† See Marvell's "Rehearsal Transposed," vol. ii. p. 290, ed. 1673.

‡ A full account of this trial is given in "William Penn, an Historical Biography," by W. H. Dixon.

"'Tis better to submit to the unreasonable impositions of Nero and Caligula, than to hazard the dissolution of the state." Marvell, with a terrible bitterness, pointed the moral of the crimes and the fates of Nero and Caligula. * The profligacy of the court had begun to show itself in more daring outrages than the indecencies and riots which rivalled the orgies of the lowest of mankind. "The jolly blades, racing, dancing, feasting, and revelling, more resembling a luxurious and abandoned rout than a Christian court," might scandalize decent loyal gentlemen such as Evelyn. † The new concubine, Mademoiselle Querouaille, that Louis had sent over to confirm Charles in his proposed apostasy to his religion and his treason to his country, might suggest some fears to honest statesmen such as Temple. But the great majority of the parliament, and especially of the House of Commons, chosen in the royalist excitement of the Restoration, had long looked upon such matters with indifference. Another feeling was now growing up. Suspicions attached to the foreign policy of the court. The nation felt disgraced in its extravagant profligacy. Murmurs were heard even among the habitual supporters of the government. In a Committee of Ways and Means it was proposed in the Commons that a tax should be paid "by every one that resorts to any play-houses," of a shilling for a box-seat, sixpence for the pit, and threepence for other places. It was argued that the players were the king's servants, "and a part of his pleasure." Sir John Coventry, member for Weymouth, asked "If the king's pleasure lay among the men or the woman players?" ‡ The offence was visited with a very summary punishment, perpetrated under the orders of the Duke of Monmouth, the king's son, and, as was universally believed, with the king's connivance. As Sir John Coventry was passing through the Haymarket he was set upon by Sandys, the lieutenant of Monmouth's troop, and a number of his men, and by these ruffians his nose was nearly cut off. The house had adjourned for the Christmas holidays, and upon its reassembly the first business was to inquire into this breach of privilege. Some members wished the matter to be left to the course of law; but the great body were resolved to have reparation for this outrage. Strong words were spoken, such as indicated that the spirit of 1640 was not dead. Are we to be under proscriptions, as in the times of Sylla and Marius? asked Sir John Hotham. Sir Robert Holt exclaimed that Prætorian guards had been the betrayers of the empire. He alluded to a recent assault upon the Duke of Ormond, saying, "Lords' noses be as ours are, unless they be of steel." § A bill was passed "to prevent malicious maiming and wounding." It recited the outrage upon Sir John Coventry on the 21st of December; and, setting forth that Sir John Sandys and three others, who had been indicted for felony, had fled from justice, enacted that they should be banished forever unless they surrendered by a given day. Other clauses of this bill constitute what is known as the Coventry Act, by which malicious maiming is made a capital felony. ‖ The king, as if to show his resentment of the humiliation to which he was subjected in giving his assent to this bill, had the indecency to grant a pardon to all the persons who, on the 28th of February, had assaulted the watch, and deliberately killed the beadle of the ward. His son, Monmouth, was the leader of that riot, as he was the contriver of the assault on Sir John Coventry.

The outrage upon the Duke of Ormond, to which allusion was made in the House of Commons, took place on the 6th of December, 1670. He was returning in his carriage from a city dinner. Two footmen at the side of the carriage were suddenly stopped; and the duke being dragged out, was placed on horseback behind a man, to whom he was fastened by a belt. Onward they sped toward Tyburn; but the duke contrived to hoist his companion out of the saddle, and both coming to the ground together, the ruffian unloosed the belt, and fled upon the approach of some passengers. At Tyburn preparations were made for hanging the duke upon the common gallows. An inscrutable mystery surrounded this crime. Large rewards were offered, with pardon to accomplices. On the 9th of May, 1671, five months after the assault upon the duke, the famous attempt was made to steal the regalia in the Tower. It was not till after the Restoration that the crown jewels were exhibited to strangers. In April a man in a clergyman's cassock, with his wife, came to see the regalia. The lady being taken ill, was kindly accommodated in the house of Talbot Edwards, the keeper of the jewel-office. An acquaintance commenced. The pious clergyman said the grace at dinner with the extremest unction; proposed that his wealthy nephew should marry the keeper's daughter; altogether a most fascinating man. The nephew was to come on a certain day. The clergyman was duly there, with three friends. One remained in the house, while the three others went with the keeper to behold the crown, and orb, and sceptre, and other regal splendors. They gagged the old man; beat him till he was senseless; began to file the sceptre into two pieces; but being disturbed by the unexpected arrival of Edward's son, made off with the crown and orb. The alarm was given, and they were finally seized on the Tower Wharf. The matter being reported to the king, they were sent for to Whitehall; and Charles was himself present at their examination The chief in the robbery of the regalia was found to be a man known as Colonel Blood. He boldly avowed that he was the leader of the assault upon the Duke of Ormond, and that he meant to have hanged him at Tyburn. He once, he said, had been prepared to shoot the king himself, but awed by the presence of majesty, the pistol dropped from his hand. He might be put to death; but there were three hundred ready to avenge his blood; who, if he were spared, would become the king's faithful followers. Charles pardoned him; asked the Duke of Ormond to pardon him; and gave him a pension. The king told Ormond that he had certain reasons for asking him to pardon Blood. There were mysteries about that court of which the good-nature of "the merry monarch"—to use the dainty words of glib historians—was the convenient veil. It is difficult to believe in such a state of society as we find recorded by Evelyn: "Dined at Mr. Treasurer's, in company with Monsieur de Grammont and several French noblemen, and one Blood, that impudent bold fellow who had not long before attempted to steal the imperial crown itself out of the Tower." How he came to be pardoned, and received rewards, Evelyn says he could never come to understand. "This man," he adds, "had not only a daring but a villainous unmerciful look, a false countenance, but very well spoken, and dangerously insinuating."

A supply having been obtained, the parliament was prorogued on the 22d of April. The king candidly said it was not his intention that they should meet again for almost a year. The prorogation was hastened by the desire to put an end to a controversy between the two houses, as to the right of the Lords to make alterations in money bills sent up from the Commons. The Lords had reduced the amount of an imposition on sugar. The Commons had established the right of originating money bills, but the Peers contended that the power of alteration, as well as of rejection, remained with them.* With the parliament got rid of, at least for a year, the government had now a clear field for carrying out their foreign policy. France was now to receive the fullest support in its designs upon the United Provinces. The Triple Alliance was to be flung to the winds. Temple had come home in the autumn of 1670; had been coldly received by the ministers and the king; and had been told by Clifford that he might declare publicly how the ministers of the States "were a company of rogues and rascals, and not fit for his majesty or any other prince to have anything to do with." † Temple retired from public life to his garden and his books. Clifford was prepared to find resources for a war with Holland—a treacherous, wanton, and anti-national war—in an act compared with which Blood's stealing the crown was a small villainy. Bankers and other possessors of capital had been accustomed to make advancements to the exchequer, upon receiving assignments of some portion of the revenue, to be set aside for paying the principal and interest of the money borrowed. One million three hundred thousand pounds were at this time pledged for immediate payment. A proclamation was issued suspending all payments for one year, but promising interest at the rate of six per cent. This interest was not paid for many years. The bankers made the advances to the government chiefly

* "Rehearsal Transprosed," vol. ii. p. 155.
† "Diary," October 21st, 1671.
‡ "Parliamentary History," vol. iv. col. 461.
§ Ibid.
‖ 22 & 23 Car. II. c. 1.

* The arguments of the conferences are given fully in the "Parliamentary History," and there is a very able summary of the historical question as to this right in Mr. Hallam's "Constitutional History," chap. xiii.
† Letters of Temple in "Courtenay's Life," vol. i. p. 344.

upon sums intrusted to them. Daniel Defoe, in 1671, was a boy of ten years old; but he became early associated with trade, and he describes how the shutting the exchequer came like a clap of thunder upon the city. The panic was universal. There was a run upon all the goldsmiths, whether their cash was in the exchequer or in their own strong boxes. The most reputable traders were compelled to break. Private families were exposed to extreme distress. Widows and orphans were ruined, says Evelyn. The promise of payment in a year was of course not kept. There was not only the war to provide for, but a new mistress, exceeding in prodigality all who had gone before her. Mademoiselle de Querouaille, the agent and spy of the French king, became Duchess of Portsmouth. The lady had been installed as chief "Miss," with ceremonies, short of those of the altar, "after the manner of a married bride."* "Rob me the Exchequer, Hal," said the king to Clifford; and then "all went merry as a marriage-bell." Clifford hinted the scheme to Evelyn; "but, says he, it will soon be open again, and everybody satisfied." A scheme was concerted as iniquitous as the shutting the exchequer. At a time when the confidence of the government of the States in the faith of England was not wholly destroyed, it was decided to capture a fleet of Dutch merchantmen from the Levant as it passed up the Channel. The scheme, worthy of a band of pirates rather than of a great nation, signally failed. The Hollanders, though not prepared for any act of hostility, appointed a convoy to the vessels which bore the rich Smyrna merchandise. Sir Robert Holmes and Lord Ossory had been appointed to the command of the fleet that was to make prize of the Dutch merchantmen. Holmes had no desire to share the prize with any other admiral, and therefore in his cruise asked no assistance from Sir Edward Sprague's fleet from the Mediterranean, that he met at the back of the Isle of Wight. The English admiral was unprepared for the Dutch convoy of seven men-of-war. He was gallantly met, and was repulsed, having captured only four sail out of sixty. The government of King Charles was not able to repay the subjects whom it had robbed, by the robbery of its neighbors, as it had proposed. The agents of this inglorious enterprise were ashamed of it. Lord Ossory deplored to Evelyn that he had been ever persuaded to engage in an expedition which revolted against his sense of honor and justice.

The declaration of war from England against Holland appeared on the 17th of March, 1672. That of France was issued at the same time. Some show was made in the English declaration of causes of offence—commercial injuries; refusal to strike to the English flag in the narrow seas; insults to the king by defamatory publications. Supporters of the government in England, as well as its opponents, felt that it was a war of wrong and tyranny. Evelyn writes that the pretended occasion was that, "some time before, the Merlin yacht chancing to sail through the Dutch fleet, their admiral did not strike to that trifling vessel. . . . Surely this was a quarrel slenderly grounded, and not becoming Christian neighbors." It was a corrupt attempt to aid the powerful in oppressing the weak. At first successful, it ultimately failed. At the beginning of May the Duke of York took the command of the English fleet. Having united with a French squadron, they found the Dutch fleet lying near Ostend. But the skill of De Ruyter avoided an engagement, and the English fleet returned to the coast to take in further supplies of men and provisions. De Ruyter came out, and a stubborn battle took place on the 28th of May, in Southwold Bay. The French had little share in the engagement. The fight lasted the whole day, with little advantage on either side. The Earl of Sandwich and most of his crew were lost in the Royal James, which was blown up by a fireship. Evelyn insinuates that the earl was left to perish, fighting like a lion, though hating the war, "to gratify the pride and envy" of some that were not his friends.†

While England was battling at sea with little real advantage, the French armies were pouring into Holland. The fortresses on the Rhine were quickly in their possession; town after town of the United Provinces yielded without a struggle; the outposts of the French were seen from Amsterdam. Then was the great commercial republic on the point of becoming an easy prey to the ambition of that power that had already visions of universal dominion. The government of the United Provinces was torn by factions. Petty oligarchies presided over the separate states. The dignity of stadtholder had expired with Prince William II. in 1650. His widow, the daughter of Charles I., gave birth to a son a few days after her husband's death. That son was now twenty-two years of age—the head of the illustrious house of Orange-Nassau, but without power in his own country. The highest duties of the first magistrate of the republic had been honorably discharged by John de Witt, the Grand Pensionary of the Province of Holland. When the French invasion filled the people of the Seven Provinces with terror, their rage was not directed against their enemies, but against their government. The popular feeling in favor of the Prince of Orange broke forth in the blind hatred of an infuriated multitude against the statesmen who desired the permanent suppression of the office of stadtholder, a dignity almost monarchical. The young Prince William was called to the command of the forces when the French troops entered the States. Cornelius de Witt was arrested, upon an accusation of having plotted against the life of Prince William. The accusation could not be established, and his brother John went to his prison at the Hague to convey him away. Both the brothers were murdered by an infuriated mob. Suspicious as was the commencement of his great career, the young Prince of Orange proved the deliverer of his country. He roused the fainting courage of the deputies in the States General. He rejected all the overtures of Charles and Louis. No terms of advantage to himself would induce him to compromise the honor of his nation. Relationship with the crown of England was to him nothing in comparison with saving the Seven Provinces from the yoke of France. The dykes were opened. The land was subjected to the dominion of the water, an enemy less to be dreaded than a foreign foe. There was no subsistence for the invading army in that desert of sand and sea. The French retreated. The guilty league of England and France was powerless. Louis returned to Paris, leaving some troops in the garrisons he had won. The Dutch admiral avoided another engagement with the English fleet. The war went on languidly for two years, amid the dissatisfaction of the English people. The treasury of Charles was exhausted. The promised payment to the public creditors was postponed by proclamation. The parliament had been prorogued from the 22d of April, 1671. It was called together on the 5th of February, 1673. For twenty-one months the government had pursued an unmolested career. It had now to meet an opposition, jealous and indignant, but more factious than high principled.

In November, 1672, Anthony Ashley Cooper, who had been created Earl of Shaftesbury in the previous April, was raised to the dignity of lord chancellor, upon the retirement, or dismissal, of Sir Orlando Bridgman from the office of lord keeper. The dislike which the lawyers of his time naturally felt at the elevation to the highest judicial office of a man not of the legal profession, may be found in the "Examen" of Roger North. His great offence was that he declaimed "against the tribe of the Court of Chancery, officers and counsel, and their methods of ordering the business of the court. . . . For the chancery, he would teach the bar that a man of sense was above all their forms."* Shaftesbury possibly saw that a servile adherence to forms was a real impediment to the course of equity; and by a vigorous demonstration against forms which ruined the suitors by delay, was enabled to earn the high praise as a judge of the poet who was employed to blacken his character as a statesman. "Discerning eyes;" "clean hands;" "swift of dispatch;" "easy of access;"

"Unbrib'd, unbought, the wretched to redress;"

are qualities which have some weight with us, although "the great poet probably never was in the Court of Chancery in his life, and though the first of English critics in polite literature, he could not have formed a very correct opinion as to the propriety of an order or decree in equity."† Dryden, as is reported, displeased the king by this tribute to the judicial virtues of Shaftesbury. Abhorring the statesman, he ought not to have praised the judge. Another contemporary writer is to be disbelieved, according to Lord Campbell, because his estimate of Shaftesbury was unmixed panegyric. The enemy and the friend are equally untrustworthy. "Except being

* Evelyn, 10th October, 1671.

† Ibid., "Diary," May 31.

* "Examen," p. 46.

† Lord Campbell, "Lives of Chancellors," p. 310.

free from gross corruption, he was the worst judge that ever sat in the court." * How is this to be proved? "There are a few of his decisions to be found in the books, but none of them are of the slightest importance." † We still hold ourselves free to believe Dryden, and the other contemporary, who says that, under Shaftesbury, "justice ran in an equal channel, so that the cause of the rich was not suffered to swallow up the right of the poor;" that "the mischievous consequences which commonly arise from the delays, and other practices, of that court were, by his ingenious and judicious management, very much abated." ‡ Nor do we consider that as chancellor he "played fantastic tricks which could be expected only from a fool and a coxcomb," § because he revived the ancient form of the chancellor and the judges riding to Westminster Hall, on the first day of Hilary term, on which occasion Judge Twisden "was laid along in the dirt;" and because he sat upon the bench "in an ash-colored gown, silver laced." These amusing characteristics of one who, not wholly different from subsequent chancellors, possessed some of the eccentricities with the more sterling qualities of genius, are set forth with much vivacity by Roger North, who hated Shaftesbury with an intensity that the opposite opinions of factions alone can engender. Whenever we encounter this remarkable man in his future political career, we must judge him not uncharitably if we would judge him rightly. He was long made the scapegoat for the political offences whether of the court party or the country party. It is very difficult to understand his principles or his policy; but it is sufficient to make us cautious in his condemnation, to know that he was maligned by the supporters of arbitrary power, and looked up to by the advocates of freedom and toleration. Mr. Fox probably came to the safest conclusion upon his character when he said, "As to making him a real patriot, or friend to our ideas of liberty, it is impossible, at least in my opinion. On the other hand, he is very far from being the devil he is described." ‖

The parliament met on the 4th of February, 1673. In March, 1672, two days before the war was declared against the United Provinces, Charles had issued a Declaration of Indulgence in religion, in which he declared his "will and pleasure to be, that the execution of all and all manner of penal laws in matters ecclesiastical, against whatsoever sort of nonconformists or recusants be immediately suspended, and they are hereby suspended." The relief to Protestant dissenters may be estimated from the fact that John Bunyan, who for twelve years had been confined in Bedford jail, during which long period he had written "The Pilgrim's Progress," was almost immediately released. It would be difficult to understand how such a measure of justice and humanity should not have been universally acceptable to all but the most bigoted, unless we take into account that through its general operation the laws against papists were relaxed, as well as those against Protestant nonconformists. But the Declaration of Indulgence produced a ferment in the nation which rendered it unpopular even among the numerous class who had been harassed by the Act of Uniformity, the Five Mile Act, and the Conventicle Acts. They were more favored than the Roman Catholics, who were expressly refused public places for their worship, though its private exercise was indirectly sanctioned. In a tract written by John Locke, the intimate friend of Shaftesbury, the arguments in favor of the Declaration of Indulgence are fully set forth. The writer of this "Letter from a Person of Quality to his friend in the country," says that he asked Lord Shaftesbury what he meant by supporting the declaration, which seemed to assume a power to repeal and suspend all our laws, to destroy the Church, to overthrow the Protestant religion, and to tolerate popery. He represents the earl to have contended that a government ought to be enabled to suspend any penal law, in the interval of the legislative power, but that the two houses of parliament ought to determine such indulgence, and restore the law to its full execution; that he had joined in the declaration for preserving the Protestant religion, by opening a way for the English Church to live peaceably with the dissenters; that papists ought to have no pressure laid upon them except to be made incapable of office; and he asked whether, in this age of the world, articles and matters of religion should become the only accessible ways to our civil rights? * There was a passage in the declaration which was sufficient to fill the people with alarm: "We think ourselves obliged to make use of that supreme power in ecclesiastical matters which is not only inherent in us, but hath been declared and recognized to be so by several statutes and acts of parliament." Upon their meeting the Commons voted, upon a division of 168 to 116, "that penal statutes, in matters ecclesiastical, cannot be suspended but by act of parliament." Mr. Love, one of the members for the city of London, strenuously supported the address to the king to withdraw the declaration. A member said to him, "Why, Mr. Love, you are a dissenter yourself; it is very ungrateful that you who receive the benefit should object against the manner." Defoe, who calls Mr. Alderman Love "that truly English Roman," records his answer to the objection: "I am a Dissenter, and thereby unhappily obnoxious to the law; and if you catch me in the corn you may put me in the pound. The law against the Dissenters I should be glad to see repealed by the same authority that made it; but while it is a law, the king cannot repeal it by proclamation: And I had much rather see the Dissenters suffer by the rigor of the law, though I suffer with them, than see all the laws of England trampled under the foot of the prerogative, as in this example." † The parliament and the nation were not sufficiently advanced to repeal all penal laws that affected the exercise of religion. To prevent the dangers which were almost universally dreaded of the growth of Romanism, the principle of intolerance was still upheld. The court, not indeed from any sense of justice, but for the advancement of its covert objects, for some time resisted this vote of the Commons. But the spirit of opposition was too strong to be rashly braved. The king withdrew the Declaration of Indulgence, after Shaftesbury, in the House of Lords, had turned to the popular side and declared it illegal. But the country party, as opposed to the court party, were resolved to manifest their hostility to popery by a practical measure which should reach the highest places. The Duke of York's opinions were no secret; the king was suspected; the articles on religion in the treaty with France could not be shrouded in impenetrable mystery; the first Duchess of York had died in the profession of Catholicism; another alliance was about to be formed with a young Catholic princess, Mary of Modena. The barrier to be raised against the great dangers to repel which the nation was rousing itself, was the Test Act. The House of Commons resolved on the 28th of February, 1673, "that all persons who shall refuse to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and receive the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England, shall be incapable of all public employments, military and civil." On the 12th of March the Test Act, entitled a "Bill to prevent the Growth of Popery," was read a third time. It required, in addition to the oaths, that a declaration renouncing the doctrine of transubstantiation should be made before admission to office. The proposed law affected the Puritans as much as the papists, in the point of communion with the Church; but they made little opposition. They partook of the common dread that Romanism might come back in some bold or insidious form, and with it the arbitrary power which had so generally been its companion. An attempt to give them a special measure of relief was defeated by the prorogation of parliament. The effect of the Test Act was decisive. The Duke of York resigned his post of lord high admiral, and Prince Rupert was appointed to the command of the fleet. Lord Clifford refused to take the test, and retired from his great office of lord high treasurer. The Commons voted the supplies with little reluctance, without going into the questions of the Dutch war, or the shutting the exchequer. There were six months of prorogation, during which the war was continued at sea with alternate success and defeat. At home the signs of an approaching storm were becoming manifest.

CHAPTER CX.

The Danby ministry—State of parties—Separate peace with Holland—Charles pensioned by Louis XIV.—Popular discontents—Coffee-

* Lord Campbell, "Lives of Chancellors," p. 311.
† Ibid., p. 313. ‡ "Rawleigh Redivivus."
§ "Lives of Chancellors," p. 307.
‖ Introduction to "History of James II."

* The letter is printed in Locke's Works; also in "Parliamentary History," vol. iv., Appendix v.
† See Wilson's "Life of Defoe," vol. i. p. 58.

houses closed by proclamation—Reopened—Meeting of parliament after fifteen months' prorogation—Four peers committed to the Tower—Marriage of the Prince of Orange to the Princess Mary—Violent contentions between the king and the parliament—Intrigues with France of the parliamentary opposition—The popish plot.

The parliament had been prorogued to the 20th of October. The instant the Commons met they voted an address to the king, desiring that the intended marriage of the Duke of York with the Princess of Modena should not take place. The parliament was immediately prorogued for a week. On the 27th the king opened the session in person; and his chancellor, Shaftesbury, addressed the members in the usual terms of eulogy and hope. The address against the marriage of the Duke of York was presented; and Charles returned for answer that the alliance "was completed, according to the forms used among princes, and by his royal consent and authority." A spirit of decided hostility against the government was now evident in the Commons. They refused a supply until "this kingdom be effectually secured from the dangers of popery, and popish counsels and councillors." They voted that a standing army was a grievance. They resolved upon a second address on the subject of the duke's marriage. It was to have been presented on the 4th of November, but the king came suddenly to the House of Lords, and ordered that the Commons should be summoned. A singular scene took place. The speaker and the usher of the black rod met at the door of the House of Commons, and the speaker having entered, the door was shut, and he was hurried to the chair. It was immediately moved that the alliance with France was a grievance; that the evil counsellors about the king were a grievance; that the Duke of Lauderdale was a grievance. The black rod was knocking at the door with impatient loudness; the house resounded with cries of "question;" the speaker leaped out of the chair, and in a wild tumult the members followed him to the House of Lords. The king then prorogued the parliament to the 7th of January. During the interval Shaftesbury was dismissed from the custody of the great seal; Buckingham retired; the Cabal ministry was broken up. Sir Thomas Osborne, soon after created Earl of Danby, became the chief minister, and retained power till 1678; Shaftesbury became the great leader of the party opposed to the court. The history of England for the next seven years is the history of a continual struggle between the crown and the Commons, during which time we trace, amid some honesty of purpose, an equal degradation of the principles of loyalty and of independence. Monarchical government was never more profligate and anti-national, and representative government was never more factious and corrupt than in the years from 1673 to 1681. The House of Commons elected after the restoration first met on the 8th of May, 1661. It continued to sit till the 25th of January, 1679. Vacancies had been filled up from time to time by new elections; and in these what was called the country party gradually preponderated. But the general composition of the house was a curious admixture of bygone and current opinions. There is "A Letter from a Parliament Man to his Friend," published in 1675, and attributed to Shaftesbury, which describes with admirable humor, and probably with equal truth, the composition of the House of Commons:* "Sir, I see you are greatly scandalized at our slow and confused proceedings. I confess you have cause enough; but were you but within these walls for one half day, and saw the strange make and complexion that this house is of, you would wonder as much that ever you wondered at it; for we are such a pied parliament, that none can say of what color we are; for we consist of old cavaliers, old roundheads, indigent courtiers, and true country gentlemen: the two latter are most numerous, and would in probability bring things to some issue were they not clogged with the humorous uncertainties of the former. For the old cavalier, grown aged, and almost past his vice, is damnable godly, and makes his doting piety more a plague to the world than his youthful debauchery was: he forces his loyalty to strike sail to his religion, and could be content to pare the nails a little of the civil government, so you would but let him sharpen the ecclesiastical talons: which behavior of his so exasperates the Roundhead that he, on the other hand, cares not what increase the interest of the crown receives, so he can but diminish that of the mitre; so that the roundhead had rather enslave the man than the conscience; the cavalier, rather the conscience than the man; there being a sufficient stock of animosity as proper matter to work upon. Upon these, therefore, the courtier usually plays: for if any anti-court motion be made, he gains the roundheads either to oppose or assent, by telling them, If they will join him now he will join with them for liberty of conscience. And when any affair is started on behalf of the country, he assures the cavaliers, if they will then stand by him, he will then join with them in promoting a bill against the fanatics. Thus play they on both hands, that no motion of a public nature is made but they win upon the one or other of them; and by this art gain a majority against the country gentlemen, which otherwise they would never have: wherefore it were happy that we had neither roundhead nor cavalier in the house; for they are each of them so prejudicate against the other, that their sitting here signifies nothing but their fostering their old venom, and lying at catch to snap every advantage to bear down each other, though it be in the destruction of their country." The same letter does not spare the corruption of that very considerable body of members that it terms "indigent;" a corruption which King Charles and King Louis each found availing with patriots as well as with placemen: "You now see all our shapes, save only the indigents, concerning whom I need say but little, for their votes are publicly saleable for a guinea and a dinner every day in the week, unless the house be upon money, or a minister of state: for that is their harvest; and then they make their earnings suit the work they are about, which inclines them most constantly as sure clients to the court. For what with gaining the one, and saving the other, they now and then adventure a vote on the country side; but the dread of dissolution makes them straight tack about. The only thing we are obliged to them for is, that they do nothing gratis, but make every tax as well chargeable to the court as burdensome to the country, and save no man's neck but they break his purse."

At the opening of the session of parliament in 1674 the king uttered these words with his own lips: "I know you have heard much of my alliance with France, and I believe it hath been very strangely misrepresented to you, as if there were certain secret articles of dangerous consequence; but I will make no difficulty of letting the treaties, and all the articles of them, without any the least reserve, to be seen by a small committee of both houses, who may report to you the true scope of them." Charles I. did not hesitate to employ indirect falsehood; but he never uttered such an audacious lie as his son now used, to stem the discontents which were gathering around him. Supplies were wanted to carry on the Dutch war; but the nation hated the war, and the Commons would not grant the supplies. To avert greater dangers a separate peace was made with Holland. The war went on between France and the United Provinces, who were now fully supported by Spain and the German powers. The noble resistance of the Prince of Orange to the ambition of Louis had saved his country; but had England taken a more honest course, future wars arising out of the same lust of dominion might have been effectually prevented. The parliament was in some degree propitiated by the separate peace with Holland; but it was in a dangerous temper, and was quickly prorogued. It met again on the 13th of April, 1675. English troops under Monmouth had been left to assist the French, notwithstanding the English peace with Holland. The House of Commons demanded their recall. The violent scenes between furious partisans were suddenly mitigated, as if a god had descended to separate the combatants in a cloud. The god of money had effected this peacefulness. The English troops remained as auxiliaries of the French. After a protracted struggle to extend the oath required to be taken by officers of corporations to privy counsellors and members of parliament, which attempt was defeated by Shaftesbury, the parliament was prorogued. There was another short session. It was again prorogued for fifteen months on the 22d of November.

The alternations of indulgence toward nonconformists and their persecution was one of the most striking symptoms of the utter want of principle in the conduct of public affairs. The sufferings of a large body of people were never taken into account when the court and the parliament were each striving to rule by factions. Defoe, who well knew the system which had been in operation from his boyhood, said, "the persecution of Dissenters has been all along the effect

* Printed in "Parliamentary History," vol. iv., Appendix IV.

of state policy, more than error of zeal or a mistake of religion." Persecution "has very seldom been carried on anywhere from mere zeal, but with a complication of private ends, intrigues, and all kinds of abstracted villainy."* Under Danby's administration, in 1675, the king issued proclamations enforcing the laws against nonconformists. How these measures worked may be seen in Baxter's simple relation: "I was so long wearied with keeping my doors shut against them that came to distrain on my goods for preaching, that I was fain to go from my house, and sell all my goods, and to hide my library first, and afterward to sell it." He shifted his abode. "When I had ceased preaching I was, being newly risen from extremity of pain, suddenly surprised in my house by a poor violent informer, and many constables and officers, who rushed in and apprehended me, and served on me one warrant to seize on my person for coming within five miles of a corporation, and five more warrants to distrain for an hundred and ninety pounds for five sermons."† Though the king was straitened in his means of extravagance by the jealousy of parliament, the prodigality of the court was as manifest as ever. On the 10th of September, 1675, Evelyn writes in his Diary: "I was casually showed the Duchess of Portsmouth's splendid apartment at Whitehall, luxuriously furnished, and with ten times the richness and glory beyond the queen's; such massy pieces of plate, whole tables, and stands of incredible value." The lady looked down with contempt upon her sister-strumpets. She affected a decency that was not characteristic of some other ladies. When the wit of Nell Gwynn was praised, "Yes," exclaimed La Querouaille, "but any one may know she has been an orange-wench by her swearing." The great duchess was the arbitress of the destiny of statesmen. She quarrelled with Buckingham, and he was driven into opposition. She corresponded with the French monarch, who settled an estate upon her for her valuable aid in the degradation of England. Time did not diminish her influence over the besotted king. Incredible as it may appear, there is a record of particular payments to her out of the secret service money in the one year of 1681, of 136,668*l.* 10*s.*‡ The most hidden crimes cannot wholly be concealed, especially when subordinate agents are connected with them. The long prorogation of the parliament in November, 1675, was a specific arrangement between Charles and Louis, for which the unworthy king of England received five hundred thousand crowns. The two sovereigns, with the connivance of Danby and Lauderdale, concluded a formal agreement not to enter upon any treaties but with mutual consent; and Charles accepted a pension, upon his pledge to prorogue or dissolve any parliament that attempted to force such treaties upon him. The money was regularly paid by the French minister to Chiffinch, the notorious pander to the vices of his master; and the degraded king regularly signed a receipt for the wages of his iniquity. Such things could not go on without exciting some suspicion. How could the extravagance of the court be maintained? Where did the money come from? The annual revenue was large, but all knew that it was insufficient to meet the riots and follies of Whitehall. Serious thinkers began to murmur. Gossiping loungers about the coffee-houses began to sneer and whisper. Coffee-houses were in those days what clubs are in our day—the great marts for the interchange of town talk, political, or literary, or fashionable, or scandalous, or simply stupid. A coffee-house, says a tract of 1673, "is an exchange where haberdashers of political smallwares meet, and mutually abuse each other, and the public, with bottomless stories."§ Roger North takes a more serious view of coffee-house gossip, in 1675: "There was such licentiousness of seditious and really treasonable discourse, in coffee-houses, of which there were accounts daily brought to the king, that it was considered if coffee-houses ought not to be put down."‖ Clarendon, in 1666, had proposed either to put down coffee-houses or to employ spies to frequent them and report the conversation. If in 1675 the king had daily reports of "treasonable discourse," we may presume that the spy-system had been tried, although it was not quite efficient. On the 29th of December a proclamation appeared, recalling all the licenses issued for the sale of coffee, and ordering all coffee-houses to be shut up, "because in such houses, and by the meeting of disaffected persons in them, divers false, malicious, and scandalous reports were devised and spread abroad, to the defamation of his majesty's government, and the disturbance of the quiet and peace of the realm." The licenses were withdrawn, through a legal quibble, upon the same statute under which they had been issued. By the act granting the king certain excise duties in perpetuity,* a duty of fourpence was imposed "for every gallon of coffee made and sold, to be paid by the maker." The license to sell was under a subsequent act, by which the justices in sessions or the chief magistrate of a corporation were to grant licenses for the selling of coffee, chocolate, sherbet, or tea, no license being to be granted unless the retailer had first given security for the payment of the dues to the king.† There was no complaint that the securities had not been given, or that the dues were unpaid. The pretence under which the licenses were recalled was that as the statute made no mention of a time for which the licenses were granted, they might be recalled at any time by a higher authority than that of the magistrates who issued them. There never was a more flagrant violation of law under a show of some submission to law. The coffee-houses were closed. "The great coffee-house in Covent Garden"—Will's Coffee-house—where Mr. Pepys saw, in 1664, "Dryden the poet, and all the wits of the town, and Harris the player, and Mr. Hoole of our college," was suddenly shut up at the merry Christmas time. Mr. Dryden had no longer there "his armed chair, which in the winter had a settled and prescriptive place by the fire."‡ His opera of "The State of Innocence and Fall of Man" was his last previous dramatic production; and he could no longer tell to the groups around him how, when he went to the old blind schoolmaster in Bunhill Fields, and "asked leave to put his "Paradise Lost" into a drama in rhyme, Mr. Milton received him very civilly, and told him he would give him leave to tag his verses."§ Milton, about a year before, had been carried to his last resting-place in Cripplegate Church; and among the "treasonable discourse" of the frequenters of coffee-houses some might have uttered the thought that Milton was not far wrong when, in his last political treatise, he raised his warning voice against the way his countrymen were marching, "to those calamities which attend always and unavoidably on luxury, all national judgments under foreign and domestic slavery."‖ Probably no political measure was more indicative of a disposition in the government to attack the liberties of the people in their social habits than this shutting-up of the coffee-houses. The popular indignation soon compelled the government to retract its proclamation. "The faction was much incensed," writes North. "They said that Mr. Attorney [Sir William Jones] should answer it in parliament." Mr. Attorney was frightened; and possibly some higher authorities were not at their ease. Permission was given to reopen the houses for a certain time, under a severe admonition to the keepers that they should stop the reading of all scandalous books and papers, and hinder every scandalous report against the government. Despotism would be more dangerous though not more odious than it is, among nations with pretensions to civilization, if it had something less of the weakness and folly which always accompanies its measures for the repression of opinion.

At the opening of the session of parliament on the 15th of February, 1677, the lord chancellor, Finch, made an elaborate speech which, says Mr. Southey, "contains passages which are as worthy of attention now as they were when they were delivered."¶ Such a passage as the following would be more worthy of attention, had it not been repeated, with very slight variation, by every parliamentary orator from that day to this, with whom the dead calm of national apathy is the perfection of national happiness—the highest glory of a sovereign to "be rowed in state over the ocean of public tranquillity by the public slavery."** The words of Lord Chancellor Nottingham are these: "It is a great and a dangerous mistake in those who think that peace at home is well enough preserved, so long as the sword is not drawn; whereas, in truth, nothing deserves the name

* "Review," vol. ii. quoted in Wilson's "Life," vol. i. p. 60.
† "Life of Baxter," part iii. pp. 172, 191.
‡ "Moneys received and paid for secret services;" Camden Society.
§ "Harleian Miscellany," vol. viii. p. 7.
‖ "Lives of the Norths," vol. i. p. 316.

* 12 Car. II. c. 21. † 15 Car. II. c. 11.
‡ "Johnson's Lives of the Poets;" Cunningham's edit. vol. i. p. 338. § Aubrey. "Lives," vol. iii. p. 444.
‖ "Way to establish a Free Commonwealth."
¶ "Southey's Commonplace Book," vol. i. p. 106.
** Marvell. "Rehearsal Transprosed," vol. ii. p. 195.

of peace but unity; such an unity as flows from an unshaken trust and confidence between the king and his people; from a due reverence and obedience to his law and his government; from a religious and an awful care not to disturb the ancient landmarks." * These are the commonplaces which have been entered in many a book besides Mr. Southey's. "Trust and confidence between the king and his people" had been manifested by a prorogation of parliament for fifteen months. A fierce debate took place on this question. The Duke of Buckingham maintained that the prorogation for so long a time amounted to a dissolution, being contrary to the statutes of Edward III., which require the annual calling of a parliament. Lords Shaftesbury, Salisbury, and Wharton supported this opinion; and by way of silencing them were ordered to be sent to the Tower, unless they begged pardon of the king and the house. They refused, and were imprisoned. Such committals by either house terminate with the session; but the government contrived to keep these dangerous rivals out of the way for more than a year, by adjournments instead of prorogations. In the Commons the country party were in a minority upon this question. The bribery of the lord treasurer had been more effectual than the eloquence of the lord chancellor. The instalment of the king's pension from France, paid in February, was applied to get votes for a large grant. But the greater part of the supply was devoted to the support of the navy; and with this sum the Commons would not trust the treasurer, but appointed their own receivers to superintend its disbursement. The French were now carrying all resistance before them, in the Spanish Netherlands. The Prince of Orange was defeated at Cassel. Valenciennes and Cambray were surrendered. The Commons voted an address praying the king to oppose the French monarch and save the Netherlands from his grasp. Charles required an immediate grant as a preliminary to a declaration of war. The house refused it. Then was resorted to that disgusting system of foreign bribery, by Spain to obtain the grant, by France to prevent it, which has brought such great disgrace upon many of the public men of this period, and which in some degree qualifies the same baseness in the king. The grant being refused, Charles adjourned the parliament; obtained an increase of his pension from Louis; and gave his promise accordingly that he would keep off the meeting of the troublesome representatives who urged him into war, and yet were afraid to give him the means of carrying it on.

When Sir William Temple, in 1668, having concluded the Triple Alliance, returned to the Hague as ambassador, he described the Prince of Orange as "a young man of more parts than ordinary, and of the better sort; that is, not lying in that kind of wit which is neither of use to one's self nor to anybody else, but in good plain sense." Temple adds, "Never anybody raved so much after England as well the language as all else that belonged to it." † William was then in his nineteenth year. When Temple went back to the Hague in 1674 the young man had applied his plain sense and his higher qualities—if most high qualities be not included in plain sense—to take the position of the deliverer of his country. He had measured his strength with the great Condé; and in the battle of Seneffe, disastrous as it was, had earned from the French veteran the praise that he had acted in everything like an old captain, except in venturing his person too much like a young soldier. Temple in his second embassy had hinted at the possibility of an union with the daughter of the Duke of York. The proposal was renewed more formally, but the Prince of Orange did not then respond. He suspected the disposition of the English government to favor the designs of Louis XIV. He was himself resolved to struggle, "as he had seen a poor old man tugging alone in a little boat upon a canal, against the eddy of a sluice. This old man's business and mine are too like one another." ‡ But the desire for an English alliance overcame this repugnance to the union. Probably he looked far into the future. William came to England in 1677. On the 19th of October the marriage between him and Mary, the eldest daughter of the Duke of York, was agreed upon. On the 4th of November it was solemnized —"to the great joy of the nation," says Reresby; "for his highness being a Protestant prince, this match in a great measure expelled the fears that the majority had conceived concerning popery." * Dr. Edward Lake, who was chaplain and tutor to the Princesses Mary and Anne, in his diary of the 16th of November writes: "The wind being easterly, their highnesses were still detained at St. James's. This day the court began to whisper the prince's sullenness or clownishness, that he took no notice of his princess at the play and ball, nor came to see her at St. James's the day preceding this designed for their departure." † With the usual earnestness of his character, William was laboring to induce the king his uncle to take a bold and honorable part in the negotiations for peace with France; and it is very likely that he neglected to pay to his bride those attentions which policy, if not love, would have demanded. In after life Mary showed the depth of her affection for her husband, so cold in his demeanor, so high-minded in real deeds. The sweetness of her nature was eminently fitted for his support and consolation in the great trials and the arduous duties of his life. The chaplain records that Mary wept incessantly all the morning of their departure. "The queen observing her highness to weep as she took leave of her majesty, would have comforted her with the consideration of her own condition when she came into England, and had never till then seen the king; to whom her highness presently replied, 'But, madam, you came into England; but I am going out of England.'" ‡

The marriage of the Prince of Orange with the Princess Mary gave offence to the King of France. He regarded it as a breach of faith on the part of his pensioner, the King of England, and he stopped the payment of the sum for which Charles had agreed to prevent any meeting of parliament till April, 1678. Before that time Louis expected to have been in a condition to dictate terms to the allies. When the pensioner saw his pay stopped, he called the parliament together, on the 28th of January. To attempt to unravel the knot of the complicated intrigues of this period would be as wearisome to our readers as unsatisfactory to ourselves. The king announced to the parliament that he had made such alliances with Holland as were for the preservation of Flanders, and had withdrawn the auxiliary English troops from the French service. The king further asked for money to carry on the war against France, so as to support a fleet of ninety sail and an army of forty thousand men. The fast-and-loose game which was played throughout this session has left a stain upon parliamentary government. It was impossible for the Dutch and their allies, and equally impossible for the English people, to understand the movements of the court party and the country party as exhibited in the votes of parliament. Well might the Prince of Orange say, "Was ever anything so hot and so cold as this court of yours? Will the king never learn a word that I shall never forget since my last passage to England, when, in a great storm, the captain was all night crying out to the men at the helm, 'Steady! Steady! Steady!'?" The independent members of the House of Commons knew that a prompt assistance to the allies was absolutely necessary to control the ambitious designs of France. They urged the war, but they hesitated to vote the supplies, or clogged the vote by vexatious conditions. "Great debates," says Reresby, "had arisen upon this affair, and the reason of the violent opposition it met with was the desire in some to oppose the crown, though in the very thing they themselves wished for, the nation being ever desirous of a war with France; and a jealousy in others that the king indeed intended to raise an army, but never designed to go on with the war; and, to say the truth, some of the king's own party were not very sure of the contrary." § There was a violent debate on the 14th of March, very imperfectly reported. Reresby says of this debate, "Several speeches were made in the house, full fraught of jealousies and fears, and particularly with regard to the army at this time levying; as if it rather intended to erect absolute monarchy at home than infest the enemy abroad." ‖ The Commons on the 29th of April received a message from the king, desiring that the house would immediately enter into a consideration of a supply for him, for his majesty must either disband the men or pay them. The king and the representatives of the people now came to violent issues. A supply was refused unless a war was declared against France; if not the army must be disbanded. The army had been raised, and was encamped on Hounslow Heath. Evelyn there looked upon these forces on the 29th of

* "Parl. History," vol. iv. col. 809.
† Letter quoted in Courtenay's "Life of Temple," vol. i. p. 286.
‡ Conversation with Temple, ibid., p. 488.

* "Memoirs," p. 199. † "Camden Miscellany," vol. i.
‡ Ibid. § "Memoirs," p. 200. ‖ Ibid., p. 303.

June: "We saw the new-raised army encamped, designed against France in pretence at least; but which gave umbrage to the parliament. His majesty and a world of company were in the field, and the whole army in battalia, a very glorious sight. Now were brought into service a new sort of soldiers called grenadiers, who were dexterous in flinging hand grenades, every one having a pouch full." What Evelyn, a steady loyalist, thought a pretence, is the only justification for the undoubted fact that some of the opposition to the court was the result of a secret connection formed with the ambassadors of Louis by some of the parliamentary leaders. Money was bestowed upon the more unscrupulous. We cannot think, even if the designs of Charles upon the liberties of his country had been manifest to Hollis, and Russell, and Sidney, instead of being merely suspected, that they were justified in their intrigues with any foreign prince, and especially with a monarch so opposed to freedom and national independence as Louis XIV. Undoubtedly their conduct was some apology for Charles in that policy of evasion and delay which allowed France to conclude a peace upon far more advantageous terms than Louis could have obtained if William of Orange had been adequately supported. The peace of Nimeguen, concluded on the 4th of August, left Louis a large portion of his gains in this war of aggression. England had the disgrace of the most complicated faithlessness to all honorable principle. She lost her national position in Europe, and became a byword for despotic states, and a scandal to the few nations that were free. She stood alone in possessing a government in which the opinions of the people were supposed to have a voice through their representatives. These manifestations of weakness and dishonor were held to be inherent in a mixed constitution of king and parliament, and men were taught to think that arbitrary power was a safer and more glorious thing than regulated freedom. Despotism is always ready to rejoice when the due balance of representative government is disturbed by the violence or the corruption of selfish factions.

On the 8th of July an act was passed for granting a supply to the king of upward of £600,000, "for disbanding the army, and for other uses." On the 15th the parliament was prorogued. Amid the conflicts of party one statute of this period marks the great fact that religious intolerance had assumed a milder form. It is enacted "That the writ commonly called Breve de Heretico comburendo, with all process and proceedings thereupon, in order to the executing such writ, or following or depending thereupon, and all punishment by death in pursuance of any ecclesiastical censures, be from henceforth utterly taken away and abolished." * But if the progress of opinion had wiped out of the statute-book the horrible law that heretics should be burned, the recollection of the days when that law was no dead letter was still strong and vivid as ever in the popular mind. The dread of popery was the one inextinguishable spark in the temper of the people which the slightest breath might raise into a flame. The great bulk of the nation knew little of the vices of the court; and even those who dwelt in and around Westminster looked with complacency upon the tall, swarthy gentleman who walked up and down the mall in St. James's Park at his "wonted large pace;" and who, when very humble strangers were presented to him in the long gallery at Whitehall, would give them his hand to kiss, and say "God bless you." † They were accustomed to hear of the Duke of York's irregular life, and little heeded his private indiscretions; but when he became a declared Romanist and had married a Catholic princess there were no bounds to their dislike and their suspicion. Dissenters from the Church, who practically knew all the hardships of exclusion from civil offices, and from the privilege of worship according to their own consciences, would hear of no scheme of toleration for papists. Rousing themselves out of the apathy which had succeeded to their delirium of loyalty, the people had again begun to take a strong interest in public affairs. They felt that the nation had lost character in its foreign transactions. They saw the old principles of servile obedience, which had been struck down in 1640, again proclaimed as the duties of subjects. They believed, with Lord Shaftesbury, that "Popery and slavery, like two sisters, go hand in hand: and sometimes one goes first, and sometimes the other, but wheresoever the one enters the other is following close behind." In the temper that prevailed among the people in the summer of 1678, the excesses connected with what is known as the Popish Plot were, like Shakespeare's characteristic of murder, "most foul;" they were also "strange;" but they were not "unnatural." The nation was under a panic which manifested itself in a temporary insanity. But we are not therefore to conclude that the panic was wholly unreasonable; that the plot was a pure invention got up by witnesses altogether false, at the instigation of Shaftesbury and other unprincipled politicians; that there was no design on the part of Romish intriguers to restore their religion in England, to which the near prospect of a popish successor to the throne gave abundant encouragement. It is unquestionable that the Jesuits did believe, as was expressed in the letter of Coleman, the secretary of the Duke of York, that for "the subduing of a pestilent heresy"—the "mighty work" on their hands—"there were never such hopes of success since the death of Queen Mary, as now in our days, when God has given us a prince who is become zealous of being the author and instrument of so glorious a work." The zeal of James was neutralized by the indifference of Charles; and therefore it was maintained that the destruction of the king was the first object of the plot. Charles himself ridiculed the notion; but that is no proof that he wholly disbelieved the existence of some wild scheme for his removal.

The rumors of a popish plot burst upon the nation at the beginning of October. Evelyn records, under date of the first of this month, that he went to Dr. Tonge, the rector of St. Michael's, Wood Street, to see and converse with him at Whitehall, and "with Mr. Oates, one that was lately an apostate to the Church of Rome, and now returned again with this discovery" of the popish plot. "Oates was encouraged," continues Evelyn, "and everything he affirmed taken for gospel. The truth is, the Roman Catholics were exceedingly bold and busy everywhere." Reresby says that the first news of the plot, "a design of the papists to kill the king," came to him in the country, on the 10th of October. "Nobody can conceive that was not a witness thereof, what a ferment this raised among all ranks and degrees." Burnet, who says that he was so well instructed in all the steps of the plot that he is more capable to give a full account of it than any man he knows, records that three days before Michaelmas Dr. Tonge came to him—"a very mean divine, and seemed credulous and simple, but I had always looked on him as a sincere man. At this time he told me of strange designs against the king's person." Burnet communicated the information to the secretary's office; but learned that Tonge had been already "making discoveries there, of which they made no other account, but that he intended to get himself to be made a dean." Burnet told Tonge's story "to Littleton and Powel, and they looked on it as a design of Lord Danby's, to be laid before the next session, thereby to dispose them to keep up a greater force, since the papists were plotting against the king's life." Roger North on the contrary suggests that Shaftesbury "was behind the curtain, and in the depths of the contrivance." * The generally received account is that one Kirby, on the 13th of August, warned the king, who knew him, not to walk alone in the park; that the same evening he brought Tonge to Charles, with a narrative of the plot; that the king referred it to the lord treasurer; that Charles was incredulous, and laughed at the simplicity of Danby in his wish to lay the narrative before the privy council. But it may occur to some, bearing in mind the time that elapsed between the first information to the king and the official notification to the council, that there was some ground for the conjecture of Littleton and Powel that the court had its own objects in raising the alleged plot into importance, by encouraging the witnesses in their extravagant relations. The objection of Lord Halifax to this theory was reasonable enough. He told Burnet that "considering the suspicions all people had of the duke's religion, he believed every discovery of that sort would raise a flame which it would not be easy to manage." But the objection assumed that the contrivers of such state-engines were duly sensible of the effects they might produce—that "the ingener" might contemplate the possibility of being "hoist with his own petar." If Danby stimulated the revelations of the plot to alarm the Commons into granting supplies, it did not follow that he would foresee such a storm as would give a violent impulse to all the political movements of the next ten years. Shaftes-

* 29 Car. II. c. 9. † See "Diary of Henry Teonge," p. 232.

* "Examen," p. 35.

bury, says Roger North, "was the dry-nurse, and took the charge of leading the monstrous birth till it could crawl alone." It is quite within the range of probability that the court got up the plot for its own purposes, and that "the discontented party" took it out of the court's hands for its own purposes also.

Burnet, who relates conversations that he had with the king, represents Charles as saying that after Tonge's audience he did not know but some of the particulars related to him might be true, and sent him to Lord Danby. "The matter lay in a secret and remiss management for six weeks," till, on Michaelmas eve, Oates was brought before the council. He related many discourses he had heard among the Jesuits at St. Omer's of their design to kill the king; he named persons, places, and times almost without number; he accused Coleman, the duke's secretary. Many Jesuits were seized. Coleman removed the bulk of his letters previous to his apprehension; but two were accidentally left, addressed to the confessor of Louis XIV., which in some degree confirmed the belief of a design to overthrow the government. Burnet went to Whitehall, and there found Oates and Tonge under a guard. Previous to Oates being examined a second time by the privy council, he went before Sir Edmondbury Godfrey, a zealous Protestant justice of peace, and made oath to the narrative which he afterward published. A fortnight after Godfrey was missing, having left his home on a Saturday morning. On the following Wednesday his corpse was found in a ditch at some distance out of the town, near Primrose Hill. His own sword was thrust through his body, but no blood was on his clothes: on his neck were the marks of strangulation. The papists were, of course, suspected of his murder, although the motive was altogether a mystery. On the other hand it was maintained that he had committed suicide. A medal was struck ridiculing this notion, in showing the unfortunate justice walking with a halter about his neck after he is dead, and St. Denis on the obverse, with his own head in his hand. There was another medal with a portrait of Godfrey, and a representation of the murderers carrying his body on a horse. Roger North, who labors in every way to fasten the invention of the plot upon the party opposed to the court, describes the fury of the people on the discovery of this supposed murder; and says that their leaders would have hounded them on to any massacre and destruction, had the military not been in good order. The popular notion was that the murder of Godfrey was to deter all men from any further inquiry into the plot. There was great excitement at the funeral of the Protestant magistrate, which North has described with some humor: "The crowd was prodigious, both at the procession and in and about the church, and so heated that anything called popish, were it cat or dog, had probably gone to pieces in a moment. The Catholics all kept close in their houses and lodgings, thinking it a good composition to be safe there; so far were they from acting violently at that time. But there was all this while upheld among the common people an artificial fright, so as almost every man fancied a popish knife just at his throat. And at the sermon, besides the preacher, two other thumping divines stood upright in the pulpit, one on each side of him, to guard him from being killed, while he was preaching, by the papists."* In this feverish state of the popular mind the parliament met, on the 21st of October. Charles alluded to information received by him of a design against his person by the Jesuits, but said he would leave the matter to the law. The parliament immediately determined to take the subject into their own hands. They appointed a committee to inquire into Godfrey's murder and into the plot; they addressed the king to appoint a solemn fast; they further desired the removal of all popish recusants from the metropolis and ten miles round; before a week had elapsed, a bill was passed by the Commons to exclude Catholics from both houses. Oates was examined. Coleman's letters were read. On the 1st of November the Commons came to a resolution, "That, upon the evidence that has already appeared to the house, this house is of opinion, that there hath been, and still is, a damnable and hellish plot, contrived and carried on by popish recusants, for the assassinating and murdering the king, and for subverting the government, and rooting out and destroying the Protestant religion." The Lords unanimously agreed in the resolution of the Commons.

There are two descriptions by impartial witnesses which present striking pictures of the state of the popular mind at this season. On the 17th of November, Queen Elizabeth's birthday, there was a mock procession which Calamy, the son of the famous nonconformist, saw in his boyhood, and thus relates: "In the midst of vast crowds of spectators, who made great acclamations and showed abundance of satisfaction, there were carried in pageants upon men's shoulders through the chief streets of the city, the effigies of the pope, with the representation of the devil behind him, whispering in his ear, and wonderfully soothing and caressing him (though he afterward deserted him, and left him to shift for himself, before he was committed to the flames), together with the likeness of the dead body of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey, carried before him by one that rode on horseback, designed to remind the people of his execrable murder. And a great number of dignitaries in their copes, with crosses; monks, friars, and Jesuits; popish bishops in their mitres, with all their trinkets and appurtenances. Such things as these very discernibly heightened and inflamed the general aversion of the nation from popery; but it is to be feared, on the other hand, they put some people, by way of revulsion, upon such desperate expedients as brought us even within an ace of ruin." Daniel Defoe, then also a youth, was greatly excited by the popish plot, some of the credulities accompanying which he described in his maturer years: "I did firmly believe the reality of the plot; yet, when we ran up that plot to general massacres, fleets of pilgrims, bits and bridles, knives, handcuffs, and a thousand such things which people generally talk of, I confess, though a boy, I could not then, nor can now, come up to them. And my reasons were, as they still are, because I see no reason to believe the papists to be fools, whatever else we had occasion to think of them. I cannot, indeed, spare room to examine the weakness of the notion of a general massacre in England, where the papists all over the kingdom are not five to a hundred, in some counties not one, and within the city hardly one to a thousand. But, 'tis plain, these notions prevailed to a strange excess, made our city blunderbusses to be all new burnished, hat and feathers, shoulder-belt, and all our military gew-gaws come in mode again, till the city trained bands began to be so rampant that, like other standing armies, they began to ride upon their masters, and trampled under foot the liberty of that very city they were raised to defend. They were made engines of oppression and disorder, disturbed meeting-houses, possessed the Guildhall, chose sheriffs, got drunk upon guard, abused the citizens upon their rounds, and their prodigal drunken sentinels murdered several people upon pretence they would not stand at their command. In a populous city it was impossible but innocent people, either ignorant or perhaps in drink, might run themselves into danger, not imagining they had to do with brutes that would kill their fellow-citizens for such trifles, with the same severity as if in an enemy's country, or on the frontiers."

As there was nothing in the terrors of massacres and invasions; of burnings of London and of the shipping in the Thames; of Jesuits about to rule the land under the seal of the pope—too absurd for the multitude to credit—so there was no eminent person, however royal and peaceable, who might not become a victim to the accusations of those men who had brought a whole nation into a condition of senseless panic. "All Oates' evidence," says Burnet, "was now so well believed that it was not safe for any man to doubt any part of it." He named peers to whom the pope had sent over his commissions. He accused Wakeman, the queen's physician, of a project to poison his sovereign. Bedloe, a man of notorious evil life, surrendered himself at Bristol, pretending that he was cognizant of the murder of Godfrey, and could point out the murderers and instigators; and he then came forward in support of the accusations of Oates against certain peers who had been apprehended on Oates' charges. The consummation of the impudence of Oates was his attempt to involve the harmless queen in a charge of having concerted the murder of her husband. He told a story that the queen had sent for some Jesuits to Somerset House; that he went with them, and standing behind a door heard one in a woman's voice, there being no other woman in the room than the queen, assure them that she would assist in taking off the king. North relates that Oates, at the bar of the House of Commons, said, "*Aye, Taitus* Oates, *accause* Catherine *Quean* of England, of *Haigh Traison*."* Burnet has a curious rela-

* "Examen," p. 204.

* Scott, from this hint, has given Oates his peculiar dialect in Peveril of the Peak."

tion of his own conversation with the king on this delicate subject. The good bishop's relations have been considered, though perhaps unjustly, a little open to doubt; but we are not entitled to question what he relates of his personal knowledge. "The king spoke much to me concerning Oates' accusing the queen, and acquainted me with the whole progress of it. He said she was a weak woman, and had some disagreeable humors; but was not capable of a wicked thing; and, considering his faultiness toward her in other things, he thought it a horrid thing to abandon her. He said he looked on falsehood and cruelty as the greatest crimes in the sight of God; he knew he had led a bad life, of which he spoke with some sense; but he was breaking himself of all his faults; and he would never do a base and a wicked thing. I spoke on all these subjects which I thought became me, which he took well; and I encouraged him much in his resolution of not exposing the queen to perish by false swearing."

We have thus shown some ludicrous aspects of this famous plot. The horrible realities connected with it present a fearful example of the atrocities that may be committed under the excitement of religious animosity. The trials of the accused persons commenced in November. Stayley, a Catholic banker, was first sacrificed, upon a ridiculous accusation brought forward by Carstairs, a Scotchman, who saw that the trade of false witness was prosperous. He swore that he heard the banker say, in French, that the king was a rogue, and that he himself would kill him, if nobody else would. Burnet gave offence by showing that Carstairs was an infamous character; and Shaftesbury, as the bishop relates, told him "that all those who undermined the credit of the witnesses were public enemies." The poor banker was tried and was hanged. Coleman was next brought to trial upon charges made against him by Oates and Bedloe. The evidence was very inconclusive; but his letters were against him, although he maintained that he had no idea of bringing in the Catholic religion, but by a general toleration. He was convicted of high treason and executed. Three Jesuits, Ireland, Grove, and Pickering, were the next victims. Green and Hill, two papists, and Berry, a Protestant, were then convicted of the murder of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey, upon the testimony of Bedloe and the pretended confession of Prance, a silversmith. The prisons were filled with hundreds of suspected traitors. Five peers were confined in the Tower under impeachment. Scroggs, the chief justice, conducted himself, in all the trials, with the most ferocious determination to procure a verdict against the prisoners. Oates in a few months was at the height of his greatness. "He walked about," says North, "with his guards assigned for fear of the papists murdering him. He had lodgings in Whitehall, and 1200*l.* per annum pension: And no wonder, after he had the impudence to say to the House of Lords, in plain terms, that if they would not help him to more money, he must be forced to help himself. He put on an Episcopal garb, except the lawn sleeves; silk gown and cassock, great hat, satin hatband and rose, long scarf, and was called, or most blasphemously called himself, the saviour of the nation. Whoever he pointed at was taken up and committed; so that many people got out of his way, as from a blast, and glad they could prove their two last years' conversation. The very breath of him was pestilential, and if it brought not imprisonment, or death, over such on whom it fell, it surely poisoned reputation, and left good Protestants arrant papists, and something worse than that, in danger of being put in the plot as traitors." *

We have dwelt at some length upon this popish plot; and in their order of time we shall have to give a few other details. It may be thought that such an occurrence might be more briefly related; but it is not only strikingly illustrative of the temper of the people, but was really pregnant with important consequences. Dr. Wellwood, who wrote his "Memoirs" some twenty years after these events, has expressed, with tolerable impartiality, the view in which they were regarded after the revolution: "A great part of the popish plot, as it was then sworn to, will in all human probability lie among the darkest scenes of our English history. However, this is certain: the discovery of the popish plot had great and various effects upon the nation; and it's from this remarkable period of time we may justly reckon a new era in the English account. In the first place it awakened the nation out of a deep lethargy they had been in for nineteen years together; and alarmed them with fears and jealousies that have been found to our sad experience but too well grounded. In the next it gave the rise to, at least settled, that unhappy distinction of Whig and Tory among the people of England, that has since occasioned so many mischiefs. And lastly, the discovery of the popish plot began that open struggle between King Charles and his people that occasioned him not only to dissolve his first favorite parliament, and the three others that succeeded, but likewise to call no more during the rest of his reign. All which made for bringing in question the charters of London, and other corporations, with a great many dismal effects that followed." *

* "Examen."

CHAPTER CXI.

Discovery of the intrigues of the king with France—Impeachment of Danby—Dissolution of parliament—Elections—The duke of York goes abroad—Pretensions of Monmouth to legitimacy—The king's declaration as to his marriage—The new council upon Temple's plan—The Exclusion Bill passed in the Commons—The Habeas Corpus Act—Continued trials for the popish plot—Analysis of payments to the witnesses—Persecutions of Covenanters in Scotland—Murder of Archbishop Sharp—Claverhouse defeated at Drumclog—Monmouth sent to Scotland as general—Battle of Bothwell Bridge—Whig and Tory—York and Monmouth rivals for the succession—Proclamation against petitions—Abhorrers.

THE political excitement of the Christmas time of 1678 had not been equalled since the early days of the Long Parliament. In the very height of the fever of the popish plot a discovery was made of the intrigues of the king with France, which very soon led to the ruin of the lord treasurer, Danby, In the secret treaty between Charles and Louis in May, 1678, it was agreed that the English army should be disbanded. The French ambassador, Barillon, pressed its reduction to 8000 men; which Charles as constantly evaded; and he is said to have exclaimed, "God's fish! are all the king of France's promises to make me master of my subjects come to this? or does he think that a matter to be done with 8000 men?" Louis was out of humor with Charles, who appeared disposed to set up for a despot without his brother despot's aid; and he urged Ralph Montague, the English minister at Paris, to betray the secrets of their intrigues. Montague was also out of humor with his own government. He came home, and was elected a member of parliament. The lord treasurer dreaded Montague's disclosures, and ordered his papers to be seized, under pretence that he had held private conferences with the pope's nuncio. A royal message to this effect was sent to the Commons. "But Montague," says Burnet, "understood the arts of a court too well to be easily catched." He had put a box, in which certain letters were, "in sure hands, out of the way." The object in endeavoring to obtain possession of these papers was to destroy the evidence of the transactions of May, 1678. Montague, in his place in the house said, "I believe that the seizing my cabinets and papers was to get into their hands some papers of great consequence, that I have to produce, of the designs of a great minister of state." The box containing these was opened in the house; and Montague read two letters, one of which, signed Danby, empowered him to stipulate for a payment to the king of six hundred thousand livres annually for three years, as the price of his neutrality. At the bottom of the letter were these words: "This letter is writ by my order, C. R." Mr. Hallam has forcibly observed of the conduct of the king, as indicated by this letter, that it "bears date five days after an act had absolutely passed to raise money for carrying on the war; a circumstance worthy of particular attention, as it both puts an end to every pretext or apology which the least scrupulous could venture to urge in behalf of this negotiation, and justifies the Whig party of England in an invincible distrust, an inexpiable hatred, of so perfidious a cozener." † There was a passage in this letter of instructions to Montague which gave dire offence to those in the House of Commons who felt as Englishmen. Charles asked for the pension, "because it will be two or three years before he can hope to find his parliament in humor to give him supplies, after your having made any peace with France." One member, Mr. Bennet, exclaimed, "I

* "Memoirs of the most material Transactions," etc., 1736, p. 111.
† "Constitutional History," chap. xiii.

wonder the house sits so silent when they see themselves sold for six millions of livres to the French." Another, Mr. Harbord, said, "I hope now gentlemen's eyes are open, by the design on foot to destroy the government and our liberties." Sir Henry Capel, calling upon the house to impeach Danby of treason, said, "This minister has let the French king grow upon us, and let our king take money from him, to lay aside his people."* From this time the unity which the Lord Chancellor Finch so earnestly implored was impossible. The arts of the court were met by counter-arts of the opposition; the craft of the despot was resisted by the turbulence of the demagogue; the same foreign hand which had bribed the king to degrade his country now bribed the parliament to contend against the king. It is a sickening spectacle. The only consolation is that ultimate good came out of the instant evil. Danby was impeached of high treason. He had reluctantly written this letter at the command of his unworthy master; but the penalty constitutionally fell upon the minister. He defended himself upon the plea that upon the matter of peace and war the king was the sole judge, and that he ought to be obeyed by his ministers of state, as by all his subjects. It is now well understood that the commands of the sovereign furnish no justification for evil measures of the crown; that the minister must have the responsibility. Danby, though a mere accomplice in guilt, was the one guilty minister; for the letter said "To the secretary [Sir W. Coventry] you must not mention one syllable of the money." The continuance of proceedings against the lord treasurer was interrupted by the prorogation of parliament on the 21st of December, and by its dissolution on the 24th of January, 1679. This was the last session of the parliament that had continued since 1661. It commenced in a frenzy of loyalty; it ended in all the embitterment of discontent at the present, and in dread of the future.

Roger North says that the vacation of parliament "was indeed a dismal one. . . . All populous places were made unquiet with artificial fears and jealousies. . . . All incidents were made wonders, and odd accidents right down prodigies." The Londoners were frightened, as if it were a terrible omen, by a great darkness in London on a Sunday morning, "so that the people in church could not read in their Bibles." North asks a question which shows that our metropolitan atmosphere has not much changed during two hundred years. "To what end is this magnifying, so prodigiously, a common accident in London, there being seldom a winter without it; for when a common mist mixes with the coal-smoke it must be so; and out of town, where is no smoke, it is not half so much." † It was fortunate that the elections came to stir the people into real political action, instead of their yielding to vain delusions and idle fears. It seems, indeed, to have been a most stirring time. There is a striking picture of an election scene at Norwich, in Sir Thomas Browne's letters. The return for the county of Norfolk was contested, and a new election took place: "I do not remember such a great poll. I could not but observe the great number of horses which were in the town; and conceive there might have been five or six thousand, which in time of need might serve for dragoon-horses; besides a great number of coach-horses, and very good saddle-horses of the better sort. Wine we had none but sack and Rhenish, except some made provision thereof beforehand; but there was a strange consumption of beer, and bread, and cakes. Abundance of people slept in the market-place, and lay like flocks of sheep in and about the cross." ‡ Evelyn laments that so many from the country came in to vote for his brother as knight of the shire for Surrey, "that I believe they ate and drank him out near to 2000*l.*, by a most abominable custom." Burnet says, "The elections were carried with great heat, and went almost everywhere against the court."

The Duke of York, two days before the parliament met on the 6th of March, was persuaded to go abroad. His absence might allay the heat which was manifested against him in the last parliament, when there was a violent debate upon the proviso of the Lords, in the bill for excluding Catholics from both houses, that the duke should be exempted.§ But the Duke of York, before he left the country for a temporary exile, required that his interests in the succession to the crown should be protected against the pretended claims of the Duke of Monmouth. This supposed eldest of the many illegitimate children of Charles II. was born at Rotterdam in 1649. James II., in his "Advice to his Son" in the Stuart papers, says, "All the knowing world, as well as myself, had many convincing reasons to think he was not the king's son, but Robert Sidney's." His mother, Lucy Waters, who was known as Mrs. Barlow, was a lady of somewhat disreputable life; but Charles seems to have clung to her with unusual fidelity. She lived on terms of friendly intercourse with the sister of Charles, the Princess of Orange, who in writing to her brother says, "Your wife desires me to present her humble duty to you." The term "wife" was probably used in jest by Charles's sister. Mrs. Barlow came to England with the boy in 1656, and is said to have been received by some cavaliers with attentions paid to royalty. Cromwell had her, in the first place, apprehended, and then sent an order to the lieutenant of the Tower to release "the lady of pleasure and the young heir." She went to Paris, and soon after died. The son was received with favor by the queen dowager, Henrietta Maria, and came with her to England in 1662. He was called Master Crofts, from having resided with Lord Crofts, and is described by Evelyn as "a pretty spark." In 1663 he was created Duke of Monmouth, and was ordered "to take place of all dukes." He was also married at the same time to the young Countess of Buccleugh, a lady of immense fortune. Monmouth did not deserve "the finest lady in the three kingdoms," for he became an abandoned profligate. Charles appears to have been more constantly attached to him than to any other human being; and to this circumstance may be probably attributed the very general belief that the king had been married to his mother. The high offices bestowed upon Monmouth were far above his deserts or abilities, although he had exhibited bravery and judgment in the war of 1673, in which the English assisted Louis XIV. in his campaign. In 1677 he served on the other side, under the Prince of Orange. The notion was either put into his head by the enemies of the Duke of York, or he indulged in the delusion through some mysterious stories about documents in a black box, that he was the legitimate heir to the throne. The opinion was too general to be despised; and it is not surprising, therefore, that before the Duke of York went abroad he should have required his brother to set the matter at rest by a solemn affirmation to the contrary. Charles, on the 3d of March, declared to his council, "in the presence of Almighty God, that he had never given or made any contract of marriage, nor was married to any woman whatsoever but his wife, Queen Catherine, then living." James, with the Duchess of York, then departed for Brussels.

The resumption of the impeachment against Lord Danby, upon the meeting of parliament, involved two great constitutional questions. One was, whether an impeachment by the Commons in one parliament could be continued in another parliament. The Lords resolved that "the dissolution of the last parliament did not alter the state of the impeachments brought up by the Commons in that parliament." * The other question was on the right of the king to grant a pardon pending an impeachment. Danby, when he saw the proceedings revived against him, obtained a pardon under the great seal, which the king affixed without the knowledge of the chancellor. The Commons declared that a pardon to set aside an impeachment could not be pleaded. After various contests, Danby was committed to the Tower, and when a prorogation took place the impeachment fell to the ground.

After the fall of Danby a great experiment in administration was resolved upon, on the suggestion of Sir William Temple. His notion was that any select body of ministers, such as was known then as a cabal, and is now called a cabinet, should not be the principal advisers of the king; that the privy council should be dissolved, and a council smaller in number should be appointed, with which the management of affairs should be intrusted, the king pledging himself to submit all matters to their advice. This new council was to consist of thirty members, fifteen being high officers of state, and fifteen noblemen and gentlemen of wealth and independence. The wealth was an essential condition in the notion of the projector. The thirty members were

* "Parl. Hist." vol. iv. † "Examen," p. 504.
‡ Sir T. Browne's Works, 1836, vol. i. p. 241.
§ Catholics had been excluded from the lower house previous to the statute of 1678 excluding peers.

* There were subsequent reversals of this decision; but in the impeachment of Warren Hastings the resolution of 1679 was affirmed in 1791.

to possess estates or revenues amounting to £300,000, a sum equal to three fourths of the income, as then estimated, of the whole House of Commons. The principle was evidently to interpose some great authority in the state between the king and the representatives of the people—something that would be a counterpoise to the vast development of the power of the lower house.* As an administrative body it is evident that Temple's council would prove a failure. It could not essentially differ from the old privy council; for thirty members would be as unfit for the united action of an executive as fifty. The privy council of Elizabeth and of James I., as in earlier times, gave orders and signed dispatches. When sovereigns were their own ministers, the inconvenience of a large executive body would interfere little with the rapid and secret conduct of affairs. There was a natural jealousy of cabals or cabinets; but they had become indispensable in the time of Charles II. The opinions of the Lord Keeper Guilford upon the cabinet council, are illustrative of this gradual change in the functions of administration. Roger North says that his relative intended to describe the transactions of the court, and the state of the empire, during his ministry as lord keeper: "He begins with the state of the cabinet council, that consisted of those great officers, and courtiers, whom the king relied upon for the interior dispatch of his affairs. . . . This council was derived from the privy council, which, originally, was the same thing, and derived out of the *magnum concilium*. . . . Assemblies at first reasonably constituted of a due number and temper for dispatch of affairs committed to them, by improvident increase came to be formal and troublesome, the certain consequence of multitude; and thereby a new institution becomes necessary; whereupon it is found easier and safer to substitute than to dissolve. Thus the cabinet council, which at first was but in the nature of a private conversation, came to be a formal council, and had the direction of most transactions of the government foreign and domestic."† This opinion of Lord Guilford was formed subsequent to the experiment of 1679, and had no reference to the newly constituted advisers of the crown. But it is clear that Temple's council would have been as unmanageable as an executive body as the privy council, which had become unfit for dispatch of affairs "by improvident increase." Some of the popular leaders were of this new council, such as Russell. Shaftesbury was proposed by the king, and was nominated president. There was great rejoicing at the formation of this council. The people thought they should be better governed. The parliament looked coldly upon the project. The ministers very soon formed into juntos. There was a cabinet of four members within the council. None of the hostility of the Commons to the Duke of York was disarmed by this nominal union of men of conflicting opinions. The thirty had violent contentions; and in a short time Shaftesbury appeared in the anomalous character of president of the council and leader of the parliamentary opposition. The conduct of the king in this council is recorded by the great eulogist of the court, with singular admiration of the royal cleverness. The rolls of justices were laid before the council, in order to be reformed. "It was pleasant to see with how much wit and good humor the king ordered affairs, to disappoint these reformers. He would not suffer the roll, that was begun with, to be out of his own hand, but pretended to mark the alterations upon it himself. Then, as many of the council moved for alterations upon the account of good or bad men (terms of art, which for brevity they used to signify such as the party liked, or would have put out, or not), if the king was content a man should out, he made a mark at his name; but if he would not part with him, he found some jocular reason to let him stand; as that he was a good cocker, understood hunting, kept a good house, had good chines of beef, kept good fox-hounds, or some such indifferent matter, which it was ridiculous to contradict or dispute upon. And, in this manner, he frustrated all their intent as to removes."‡ With such a council and such a sovereign it is manifest there could be no abatement of a violent temper in parliament. The confirmed hostility to the Duke of York was manifested in a bill for his exclusion from the succession to the throne. To prevent this passing, the parliament was prorogued on the 26th of May to the 14th of August. The king took this step without communicating with his council. The exclusion bill had passed a second reading of the Commons, and its clauses were being discussed in committee. But there was a measure of greater importance to the real and permanent interests of the country than this premature attempt to disturb the succession. A great legal reform had been carried through both houses, and waited the royal assent. On that 26th of May Charles, however reluctantly, sanctioned the utterance of the three old words which make legislation law, when the bill was presented to him, which now stands in our statute-books as "An act for the better securing the liberty of the subject, and for preventing of imprisonments beyond seas."* This is the Habeas Corpus Act, the noble enactment which made that clause of the great charter which secures the personal liberty of every Englishman a living principle instead of a dead letter. By the common law no subject could be illegally imprisoned, for he might sue for the writ of habeas corpus, and be heard in open court. But judges, sheriffs, jailers, used every art to refuse and to evade the writ. The privy council would cause men to be confined beyond seas, in the king's foreign dominions, out of the jurisdiction of the courts of justice. Political offences, real or pretended, were thus punished more severely than the laws could punish. Suspicion stood in the place of evidence. Unhappy men lingered out years in distant prisons, and their wrongs were never known except to their oppressors. The strictness and promptitude of the proceedings under the Habeas Corpus Act struck the old weapon of tyranny out of the hands of the powerful. To Shaftesbury, whatever may have been his demerits, we mainly owe the triumph of this great measure. On the same morning that the king gave his assent to the Habeas Corpus Act he knocked off, perhaps unconsciously, the shackles of the press. The Licensing Act of 1662 was to continue till the end of the next session of parliament. All books had been under the control of the licenser for seventeen years. By the prorogation of the 27th of May that system came to a temporary close. There was many a struggle yet to be made before Englishmen could point to their own condition, and exultingly say,

> "This is true liberty, when free-born men,
> Having to advise the public, may speak free."†

The parliament was dissolved by proclamation before the 14th of August, to which day it had been prorogued. The fourth parliament of Charles II. met on the 7th of October, 1679, but it was prorogued, again and again, for more than a year. During the summer of 1679 the trials for the popish plot went forward, with no abatement of the popular outcry against the unhappy Roman Catholics. In June two Jesuits, Whitbread and Fenwick, who had previously stood at the bar, and had been illegally remanded to prison in defect of evidence, were again indicted, with three others. The cross-swearing on these trials was astounding. The evidence of Oates went to prove a conspiracy of which he became cognizant in London in April, 1678. Sixteen of the inmates of St. Omer's came over to the trial, and swore that Oates resided among them, uninterruptedly, from January to June. On the other side, eight persons swore that they had seen him in England at the beginning of May. The accused were all found guilty. Langhorne, a Catholic lawyer, was also tried and condemned. The six were executed on the 20th of June. The grossest partiality was manifested from the judgment seat in these trials. Scroggs, the chief-justice, kept no bounds of decency in urging the jury to convict. The other judges sat by his side, and interposed no opinion as to the credibility of the evidence. Roger North offers this excuse for his relative, and the rest of the ermined tools: "Nothing can qualify the silence, but the inconceivable fury and rage of the community, gentle and simple, at that time, and the consequences of an open opposition to the chief, whose part it was to act, as he did, demanding no assistance of any of them: which opposition might have been fatal in many respects: for the credit of the witnesses must have been impeached, which the time would not bear; and it was not in their office to intermeddle; for, as to the fact, the jury is to answer. When it is so done by the co-assessors, it is for discretion, and not duty; the most cogent reason

* The design of Temple is most ably elucidated in Lord Macaulay's "Essays," vol. iii.

† "Lives," vol. ii. p. 50.

‡ "Examen," p. 77.

* 31 Car. II. c. 2.

† Milton's motto to "Liberty of Unlicensed Printing," from Euripides.

was that the prejudice was so universal and strong that if an apostle had spoken against, no impression had taken place, nor had it done the prisoners any service; but on the other side, not only the rabble, but even the parliament itself, had flounced at it; which consideration turned the scales of the discretion, and made those judges rather let a vessel drive which they could not stop, and reserve themselves for fairer opportunities, when such might happen, for them to do some good, without pretending to remove mountains." *

There was a stop at last to these disgraceful exhibitions. The English "rabble" are violent, but they are not blood-thirsty; and the executions of men who maintained their innocence to the last wrought pity and disgust even among the most prejudiced. The trial of Sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, came on in July. Oates and Bedloe were as positive in their testimony as on former trials where they easily obtained convictions. But now, to their great astonishment, the bench allowed their assertions to be questioned; and thus, after Oates had gone through his course of bold accusations against Wakeman, the clerk of the privy council came forward, and testified that when the confident witness was asked by the lord chancellor if he knew anything personally of the queen's physician, he lifted up his hands to heaven and protested he did not. Three Benedictine monks were indicted as accomplices with Wakeman in the design to poison the king. After a trial of nine hours the whole were acquitted. The believers in the plot gradually diminished. "The witnesses," says Burnet, "saw they were blasted; and they were enraged on it, which they vented with much spite against Scroggs." The trials of common men were now laid aside. But Stratford and the four other lords were still in the Tower, waiting to be tried by their peers. The dissolution and repeated prorogations left their fate doubtful. In the mean while Oates and Bedloe were in comfortable quarters, and were receiving handsome gratuities, as well as Dugdale, another of their tribe. There are records of many payments to these worthies, under the heads of "free gift and royal bounty;" "for diet;" for "charges about several witnesses;" for "expenses about the plot;" for "maintaining witnesses in town about the plot;" for "a further discovery of the plot;" for "expenses in prosecuting;" for "discovering a Jesuit;" for "journeys;" for "discovering papists harbored in court;" for "lodgings in Whitehall;" extending over a period from March 30th, 1679, to March 4th, 1683. Of the previous payments to the "witnesses" during half a year we have no record. We have made a careful analysis of about a hundred and twenty entries of payment to Oates, Bedloe, Tonge, and Dugdale, as they appear in the accounts of moneys paid for secret services; and we find that up to the 7th of September, 1681, Oates received 1660*l.* 8*s.* 10*d.*; Bedloe, to July, 1680, received 804*l.*; Tonge, who died in January, 1681, received 344*l.*, and for his funeral was also paid 50*l.*; and Dugdale, who kept drawing the wages of iniquity to the 4th of March, 1683, received 1138*l.* 15*s.*† After April, 1681, Oates and Dugdale, instead of being allowed to "sit at ten pounds a week," like Falstaff, were reduced to a very ignoble two pounds for allowance. Dugdale seems to have held on, and received large sums, long after the supposed instigators of a pretended plot—Shaftesbury and his friends—had lost power or parliamentary influence.

While these fearful exhibitions of the dire effects of religious animosity were passing in England, there were even more signal displays of the same spirit, though in an entirely opposite direction, manifested in Scotland. We turn with equal loathing from the corrupt judgments of Scroggs to the brutal slaughters of Claverhouse. And yet these events must be recorded for instruction and for warning. Religious hatreds have not so entirely died out among us that we can be quite sure that disputes about candles and flowers, about the Judaical observance of the Lord's day, about Jews in parliament, about Maynooth, might be wholly settled by furious orators and writers, without the sword and the halter, unless the darkness which surrounds such controversies were somewhat dispersed by the light of history. Men can only effectually learn to be tolerant and loving by seeing what monsters bigotry has made of their forefathers.

* "Life of Lord Keeper Guilford," vol. i. p. 327.
† "Moneys for Secret Services," Camden Society, pp. 3 to 67.

After the suppression of the insurrection of Covenanters, in 1666,* Scotland continued in an unquiet state; not openly resisting the government, but nourishing many elements of future disturbance. Archbishop Sharp was especially feared and hated by the stricter Presbyterians. The most fanatical believed him to be the enemy of God, and that his destruction would be an acceptable service. In July, 1668, as the archbishop was getting into his coach he was shot at; and his companion, the Bishop of Orkney, was wounded. No one attempted to seize the offender; but the archbishop had noted his features and general appearance. He wandered about the country for a long time, and then returned to Edinburgh. Six years afterward Sharp fancied that a shopkeeper who lived near him was the man who fired at him. His name was Mitchell. He was brought before the council, and after a solemn promise that his life should be spared, he confessed his guilt. The council doomed him to perpetual imprisonment on the Bass Rock, after having subjected him to the torture of the boot. Mitchell had been confined here three or four years when it was determined to bring him to trial for his crime committed in 1668. Upon the Duke of Lauderdale's becoming supreme in Scotland, in connection with the Cabal ministry, he attempted to carry out the same policy of a compromise with nonconformists as was being attempted in England. Many Presbyterian ministers conformed under the Declaration of Indulgence. Burnet says that it was part of the plan to put "all the ousted ministers by couples in parishes;" but that Lauderdale, who governed by fits, "passing from hot to cold ones," neglected this precaution, and that many of the deprived ministers went about, holding conventicles. Very soon the principles of severity trampled down any disposition to moderate courses. Indeed the more violent of the Covenanters utterly despised any measure which would stop short of reinstating their church in triumphant domination. The Black Indulgence, as they termed the healing declaration, was denounced as a bait for the worldly-minded and ungodly. There were large assemblies in wild and solitary places, to which many came armed. The government went about the repression of these meetings with a frantic violence. To strike terror into the Covenanters they removed Mitchell from his wave-beaten rock in the Frith and brought him to Edinburgh for trial. His own confession was urged against him. The promise upon which that confession was extorted was suppressed. The archbishop, who had first employed an agent to obtain this confession, denied any promise. The Lords Lauderdale, Rothes, and Halton swore that no such promise had been made by the council. The council books were not allowed to be produced; and the man was convicted. The distinct record of the promise was found in the council books immediately after the conviction; and yet the man was executed. "This action," says Burnet, "with all concerned in it, was looked at by all people with horror; and it was such a complication of treachery, perjury, and cruelty as the like had not perhaps been known." The Covenanters were not deterred by this manifestation of vindictiveness, but continued to assemble, particularly in the western counties. Lauderdale determined to act as if the whole district were in rebellion. He required all the land-owners to execute bonds, not only for their own conformity in attending the church service and avoiding conventicles, but for their servants, tenants, and residents on their property. They refused, and Lauderdale asked for authority to reduce them to submission by military force. Charles consented. The Highlanders were brought from their mountains to live at free quarters, and to plunder, in the devoted district. The inhabitants were disarmed. Lauderdale's excesses became at last too much even for the government of Charles to bear. The king could not wholly justify the acts of his minister. "But when May, the master of the privy purse, asked him in his familiar way what he thought now of his Lauderdale, he answered, as May himself told me, that they had objected many damned things that he had done against them, but there was nothing objected that was against his service: such are the notions that many kings drink in, by which they set up an interest for themselves, in opposition to the interest of the people."† Hume terms the opinion of the king, "a sentiment unworthy of a sovereign." It was a sentiment worthy of a captain of banditti.

There are no historical events with which the most cursory reader

* See *ante*, p. 549.
† Burnet. Book iii.

is more familiar than the murder of Archbishop Sharp and the battles of Loudon Hill and Bothwell Bridge. The narratives of the atrocious tyranny which led to these events are sufficiently obscure, whether they issue from the persecuted or the persecutors; but they present a sufficiently distinct picture which scarcely requires the coloring of romance to command our interest. That ancient hunter of Covenanters, Captain John Creichton—who was introduced by Swift to the notice of the world in 1731, as "a very honest and worthy man, but of the old stamp," and who himself laments over "the wonderful change of opinions"—relates with the extremest glee his various exploits in dispersing conventicles, in apprehending preachers, and in delivering them to the proper authorities to be tortured and hanged. He attempts no sort of excuse for using deceptions, to find out his victims, quite unworthy of the fighting cavalier. He hunts "the rogues" as if he thoroughly enjoyed the chase. He cannot justify his "rashness" in such adventures, except that it manifests his loyalty to his prince, his zeal for the Church, and his detestation of all rebellious principles. These narratives of Creichton precede his account of the insurrection of 1679. It was in the western counties that "the booted apostles of prelacy" chiefly exercised their dragoonings. There the Covenanters were most numerous and most persevering. But in the eastern districts there was the same spirit, though less openly displayed. In the county of Fife, a few religious enthusiasts, encouraging each other in their secret prayer-meetings, and accepting the stern denunciations of the Hebrew scriptures to smite the wicked as holy impulses to murder the enemies of their own form of worship, resolved upon the sacrifice of the archbishop of St. Andrew's, and of Carmichael, the commissioner of the council. Ten of this band of fanatics went forth in search of their intended victims. John Balfour, known by the name of Burly, and his brother-in-law, Hackston of Rathillet, were the leaders in this design. Carmichael escaped. But they accidentally encountered Archbishop Sharp; and at once considered, in their savage enthusiasm, that God had delivered their great enemy into their hands. Dragged from his carriage as he was passing, in company with his daughter, over Magus Muir, near St. Andrew's, on the 3d of May, 1679, he was inhumanly butchered, his unhappy child struggling with the murderers to save her aged father. The leaders fled into the west. Assembling some of the more violent of their own persuasion, their contempt of the civil government was manifested by their extinguishing the bonfires which had been lighted on the 29th of May, in honor of the king's restoration, in the burgh of Rutherglen. They also burned the acts of parliament for restoring prelacy and suppressing conventicles. On the 1st of June, being Sunday, they held a field conventicle at Loudon Hill. John Graham, of Claverhouse, marched out from Glasgow with about a hundred and fifty cavalry, for the purpose of dispersing them. The number of the Covenanters had increased to five or six hundred, armed chiefly with pikes and pitchforks. They had a few horse among them. On a marshy ground near the village of Drumclog Claverhouse charged this irregular force. He was utterly discomfited, and was compelled to retreat to Glasgow. The insurgents followed the fugitives, their ranks receiving constant accessions, not only of the Cameronians, who would admit no compromise of the Solemn League and Covenant, but of moderate Presbyterians, who were indignant at the tyranny under which the country groaned. But their camp was divided into rival sects, each despising the other as much as they hated their common oppressor. At Glasgow they were repulsed in their first attack by Claverhouse, who had raised barricades within the city; but their numbers becoming more and more formidable, he withdrew his forces toward Edinburgh. What was at first the desperate revolt of a few became a vast tumultuous outbreak, approaching very nearly to a rebellion. The council in London were in alarm. It was determined to send the Duke of Monmouth to Scotland to take the command of the government troops. There was no want of energy in the movements of Monmouth. He set out from London on the 18th of June. On the 22d he was at the head of the royal army on Bothwell Moor, a few miles from Hamilton. The insurgents were encamped on the opposite side of the Clyde. They were dispirited and irresolute—neither prepared to fight nor to yield. A deputation from the more moderate had an audience of the duke, at which they limited their demands to the free exercise of their religion, and would submit all matters of difference to a free parliament, and a general assembly of the Church. The duke called upon them to lay down their arms, but refused to treat except after their implicit submission. Roger North has a curious relation of a secret arrangement for the employment of the duke as general of the forces, which appears to him a wonderful proof of the statesmanship of the Duke of Lauderdale and of his royal master. Monmouth was first appointed with a latitude of power to fight, or treat, as he thought fit. The majority at the council board "approved of such a trust in the general; for why, said they, should so much blood, and of these deluded miserables, be spilt, if they are willing to lay down their arms on fit terms?" None spoke to the contrary. "When the king rose from council, the Duke of Lauderdale followed him into the bedchamber, where, having him alone, he asked his majesty if he intended to follow his father? Why, said the king? Because, sir, said the duke, you have given the general orders to treat; the consequence of which is—encouraging and enlarging the rebellion in Scotland, and raising another, by concert, in England, and then you are lost. Therefore, if you do not change your orders, and send them positive to fight, and not to treat, the mischiefs that befell your father, in like case, will overtake you." These two worthies, according to North, then clandestinely altered the orders which had been approved in council, and gave directions that they should not be opened but at a council of war, and in sight of the enemy. "The event," says the sympathizing chronicler of this duplicity, "sufficiently applauded this counsel." * That event was the slaughter at Bothwell Bridge. The Covenanters had exhibited one commendable point of strategy in guarding this passage of the Clyde. But Hackston of Rathillet, who defended the bridge, was not adequately supported. The mass of the insurgents were panic-stricken when they saw the king's troops advancing upon them, while the artillery from the opposite bank of the river was breaking their ill-formed ranks. They fled on every side, Claverhouse exhorting his men to avenge their defeat at Loudon Hill. All accounts agree that Monmouth labored to stop the butchery that this worst of miscalled heroes commanded:

> "Taking more pains when he beheld them yield,
> To save the fliers than to win the field." †

From the name of contempt which was bestowed upon the poor western Covenanters was derived the great party name of *Whig*. The nicknames of opposite factions are necessarily obscure in their origin, and the attempts at their explanation partake of the same party character as the names themselves. The nicknames which will live forever in English history had each a very humble origin. *Tory*, according to North, came in about a year before *Whig*. In 1679 the discussions on the Exclusion Bill were accompanied with great heats in parliament, and "without doors the debates among the populace were more fierce, and agitated with extremity of opposite talk." The use of opprobrious words became common. The anti-exclusionists were first called *Yorkists*. Then *Tantivy* became a byword against them. The duke and the Irish were for the most part in agreement; so the duke's supporters were first called *Bogtrotters;* and then "the word *Tory* was entertained, which signified the most despicable savages among the wild Irish." North says that "according to the common laws of scolding," the loyalists now looked out for rival nicknames, "to clear scores." Their adversaries were first called *True Blues*—not satisfied with the plain Protestant blue of the Church; then *Birmingham Protestants*, "alluding to false groats counterfeited at that place. That term was "not fluent enough for the hasty repartee; and, after divers changes, the lot fell upon *Whig*, which was very significative, as well as ready; being vernacular in Scotland, from whence it was borrowed, for corrupt and sour whey." ‡ Defoe accepts this derivation of Whig; and says the use of it began in Scotland "when the western men, called Cameronians, took arms frequently for their religion. . . . It afterward became a denomination to the poor harassed people of that part of the country." §

The farther we advance in the history of this miserable reign, the more are we perplexed by intrigues and counter-intrigues, indicating the universal political corruption. After the dispersion of the Cove-

* "Examen," p. 81. † Waller. ‡ "Examen," p. 32 a.
§ "Review," quoted in Wilson's "Life of Defoe," vol. i. p. 73.

nanters the Duke of Monmouth is suddenly sent for from Scotland. Sir John Reresby goes to meet him at Doncaster on the 9th of July. "It happened to be understood that after his victory he was about laying a foundation whereon to succeed in that kingdom, and by the industry of his agents making himself popular.* Charles was ill at Windsor. Monmouth was about his sick bed. "He thought," says Reresby, "he had the king to himself." Suddenly the Duke of York, who had travelled from Brussels in disguise, presented himself: the court was in commotion. The king's brother and the king's illegitimate son had come to be considered as rivals for the succession. To preserve some tranquillity they were then both sent away—Monmouth to Flanders, James to Scotland, as lord high commissioner. At Edinburgh this papist prince manifested the sincerity of his desires for general toleration by superintending with the most anxious vigilance the punishment of the Covenanters. Charles reproached Monmouth for having given the government so much trouble with prisoners after the fight of Bothwell Bridge, and Monmouth answered that he could not kill men in cold blood. James exhibited a worse trait of Stuart nature by presiding over the examinations of prisoners under torture. Under his administration the Presbyterians were subjected to the grossest violence of a licentious soldiery. The military despots had full power to exercise the privileges of the inquisition in the most summary manner. Do you renounce the Covenant? Do you admit that it was murder to kill the Archbishop of St. Andrew's? Will you pray for the king? To hesitate was to incur not only imprisonment, but instant death. This violation of every form of law and every principle of justice went on for several years. The story of John Brown, "the Christian carrier," has been honestly told by Scott, in spite of his lurking admiration of Claverhouse.† The poor peasant, who had indeed been out with the insurgents of 1679, was again in his home. He is seized by dragoons as he is going to dig in some peat ground, and by the command of Claverhouse he is shot in the presence of his wife. To her the gallant butcher addressed himself: "What thinkest thou of thy husband now, woman?" She replied, "I thought ever much of him, and now as much as ever." He said, "It were but justice to lay thee beside him." She said, "If ye were permitted, I doubt not but your cruelty would go that length; but how will ye make answer for this morning's work?" He said, "To man I can be answerable; and for God I will take him in my own hand." Such were the scenes that Scotland witnessed in these days of her desolation. Unquestionably the Duke of York instigated the worst persecutions; and the wretched instruments of tyranny, such as Claverhouse, thought that their atrocities would best exhibit their love and loyalty. While James was doing his congenial work in Scotland, the efforts of the faction opposed to his succession to the crown were conducted with few conscientious scruples. All the prejudices of the people were still stimulated into an unchristian hatred of Roman Catholics. The processions of the 17th of November were repeated amid the blaze of a thousand torches, lighting up the hideous representations of nuns, and priests, and cardinals; and the effigy of the pope was burned at Temple Bar amid the shouts of an enormous multitude, encouraged by men of rank, who huzzaed from the balcony of the King's Head Tavern. These were known as the King's Head Club; and then as the Green Ribbon Club. The annual pope-burnings were afterward imitated at Edinburgh. The processions of Guy Fawkes on the 5th of November, and the processions of the pope on Queen Elizabeth's coronation-day, kept alive the intolerant spirit toward Roman Catholics long after their original party objects had passed away. Shaftesbury is represented as the grand contriver of these demonstrations of 1679 and 1680. But the demagogue contrives in vain unless he has popular materials to work with. No doubt he well handled the multitude, which at that period first acquired the name of *mob*. They were the *mobile vulgus* of these exhibitions. Shaftesbury had now been dismissed from the presidency of the council, and was the moving spirit of the popular party. On the 28th of November Monmouth suddenly returned from Holland. The bells of the city welcomed his arrival. The bonfires were again lighted. Charles was angry, or affected to be so at his son's disobedience. He deprived him of his offices. He ordered him to quit the kingdom, or incur the penalty of exclusion forever from the royal presence. Monmouth obstinately remained. It was the policy of the king to prevent the parliament assembling, for he had another scheme in hand to obtain a sum from the King of France, which would enable him to dispense with the advice of his troublesome subjects. The treaty failed; but Charles had boldly prorogued the parliament on its meeting in October. The country party now set on foot all the powerful machinery of petitioning. Grand juries, common councils, provincial corporations, were suddenly moved, as by one impulse, to petition the king that the parliament should meet at the end of the first short prorogation. Charles became alarmed. He published a proclamation, vague and absurd enough, against subscribing petitions against the known laws of the land. What these laws were the proclamation did not set forth. But there was a reaction. The timid were alarmed; the servile were zealous. Men who stood aloof from parties dreaded the signs of another civil war. They joined in declarations of *abhorrence* of petitions for the assembling of parliament; and those who supported the king in what they considered his prerogative of calling a parliament when he pleased, of acting without parliamentary advice, and without reference to public opinion, were denominated *abhorrers*. The name *abhorrer* soon became merged in that of *Tory*.

Tory—Whig—in a few years forgot that they each owed their birth to "the common laws of scolding." The Irish savage grew up into a fine gentleman; the sour whey became the richest cream. The names of opprobrium blossomed into names of honor. They flourished in full glory for about a century and a half, and then passed into other distinctive titles, not so "fluent for the hasty repartee." Whatever may be said for or against party distinctions—and there is a great deal to be said in either view of the question—one thing is clear: the invention of Tory and Whig has been a very pleasant boon for the writers upon politics and history. These once rival nicknames save many circuitous expletives; and, if they do not exactly define political principles, they answer as well as if one large section of public men and their followers had been called red, the other blue—or one big-endians, the other little-endians. The terms of Whig and Tory are vernacular; and we are thankful for their help in the labor that is before us.

CHAPTER CXII.

Charles the Second's alterations at Windsor—The Duke of York presented as a Romish recusant—Progress of the Duke of Monmouth—James leaves for Scotland—Parliament—The Exclusion Bill—Trial and execution of Lord Stafford—The parliament dissolved—The Oxford parliament—Its sudden dissolution—The king's proclamation—The Whig vindication—State prosecutions—Stephen College—Shaftesbury indicted for high treason—The Ignoramus—Court manœuvres for the choice of a sheriff of London—Shaftesbury flies to Holland—Persecutions of the Scotch Covenanters.

Windsor Castle was now the summer residence of Charles II. In August, 1678, Evelyn went with the Duke of Norfolk to Windsor, "where was a magnificent court, it being the first time of his majesty removing thither since it was repaired." Charles had changed the whole aspect of the castle. By his command the palatial fortress had been adapted for those state displays which were to rival the splendors of the court of the great Bourbon. A new building, forming the most imposing feature of the north front, called the Star Building, had been erected from the plans of Wren; and by the connection of the suite of rooms thus obtained with the older portion, that splendid series of state apartments was produced which terminated in St. George's Hall. But in these alterations the ancient character of the proud dwelling of the Plantagenets was utterly destroyed. If Wren had not had a violent distaste of Gothic architecture; if his royal employer had not been wholly wanting in that patriotism which would have preserved the main features of the Windsor of Edward III. and of Elizabeth, as associated with the glorious days of the monarchy—his incongruous pile would not have remained for a century and a half a significant monument of the corrupt taste of the latter days of the Stuarts. To Frenchify Windsor Castle was worthy of the king who needed French gold to pay for his buildings and his

* "Memoirs," p. 229.

† Compare "Tales of a Grandfather," chapter iii., with "Old Mortality."

mistresses; to reward Signor Verrio for seating him enthroned among the cardinal virtues, or as the grand arbiter of the destinies of Europe. Catherine of Braganza sits in serene majesty, surrounded by the gods, on one of Verrio's ceilings. Mrs. Eleanor Gwynn had the more solid honor of dwelling within view of the castle, at Burford House, so called after her son, Lord Burford, afterward the Duke of St. Alban's.* Windsor is as characteristic of the age as Whitehall. Reresby describes Charles in 1680 as living an unusually quiet life while Wren was building and Verrio painting: "The king showed me a great deal of what he had done to the house, which was indeed very fine, and acquainted me with what he intended to do more; for then it was he was upon finishing that most majestic structure. He lived quite privately at this time; there was little or no resort to him; and his days he passed in fishing or walking in the park." †

Charles was thus "sauntering" at Windsor when the *denouement* of the great drama of his house was rapidly approaching. Evelyn has this record in his diary, on the 24th of July, 1680: "Went with my wife and daughter to Windsor, to see that stately court, now nearly finished. There was erected in the court the king on horseback, lately cast in copper, and set on a rich pedestal of white marble, the work of Mr. Gibbons, at the expense of Tóby Rustat, a page of the back-stairs, who, by his wonderful frugality, had arrived to a great estate in money, and did many works of charity, as well as this of gratitude to his master, which cost him 1000*l.* He is a very simple, ignorant, but honest and loyal creature." There were many others of the simple, ignorant, honest, and loyal of Charles's subjects who would be ready to aver, with Toby Rustat, as the Latin inscription on the pedestal of this statue avers, that Charles II. was not only the most merciful of masters but the best of kings. The page of the back-stairs who witnessed his never-failing urbanity would receive that quality as the evidence of every other merit. But from the more rational thinkers a severer judgment was to be expected. The Duke of York "now reigned absolute in the king's affairs," writes Reresby.‡ Against the duke was all the Whig hostility now concentrated. The tale of Monmouth's legitimacy was revived. The king, on the 3d of June, renewed his declaration that he was never married to any other than the queen. On the 26th of June Shaftesbury, accompanied by several lords and commoners, came before the grand jury at Westminster, and presented the duke as a popish recusant. The chief justice defeated this bold measure by discharging the jury while Shaftesbury was in consultation with some of the judges. The parliament had been summoned to meet on the 21st of October. The great question of the exclusion of the Duke of York from the succession to the throne was sure to be renewed. It was thought that the king could be gained over to consent to this departure from the principle of hereditary right. The Duchess of Portsmouth had been induced by the Whig leaders, by threats and promises, to undertake the recommendation of the exclusion to the king, he having the right of naming his successor by will. He was to receive an ample grant of money; he might secure the power of naming his favorite son, Monmouth, to wear the crown after his decease. Burnet says that he was assured that the Duchess of Portsmouth "once drew the king to consent to it." James in his "Memoirs" implies this, when he found that "his being sent away again began to be more discoursed of than ever." He suspected that "the king himself began to waver; and accordingly he soon found by discoveries on that subject that his majesty now doubted whether he could stand by him or no. The duke represented to him his constant and late engagement to the contrary, but found him so changed that it gave him great reason now at last to apprehend what he had been oft told, but never believed, that his majesty would abandon him in the end." § The day before the meeting of parliament the Duke of York sailed for Scotland. The French ambassador, Barillon, represents James as declaring that he would make his enemies repent—"as much as to say that he hopes to be able to excite troubles in Scotland and Ireland." Even in England his cause would not have been without supporters. "The papists lifted up their crest in great arrogance." * It was a moment of deep anxiety. Two of Charles's ministers, Godolphin and Sunderland, advised him to consent to a Bill of Exclusion. The Duchess of Portsmouth had bribes and blandishments to mould that royal will upon whose consistency there could be no reliance. But the intrigue failed. The king wanted the vote of money to precede the Exclusion Bill. The Whig leaders wanted his assent to the bill before the vote of money. The session was opened on the 21st of October—that first meeting of the new parliament which had been prorogued seven times. Charles in his speech promised to support the Protestant religion "against all the conspiracies of our enemies." He would concur "in any new remedies which shall be proposed, that may consist with preserving the succession of the crown in its due and legal course of descent." On the 26th Lord Russell moved "that we may resolve to take into our consideration how to suppress popery, and to prevent a popish successor." On the 2d of November, the Bill of Exclusion was brought in.

With the projected exclusion of the Duke of York was intimately associated the design to set up the Duke of Monmouth as the future heir to the crown. The king's declaration of his son's illegitimacy was little heeded by the people. "This duke, whom for distinction they called the Protestant duke, though the son of an abandoned woman, the people made their idol." † Dryden has painted Shaftesbury remonstrating with Monmouth on his doubts and apprehensions, when a crown was within his view:

> "Did you for this expose yourself to show,
> And to the crowd bow popularly low?
> For this your glorious progress next ordain,
> With chariots, horsemen, and a numerous train." ‡

The "glorious progress" of Monmouth was in the west of England, in August, 1680. The country people came from miles round to see him in his way to Longleat. At Ilchester the streets were strewed with flowers. At White Lackington House, near Ilminster, he was met by two thousand horsemen. A woman pressed upon him, and touched his hand, to be cured of the king's evil, as if he already sat in the chair of Edward the Confessor. A thousand young men, all clothed uniformly in white linen, went three miles out of Exeter to meet him, and preceded him, hand in hand, as he entered their city. § There were no riotous proceedings; but these demonstrations were very significant of the feelings of the middle classes toward the Duke of York. The Protestant duke and the papist duke were in direct antagonism. Monmouth understood how to keep alive this political cry. Ralph Thoresby went to see him at Whitehall after his progress. Being told "that we came from Leeds, the great clothing-place, he answered, with a smile, we were not for popery there, no more than they in the west, alluding to his extraordinary kind entertainment there, as in the public news." ‖ There was no political dishonesty in thus appealing to popular opinion against the dreaded predominance of popery. But to set up the son of Lucy Waters as a pretender to the crown was a great mistake of some of the Whig statesmen—a mistake which inevitably tended to disgust the sober-minded, and to lead to that reaction which enabled Charles to walk once more in the old ways of despotism.

After many days' debate in the House of Commons a bill was passed on the 15th of November, "for securing of the Protestant religion, by disabling James, Duke of York, to inherit the imperial crown of England and Ireland, and the dominions and territories thereunto belonging." It was carried to the Peers by Lord Russell. "A great number of members accompanied him and it, and as soon as it was delivered gave a mighty shout; which tumultuous and barbarous way of proceeding had too great a resemblance of forty-one, not to convince all judicious persons that this would prove a prelude of the same tragedy, if not timely prevented." ¶ The debate of the Lords was carried on with unusual heat. The two greatest orators, Shaftesbury and Halifax, were pitted against each other in this contest, although their general principles were the same. All accounts of this debate assign to Halifax the honor of having thrown out the

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* Windsor has at length found fit chroniclers of its various subjects of historical interest as well as of the minuter topographical details which illustrate manners and customs, in the elaborate work of Mr. Tighe and Mr. Davis—"Annals of Windsor," 2 vols. 1858.

† "Memoirs," p. 231. ‡ Ibid., p. 232.

§ Clarke's "Life of James II."—Extract from James's "Memoirs," vol. i. p. 595.

* Reresby, p. 232. † Evelyn, "Diary," November 28th, 1679.

‡ "Absalom and Achitophel."

§ "Life of James, Duke of Monmouth." By George Roberts, vol. i. chap. vii. ‖ Thoresby's "Diary," vol. i. p. 66.

¶ "Life of James II.," vol. i. p. 617.

Exclusion Bill, by his almost unexampled eloquence. It was rejected on the first reading by a majority of 33—63 dividing against 30. Halifax and others who opposed the exclusion of the Duke of York desired to enact limitations of the sovereign power should he succeed to the crown. The constitutional difference between these two propositions has been forcibly put by Mr. Fox, in his history of James the Second: "The question of what are to be the powers of the crown is surely of superior importance to that of who shall wear it? Those, at least, who consider the royal prerogative as vested in the king, not for his sake but for that of his subjects, must consider the one of these questions as much above the other in dignity as the rights of the public are more valuable than those of an individual. In this view, the prerogatives of the crown are in substance and effect the rights of the people; and these rights of the people were not to be sacrificed to the purpose of preserving the succession to the most favored prince, much less to one who, on account of his religious persuasion, was justly feared and suspected."

When Charles opened the parliament on the 21st of October he said, to give "the fullest satisfaction your hearts can wish for the security of the Protestant religion, I do recommend to you to pursue the further examination of the plot, with a strict and an impartial inquiry. I do not think myself safe, nor you neither, till that matter be gone through with; and therefore it will be necessary that the lords in the Tower be brought to their speedy trial, that justice may be done." In his private conversation at this period he expressed the utmost contempt of the witnesses for the plot. He "proved to a demonstration that many articles they had given in evidence were not only improbable but quite impossible."* To turn the wrath of the parliament against his brother to some humbler personages, there were victims in the Tower ready for the sacrifice. The first and only victim selected from these prisoners was Lord Stafford. This nobleman, illustrious in the blood of the Howards, venerable for his age and infirmities, was impeached by the Commons, and brought to trial before his peers on the 30th of November. It was his sixty-ninth birthday. Westminster Hall had been fitted up with a more than ordinary preparation. Places were assigned to the king and queen, to the Peers, to the members of the House of Commons, to the managers of the impeachment, to the judges. "I think it was the deepest solemnity I ever saw," writes Reresby. The same forms were gone through, with the same arrangements, as when Pym confronted Strafford, and the father of the peer now accused presided as high steward. The forms and the arrangements of benches were the same, but the spirit was essentially different. It was not a trial which was to determine whether England was to be a free monarchy or an absolute monarchy. It was the struggle of a faction for a temporary triumph, to assert a power which was unable to reach the great delinquent. The witnesses against Stafford were Oates, and Dugdale, and Turberville. The accused peer defended himself with unexpected ability. He pointed out how unworthy Oates was of belief—one who pretended that he was never a papist though he had gone over to the Church of Rome; who avowed himself a spy at St. Omer's, though he went through all the discipline of a proselyte. Evelyn, who was present, was much struck by this, and thought "such a man's testimony should not be taken against the life of a dog." But Dugdale and others positively swore to Stafford's participation in a plot to assassinate the king. The majority of the peers, eighty-six to fifty-five, pronounced him guilty, each giving his judgment, with his hand upon his breast, "upon my honor." The unfortunate nobleman was condemned on the 7th of December, and he was executed on the 29th. Though on the day of his trial he was assailed by popular invective, when he protested his innocence on the scaffold the spectators cried, "We believe you, my lord—God bless you, my lord." The king, at the prayer of the House of Lords, had remitted that part of the sentence of a traitor upon which the most brutal could not look without disgust. The sheriffs raised a question, which they addressed to the House of Commons, whether the king could dispense with these barbarities. The house resolved that it was content that execution should be done upon Lord Stafford by severing his head from his body. Lord Russell has been accused, upon the assertion of the historian Echard, of having sanctioned this interference with the dispensing power—of having, according to Hume, "seconded in the house the barbarous scruple of the sheriffs." There is no proof that Russell took any part in the debate upon the queries of the sheriffs. We scarcely think that Lord John Russell, whatever impartiality he may thus show to the memory of his ancestor, is quite warranted in thinking the testimony of Echard sufficient to give probability to the assertion of a circumstance regarding Russell which is, "if true, the most to be lamented in his whole life."* In the reign of James the Second a bill was passed by the Peers for reversing the attainder of Stafford. It was interrupted in the Commons by more urgent matters. It was not till the reign of George the Fourth, when religious animosities, if not wholly passed away, had lost their ancient character of vindictiveness, that by a special statute the attainder was annulled, and the descendants of Lord Stafford were restored to the honors of their house. While Stafford's blood was being shed upon evidence which the king considered that of false witnesses, he felt none of the qualms which his father felt when he consented to the death of the great earl who said "Put not your trust in princes." No one put any trust in the second Charles. Himself a papist, he saw the papist noble hunted to death without even a tear for his fate. On the 24th of December, says Reresby, "I was at the king's couchée, when there were but four present. His majesty was in a very good humor, and took up some time in displaying to us the fallacy and emptiness of those who pretend to a fuller measure of sanctity than their neighbors, and pronounced them to be, for the most part, abominable hypocrites and the most arrant knaves." Even mitred heads came in for the royal sarcasms. "He was that night two full hours in putting off his clothes, and it was half an hour past one before he went to bed. He seemed to be quite free from care and trouble; though one would have thought, at this time, he should have been overwhelmed therewith."† There was enough, indeed, to overwhelm a king who would take any matter seriously to heart. The levity of Charles was his shield and buckler. The Commons were not only resolute in their persistent hostility to the Duke of York, but manifested an arbitrary violence in the arrest of some who had signed the declaration of "abhorrence." They exercised a more constitutional power in the impeachment of Chief Justice Scroggs for dismissing the grand jury when the Duke of York was presented as a Romish recusant; for stopping the publication of a newspaper called *The Weekly Packet of Advice from Rome;* and for inflicting enormous fines upon publishers of news, and requiring excessive bail, declaring "he would have regard to persons and their principles in imposing of fines." The house at last resolved that until the Duke of York was excluded from the succession they would not grant any supply. This impracticable parliament was dissolved on the 18th of January, 1681.

The distracted condition of public affairs at this juncture excited so great alarm that superstitions, arising out of unwonted natural appearances, produced the same effect, even among the educated, as in the days before scientific knowledge, although of the humblest kind, had taught men to separate the aspects of the physical world from their supposed connection with moral causes. On the 12th of December, 1680, Evelyn writes, "This evening, looking out of my chamber-window toward the west, I saw a meteor of an obscure bright color, very much in shape like the blade of a sword, the rest of the sky very serene and clear. What this may portend God only knows. But such another phenomenon I remember to have seen in 1640, about the trial of the great Earl of Strafford, preceding our bloody rebellion. I pray God avert his judgments." The danger of another civil war was not altogether to be associated with popular credulity. That great danger seemed approaching when the new parliament met at Oxford on the 21st of March. Some covert design on the part of the crown was apprehended in thus departing from the ancient custom of assembling the parliament at Westminster, except in times of the plague. The Oxford parliament of Charles the First was no precedent for this meeting-place of a new parliament elected by the general voice of the nation. The king went to Oxford surrounded by his guards. The Whig members went to Oxford accompanied by armed bands of retainers, wearing in their hats ribbons inscribed "No popery, no slavery." Charles was indifferent as to the temper of the parliament on the question of supplies. On the day

* Reresby, p. 234.

* "Life of William Lord Russell," vol. i. p. 235.

† "Memoirs," p. 238.

that he went to Oxford he had concluded a treaty with Louis XIV. for a new subsidy of French gold. King James the Second records this transaction with the utmost *nonchalance:* "The king's necessities had been long so great, and the parliament so refractory and insolent, that he had no way left of relieving one, without consenting to the unreasonable demands of the other, but by a private treaty with France. The duke first put the king in the way of it, which the French at first answered only by compliments and in general terms. But at last it was concluded they should give the king fifty thousand pounds every quarter, the first payment to be at the end of June, 1681, without any condition on the king's side but that of friendship, but promises on the French part not to disturb Flanders nor Holland." *

The parliament of Oxford lasted seven days. The king and his court were at Christchurch. The Commons sat in the schools. Charles, in his opening speech, spoke in a bolder tone than had been his wont: "The unwarrantable proceedings of the last House of Commons were the occasion of my parting with the last parliament; for I, who will never use arbitrary government myself, am resolved not to suffer it in others. . . . What I have formerly, and so often, declared touching the succession, I cannot depart from. But to remove all reasonable fears that may arise from the possibility of a popish successor's coming to the crown, if means can be found, that in such a case the administration of the government may remain in Protestants' hands, I shall be ready to hearken to any such expedient by which the religion might be preserved and the monarchy not destroyed."† The "expedient" which was proposed, with the sanction of the king, was to this effect—that the Duke of York should be banished during his life to the distance of five hundred miles from the British dominions; that certain Roman Catholics of considerable estates should also be banished; that on the decease of the reigning monarch the duke should assume the title of king, but exercise no sovereign power, the government being administered by a regent—the Princess of Orange being the first regent, and the Lady Anne regent after the princess. The expedient was rejected. The Commons again resolved, "That a bill be brought in to exclude James, Duke of York, from inheriting the imperial crowns of England and Ireland, and the dominions and territories thereunto belonging." The refusal of the Commons to agree to the proposed compromise is regarded by some as factious, by others as imprudent. James himself thought the expedient, which originated with Halifax, "fully as pernicious" as the Bill of Exclusion.‡ The majority of the parliament thought the expedient futile. In a "vindication" which we shall presently notice, it was said, "The parliament, observing the precedents of former ages, did wisely choose rather to exclude him than to leave him the name and place the power in a regent. For they could not but look upon it as folly to expect that one of his temper, bred up in such principles of politics as made him in love with arbitrary power, and bigoted in their religion which always propagates itself by blood, would patiently bear these shackles, which would be very disgustful unto a prince of the most meek disposition. . . . This would certainly have bred a contest; and these limitations of power proposed to keep up the government must unavoidably have destroyed it." During the eventful week of the session at Oxford the Commons were not only agitated by this great question of the succession, but the apple of discord was thrown between the two houses, by the refusal of the Lords to entertain an impeachment by the Commons for high treason of an impudent spy and libeller, Fitzharris. The story of this man is merely the story of one of those miserable games of plot and counterplot which disgraced these times. Being in the pay of the court, he wrote a violent libel against the king, which it is conjectured that he intended to put into the pocket of some Whig leader, to implicate him in a treasonable design. Lady Russell, in writing to her husband, bids him look to his pockets. Fitzharris next pretended he had important discoveries to make of court secrets; and the Whigs turned to him as a valuable auxiliary. The attorney-general then having been ordered to prosecute him at law, the Whigs resolved to save him by an impeachment from the certain destruction of a trial at law. The Lords voted that Fitzharris should be left to the ordinary course of justice. The Commons asserted their right to impeach any peer or commoner for high treason, and held that the refusal of the Lords to proceed upon this impeachment was a violation of the constitution of parliament.* This dispute between the two houses was a sufficient pretence for a dissolution. Charles accomplished this measure with a decision very unusual with him. The theatre had been ordered to be fitted up for the Commons, who required more space than they found in the schools. On Saturday, the 26th of March, the king was exceedingly busy among the workmen in the theatre. On Sunday evening he was describing to the circle about him how admirably his faithful Commons would be accommodated. On the Monday morning two sedan-chairs were moving out of Christchurch. At the door of the House of Lords the king got out of the first chair; his robes were taken out of the second chair. But "the garter robes were put up instead of the robes of state; so the chair must go back, with an officer to bring the right."† A peer who saw the manœuvre was forcibly detained till the robes of state arrived. Then the king went into the chamber of the Peers; the black rod summoned the Commons; and these unexpected words came from the royal mouth: "My Lords and Gentlemen: That all the world may see to what a point we are come, that we are not like to have a good end when the divisions at the beginning are such, therefore, my lord chancellor, do as I have commanded you." My lord chancellor dissolved the parliament. "The king immediately departed with all speed to London," says Reresby. "It was not to be expressed," writes North, "what clutter there was in town about getting off. The price of coaches mounted cent per cent in a quarter of an hour. It was the conceit of a foreign minister that the town looked as if it had been besieged, and just surrendered upon articles forthwith to remove." On the 8th of April the king published a declaration of the causes for the dissolution of the two last parliaments. Undutiful as was the behavior of those parliaments, his majesty declared, "That nothing should ever alter his affection to the Protestant religion as established by law, nor his love to parliament: for he would still have frequent parliaments." During the four remaining years of the life of Charles no other parliament was summoned. The royal declaration was answered in a very elaborate "Vindication of the Proceedings of the two last Parliaments"—a calm and logical paper, which assumed the existence of a real conspiracy for the establishment of popery.‡ The king's declaration was read in the churches. The arguments of the vindication, set forth by Sydney, Somers, and Jones, produced little effect. The terrors of the popish plot had passed away. The danger of another civil war excited, with few exceptions, an apprehension that the Whig leaders were looking beyond a constitutional resistance to arbitrary government and to a popish successor. Addresses of attachment and confidence were now as unmeasured in their servility as in the days of the first James. Learned bodies sent their deputations to Whitehall to tell the king that he derived not his title from the people, but from God; that to God only are kings accountable; "that it belongs not to subjects either to create or censure, but to honor and obey their sovereign, who comes to be so by a fundamental hereditary right of succession, which no religion, no law, no fault, no forfeiture, can alter or diminish."§ Thus encouraged, it can scarcely appear surprising that the king should have followed up his triumph at Oxford—his *coup de maistre*, as North terms the sudden dissolution—by governing without parliaments; and by calling in all the machinery of tyrannous judges and corrupt juries to crush the leaders of the opposition; that he should have deprived adverse corporations of their charters; that he should have dispensed with the laws that interfered with his papist brother; and have himself died with the avowal on his lips that contradicted the lie of his life—the avowal that he belonged to the Romish Church.

The lawyers had ample business on their hands immediately after

* "Life of James II.," p. 715.
† "Parliamentary History," vol. iv. col. 1303.
‡ "Life of James II.," vol. i. p. 670.

* Mr. Hallam maintains that the "inadvertent position of Blackstone, that a commoner cannot be impeached for high treason, is contrary to the latest determination of the supreme tribunal." "Constitutional History," chap. xii. Lord Campbell is opposed to this opinion of Mr. Hallam; "Lives of the Chancellors," vol. ii. p. 357, edit. 1845.
† North, "Examen," p. 104.
‡ It is printed in the "Parliamentary History," vol. iv., Appendix, No. xv.
§ Address of the Vice Chancellor of Cambridge, quoted from Wilkins' "Concilia," by Dr. Lingard.

the dissolution of the Oxford parliament. Fitzharris was put upon his trial in the Court of King's Bench. He pleaded his impeachment in bar of the jurisdiction of that court. The judges evaded the plea, and he was convicted of a treasonable libel, and was executed. Plunket, the titular archbishop of Armagh, was at the same time convicted of an Irish popish plot. There is no infamy of the reign of Charles II. greater than this. The innocence of the Roman Catholic prelate was believed even by his persecutors; but he was sacrificed by the court, that the popular suspicion of the popish tendencies of the king might be removed by an ostentatious piece of blood-shedding. Thus far the law went in the old direction of religious intolerance. But the reaction of public opinion was not to be left unused. Some of the witnesses for the plot were still in hand; and they were now as ready to give evidence against Protestants as they had been to swear away the lives of papists. Stephen College, a London joiner, commonly known as "the Protestant Joiner," had been swaggering at Oxford with sword and pistol. He was accused of a treasonable attempt to seize the person of the king. The evidence against him was chiefly that of Dugdale. A London grand jury ignored the indictment. College was then indicted in Oxfordshire, where a jury was more compliant. He was tried on the 17th of August, and on the trial Oates contradicted the evidence of Dugdale. We have shown the amount and duration of the payments to these witnesses.* It is to be observed that Oates ceased to be paid at this exact period. "To punish Oates for his conduct at this trial his pension was taken from him, and he was turned out of his lodgings at Whitehall," says Dr. Lingard. The documents we referred to show that Dugdale received his wages for a year and a half longer. In spite of the contradictory evidence Stephen College was hanged, the Lord Chief Justice Guilford having manifested his fitness for the dirty work of the government by intercepting the papers that were handed to the prisoner as materials for his defence, and withholding some that he asserted were libellous. "It had been a prime jest," says Roger North, "if, under the pretence of a defence, the criminal should be allowed to vent seditious libels, full of mutiny and reflection to amuse the people; and so to come forth and be published in print."† Burnet says of this trial, "North's behavior in that whole matter was such that, probably, if he had lived to see an impeaching parliament, he might have felt the ill effects of it."

A man of far higher mark than "the Protestant Joiner" was now to be assailed through the great engine of the law. The Irish witnesses who came over to give testimony against the Roman Catholic primate had been believed by an English jury. Would they be less worthy of credit when they swore that they had been suborned by the Earl of Shaftesbury to give false testimony against the queen, the Duke of York, and other personages? Shaftesbury was sent to the Tower in July. In November he was indicted of high treason before a London grand jury, preparatory to a trial by his peers in the court of the high steward. Had a true bill been found Shaftesbury would unquestionably have finished his career on the scaffold, whether guilty or not. His judges would have been selected by the king; "his subsequent trial would have been mere matter of form, as much as after sentence the warrant to behead him."‡ During the five months of his imprisonment, Shaftesbury, through his counsel, repeatedly applied for the protection of his own Habeas Corpus Act. The judges evaded the application. His character was to be blasted, so that the indictment should come before a jury sufficiently prejudiced against the accused. Every weapon of abuse was employed against him. He was denounced from the pulpits as "The Apostle of Schism:" he was characterized, in doggerel verse which preceded Dryden's immortal satire, as Machiavel, as the devil's foster-brother, as Achitophel; the hint was taken, and a week before the indictment was presented at the Old Bailey, came out "Absalom and Achitophel." The king at this time "was more than usually serious, and seemingly under a greater weight of thought than had been observed of him on account of the most important business." Reresby, who notices this unusual demeanor of the king, says that Halifax maintained that it would be prudent to set Shaftesbury at liberty, upon terms; but that "the king was resolved to prosecute him to the utmost" was the information of one of the secretaries. On the 24th of November the indictment was presented to the grand jury at the Old Bailey. North and Pemberton sat on the bench; and, contrary to all precedent, it was resolved that the examination of the witnesses should be in open court. The foreman of the jury contended that they were sworn to keep the king's counsel, their fellows' counsel, and their own, secret. North maintained that the king could dispense with the secrecy. The object of these tools of power was to help out the witnesses in their contradictions, and to awe the jury. The evidence of the charge "for compassing and imagining the death of the king" was attempted to be supported by a paper, "containing no less than matter of high treason, which was sworn to have been found among the papers in his closet."* It was a plan of an association, not in his handwriting, and without a signature. "The witnesses," says Burnet, "swore many incredible things against him, mixed with other things that looked very like his extravagant way of talking." The jury retired for a short time, and brought back the indictment, with "*Ignoramus*" written on the back. A shout of joy went up in the hall, and was re-echoed through the streets. Bonfires were lighted. A medal was struck to celebrate the triumph. The king discoursed to the foreign ambassadors "on the subject of the hard measure dealt to *him* by Lord Shaftesbury's jury;" and, in a more sensible spirit, gave Dryden the hint for his poem of "The Medal." The poem made the medal more popular, and men proclaimed their opinions by wearing it hanging at the button-hole.

The refusal of the grand jury to find a true bill against Shaftesbury was imputed to the selection of jurymen by the Whig sheriffs. To obtain obedient sheriffs who would summon pliant jurymen was now the great aim of the court. This scheme was carried into effect in a very remarkable manner. The lord mayor of 1682, Sir John Moor, was a more than average example of the weakness and vanity that sometimes clings to civic dignitaries. There was an old custom of the city which is thus described by Roger North. "At the Bridgehouse feast, which is sometimes before the 24th of June, the day of the election at Guildhall, the lord mayor takes his time, and, out of a large gilt cup, drinks to some person he names by the title of sheriff of London and Middlesex, for the year ensuing. If the person be present, the cup is immediately borne to him, and he pledges my lord mayor; if he be not present, then the cup is conveyed in the great coach, with the sword-bearer and officers, openly, and in state, to the house of the person drunk to, and the officer declaring the matter, presents the cup to him; and then he is called my lord mayor's sheriff, and not long after he is summoned to the court of the lord mayor and aldermen, and there, if he holds, he enters into bond to take upon him the office at the time; and if he fines off, then, in a like method, the cup is sent to another, till the person is pitched upon that will hold; and this way of drinking and fining off is of great use to the city, for it brings money into the chamber; and it is called going a birding for sheriffs. At Midsummer day, when the common hall meets for the election of sheriffs, and the lord mayor and court of aldermen are come upon the suggestum, called the hustings, the common sergeant, by the common crier, puts to the hall the question for confirming the lord mayor's sheriff, which used to pass affirmatively of course. After that the lord mayor and aldermen rise and go up into the room they call the court of aldermen, leaving the floor or body of the liverymen below to choose another sheriff by themselves, without their interposing or being concerned in the choice." This is, in part, a misrepresentation. For forty years the custom of nominating one of the sheriffs by the cup had been laid aside, and both sheriffs had been elected, without such nomination, by the common hall. The lord mayor had been sent for by King Charles; and "the king himself encouraged him, with expressions not only of protection but command; and at last, after much hesitation, he determined roundly to conform, and all at once promised the king to send his cup to any citizen his majesty should nominate to him. He was slow, but sure."† Jeffreys, the recorder, suggested that there was a rich Turkey merchant recently arrived from Constantinople, who was the very man. Dudley North, the brother of the chief justice, was a person of eminent ability, who had sounder notions of commerce and finance than most men of his time; and it is painful to find one of such talent and knowledge listening to

* See *ante*, p. 566.
† "Life of Lord Keeper Guilford," vol. i. p. 301.
‡ "Lives of Chancellors," vol. iii. p. 382.

* Reresby, p. 251. † "Examen," p. 600.

these arguments of his cunning and servile brother: "He was made to understand what an advantage such an opportunity was to oblige a king who had power to gratify by employment any fit persons, such as he was." * And so the cup was sent, "in full parade and form," to Mr. Dudley North. Midsummer day, June 24th, witnessed a tremendous uproar in Guildhall. The refusal of the lord mayor's cup-sheriff was unmistakable. The lord mayor retired. He came again and again to put the question, but with the same result. He then adjourned the common hall. It was contended that the adjournment was illegal. Counsel were brought on a subsequent day to argue the point, amid the uproar of contending factions: "This was midsummer work indeed, extreme hot and dusty; and the partisans strongly disordered every way, with crowding, bawling, sweating, and dust; all full of anger, zeal, and filth in their faces. They ran about, up and down stairs, so that any one, not better informed, would have thought the place rather an huge Bedlam than a meeting for civil business. And yet, under such an awkward face of affairs as this was, the fate of the English government and monarchy depended but too much on the event of so decent an assembly." † Roger North, the encomiast of every measure that tended to convert the English monarchy into a pure despotism, has no hesitation in acknowledging that the fate of the existing government depended upon having a sheriff who would return corrupt jurymen. He says of the court party, "If one good sheriff were gained, they did not fear what hurt the other alone could do; for both sheriffs made but one officer." The contest went on for several months. The city was in a continued fever. The lord mayor opened a poll at which North and another court candidate were elected; the sheriffs opened a poll at which two popular candidates were elected. The chief justice and his tool Jeffreys bullied and intrigued: and in the end Dudley North and a fit coadjutor were sworn into office. It was clear that if another indictment had been presented against Shaftesbury he would have had small chance of saving his head. He fled to Holland, accompanied by his constant friend, the famous John Locke. He died in the following year.

The Duke of York, as high commissioner in Scotland, had been manifesting the spirit in which he purposed to govern the two countries when the power should fall into his hands. He had put down an outburst of the Puritan spirit in the followers of two ministers, Cargill and Cameron, known as Cameronians. The excess of fanaticism was met by the excess of tyranny; and women, refusing to cry "God bless the king," went to their deaths as martyrs. A parliament was called. It voted that the succession to the crown was indefeasible; it enacted a test, which, as altered by a compromise of opposite parties, asserted the king's supremacy, renounced the Covenant, inculcated the doctrine of passive obedience, and disclaimed any attempt to change the civil or religious establishments; but at the same time it expressed the adherence to the Protestant religion of the person taking the test. The courtiers proposed that all princes of the blood should be exempted from the oath. The Earl of Argyle opposed this, and he was consequently marked for destruction. In taking the test himself, as a privy counsellor, he said that he did not mean to bind himself, in a lawful way, from wishing and endeavoring any alteration which he might think to the advantage of Church or State, and not repugnant to the Protestant religion and his own loyalty. A few days after he was arrested, was indicted for high treason, and was found guilty of treason and leasing-making. He contrived to escape to Holland. His estate was confiscated. Scotland was wholly under the feet of the tyrant. Judicial murders were committed in every district of the southern and western counties. Hundreds were outlawed. A seditious declaration was published by the maddened Presbyterians, renouncing allegiance to Charles Stuart. To compel suspected persons to abjure the declaration was now the business of a lawless soldiery and slavish magistrates. The Scottish administration of the Duke of York is thus complacently recorded: "He stifled at its first birth a commotion of the fanatical party which then happened to break out, whereof some were taken and made examples of, but many more were won over by the great esteem his presence had gained among them." ‡ In his own memoirs of this period he wonders how men could apprehend danger from popery, "while they overlooked the imminent danger of being swallowed up by presbytery and fanaticism." *

Congenial as his pursuits in Scotland were to the Duke of York, he desired to return to England. He accomplished this object by enlisting the Duchess of Portsmouth in his interest, by some secret arrangement for settling a pension upon her out of the income which he derived from the post-office, upon which annuity she might raise a hundred thousand pounds. The affair could not be managed; but Charles gave the duchess 10,000*l.* quarterly out of his French pension, and she went abroad. The duke came to England for a short time, and then returned to Scotland, having narrowly escaped shipwreck in his passage. He again came to give that impulse to the schemes for arbitrary power which Charles had not resolution himself to carry out. Halifax and Seymour, two of the king's ministers, opposed the duke's return to London. Charles wanted his brother to fortify his resolves to take "those vigorous councils and resolute methods the duke had long pressed him to." † The Prince of Orange had been in England in 1681; and Charles then said to him that "he was confident, whenever the duke should come to reign, he would be so restless and violent that he could not hold it four years to an end." ‡ Charles permitted the duke to try his hand in government before he "should come to reign." The duke's biographer says, "He showed by his management in Scotland a good example of the doctrine he preached, which, when his majesty followed, it set him at rest for the remainder of his days." §

* "Examen," p. 601. † Ibid., p. 606.
‡ "Life of James II.," vol. i. p. 644.

CHAPTER CXIII.

The army establishment—Quo Warranto information against the corporation of London—Surrenders of the charters of other corporations—The Rye-house Plot—Arrests of Russell, Essex, and Sidney—Trial of Russell—Russell's execution—Trial of Sidney—Scottish persecution—The Duke of York's power in England—Decree of the University of Oxford—Repeal of the Test Act—Death of Charles the Second in the faith of the Romish Church—William Penn—Settlement of Pennsylvania—Penn's treaty with the Indians.

The "rest for the remainder of his days" which Charles secured, through following the doctrine which the Duke of York preached, was something very different from the ease which he enjoyed in the early years of the Restoration. There were to come two years of a desperate struggle against the liberties of the people, the termination of which struggle was to be left to the greater energy of his successor. All the real power seemed now to lie in the hands of the crown. London had lost its popular sheriffs; the choice of other sheriffs throughout the land was chiefly directed by the court; the sheriffs could pack the jurymen upon state trials; the jurymen would be duly exhorted from every pulpit to believe, upon the authority of the Scriptures, that, as all resistance to authority was a sin, the support of authority in all its desires was a virtue. When a subject stood at the bar, indicted for treason or misdemeanor at the king's command, it was necessary for the country's peace that the crown should have its wished-for verdict. A trial was a ceremony at which good men should assist, by their unanimity of opinion with the king's judges and the king's attorney, to place the throne upon the solid foundation of the people's implicit obedience. There was now an army sufficient to make men understand the danger of insurrection. It was something more than two regiments of horse-guards, as in the recent days when the parliament was jealous of a royal force, and relied for defence against external enemies upon a national militia. In addition to two regiments of household cavalry there were two regiments of foot-guards, a regiment of dragoons, and five other regiments of foot. There was no war to give employment to this small army. There was no foreign garrison to absorb any portion of that military strength which was available for the repression of sedition at home. Tangier, which, when it came to the English crown as the dowry of Queen Catherine, was held to be equivalent to Dunkirk, was abandoned in 1683, and the garrison was brought to Eng-

* "Life of James II.," vol. i., p. 656. † Ibid., p. 799.
‡ Burnet. § "Life of James II.," p. 734.

land. Two millions had been expended upon the mole and fortifications. The parliament had objected that the garrison was a nursery for a popish army. When the opinion of the parliament had ceased to be regarded, Charles brought this army home, after the works of Tangier had been utterly destroyed, and the harbor blocked up with the rubbish. With an adequate military power about the court, the lesser wheels of the machinery of government would be all in order. The rebellious city of London was now to be taught its duty. In the corporate franchises of the metropolis, and in those of other cities and towns, rested the chief force of the middle classes. The old Puritan spirit was not dead. Liberty and Protestantism were names which stirred the most sluggish spirits into patriotism; and in the freedom of civic proceedings the temper of the people found a lawful right of assertion. Take away the charter of the city of London, advised the slavish lawyers, and break up that stronghold of democracy. We are "the finest flour," said the courtiers; the common people are "the coarsest bran."* There was no precedent for a forfeiture of corporate privileges; but such forfeiture was to be accomplished now by the example of the surrender of the abbeys to Henry VIII. An information, *quo warranto* technically called, was laid in the King's Bench against the corporation of London for two misdemeanors—for having taken tolls under a by-law, and for having petitioned the king to assemble the parliament, in 1679, which petition was published. On the 18th of June the lord mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen knelt before the king, and humbly petitioned that his majesty would not enter up judgment against the city; and they were required to make no future election of mayor, sheriff, aldermen, recorder, or other officers, without the royal approbation; that if the king should disapprove of the mayor they should proceed to re-election, when, upon a second disapproval, the mayor should be nominated by the king himself; that in the case of the sheriffs, if the king did not approve the first choice, he should at once nominate his own sheriffs. The corporation, thus bound hand and foot, continued to be the slaves of the court, till their shackles were knocked off by the revolution of 1688. Other corporations were terrified into the surrender of their charters. In 1684 the lord chief justice, Jeffreys, did "great matters toward bringing in the charters, as it was called," in his northern circuit; and the king "was persuaded to present him with a ring, publicly taken from his own finger, in token of his majesty's acceptance of his most eminent services;" and thus encouraged, Jeffreys "went down into the country, as from the king *Legatus à Latere*, esteemed a mighty favorite; which, together with his lofty airs, made all the charters, like the walls of Jericho, fall down before him; and he returned laden with surrenders, the spoils of towns."† There was little chance, after this, that a parliament should be chosen in which the burgesses of England, who had fought the battles of freedom for four centuries, should have any due share of parliamentary representation. Prudent royalists were alarmed at such proceedings. Evelyn saw nothing but evil in "these violent transactions"—a learned recorder set aside to make way for an obscure lawyer—the lord mayor and two sheriffs holding as *custodes*, at the king's pleasure. "The pomp and grandeur of the most august city in the world thus changed face in a moment: which gave great occasion of discourse, and thoughts of hearts, what all this would end in."‡ The court judged that resistance to its behests was now utterly at an end. The king "at last subdued entirely that stubborn and rebellious city."§ The Duke of York had a little private revenge to accomplish: "He thought it necessary to terrify others by making an example of the late sheriff, Pilkington; who having said, upon the duke's return, 'he had fired the city and was now come to cut their throats,' he caused him to be indicted, May 8th, and the words being proved by two aldermen, the court assigned his royal highness a hundred thousand pounds for damages."‖ The royal influence could not only effect the utter ruin of a citizen for hasty words, but it had a year before shown that it could so manage the administration of justice that a detestable murderer should escape unpunished. Lady Ogle, a widow of fifteen, had, against her wish, become the wife of Thomas Thynne, of Longleat, called, on account of his great wealth, "Tom of Ten Thousand." The rich man and his bride were parted for a time, and she went abroad, where she had previously met Charles John, Count Königsmark. The intimacy was probably renewed. On Sunday evening, the 12th of February, 1682, Thynne was passing in his coach along Pall Mall, and near a part then known as St. Alban's Street, where now stands the Opera Arcade, he was murdered by a mounted ruffian, attended by two others, who fired upon him with a blunderbuss loaded with four bullets. Thynne expired on the following morning. The assassin, George Brorosky, a Pole, and his confederates, two Swedes, were apprehended. Count Königsmark was captured a week after, in endeavoring to escape from the country. The four were tried at Hicks' Hall, on the 28th, the count being indicted as an accessory before the fact. The Pole and the two Swedes were found guilty and were hanged. The count was acquitted. Sir John Reresby, who was very active in communicating with the king and the council about this murder, says, "being at the king's couchée on the 21st, I perceived by his majesty's discourse that he was willing the count should get off." He was the first that carried the news of the count's acquittal to the king, "who seemed to be not at all displeased at it; but the Duke of Monmouth's party, who all appeared to add weight to the prosecution, were extremely dissatisfied that the count had so escaped."* Of Königsmark's guilt there was not the slightest doubt.

"Nothing," says the memoirs of James, "now was wanting to make the king perfectly easy in his affairs but the duke's assistance in the management of them. . . . The discovery of a cursed conspiracy, which in part they had already providentially escaped, but still in great measure hung over their heads, hasted the duke's readmission into business for their mutual security."† The providential escape was from the assassination of the king and the duke, which it was alleged was intended to be accomplished at Rye House, in Hertfordshire. Keeling, a vintner, communicated to one of the secretaries of state that a plot had been devised for engaging forty men to waylay the king and his brother, as they returned from Newmarket, at a farmhouse called the Rye, belonging to Rumbold, a maltster; that the king returning sooner than was expected, that scheme was given up, and a general insurrection was projected by certain eminent persons, among whom were the Duke of Monmouth, Lord Essex, Lord Howard of Escrick, and Lord William Russell. Some of the inferior persons accused were first apprehended. The Rye House Plot was in every mouth. The place was not so well known to Londoners as at the present day, when hundreds of summer holiday-folks go to make merry at the Rye House on the pleasant banks of the Lea. It was then described as "a place so convenient for such a villainy as scarce to be found in England; besides the closeness of the way over a river by a bridge, gates to pass, a strong hedge on one side, brick walls on the other."‡ The Rye House Plot appears to have been a real conspiracy among obscure men. That the Whig leaders participated in the design of assassination was not considered probable even among royalists of the time. Upon the committal to the Tower of Russell, Essex, and Sidney, Evelyn writes, "The Lords Essex and Russell were much deplored, few believing they had any evil intention against the king or the Church. Some thought they were cunningly drawn in by their enemies, for not approving some late counsels and management relating to France, to popery, to the persecution of the dissenters, etc." The Duke of Monmouth, Lord Grey, Sir Thomas Armstrong, and two others, for whose arrest a proclamation was made, escaped. The trials of three minor conspirators were hurried on, and they were convicted on the evidence of their associates. On the 13th of July Lord Russell was brought to trial. From the first he gave himself up for lost. As he entered the Tower he told his servant Taunton that he was sworn against, and that his enemies would have his life. Taunton hoped that his master's enemies had no such power. "Yes," said Russell, "the devil is loose!"§

According to the political creeds of men of a past age, it has been customary to speak of Russell and Sidney as martyrs in the cause of liberty, or as scoundrels who had no just notions of government.‖

* See Chamberlayne's "Present State of England," 1687, p. 37.
† "Examen," p. 625. ‡ "Diary," October 4th, 1683.
§ "Life of James II.," vol. i. p. 738. ‖ Ibid.

* "Memoirs," p. 261–2. † "Life of James II.," vol. i. p. 738.
‡ "Autobiography of Sir John Bramston," p. 182.
§ "Life of William Lord Russell, by Lord John Russell," vol. ii. p. 25.
‖ The Tory opinion is thus delivered by the Tory Johnson, with his usual vehemence. See Boswell's "Johnson."

To regard the conduct and character of either of these eminent men with enthusiastic admiration is to us as impossible as to consider them as selfish and ambitious intriguers, ready to plunge the nation into civil war for the advancement of a faction, or the advocacy of a wild theory of a republic. Their notions of political perfectibility were essentially different. Russell, the calm and practical representative of a great party, sought to attain freedom under a monarchy sufficiently checked by a parliament, and to exercise religion under a Protestant establishment, tolerant to all forms of dissent but that of Roman Catholicism. Popery was his one great terror, and not unreasonably so. He was violent toward papists, because he regarded popery "as an idolatrous and bloody religion." He was their relentless and persecuting enemy when his party was all-powerful, for reasons which he thus expressed: "As for the share I had in the prosecution of the Popish Plot, I take God to witness that I proceeded in it in the sincerity of my heart, being then really convinced, as I am still, that there was a conspiracy against the king, the nation, and the Protestant religion." * The political principles of Algernon Sidney were essentially different. He was the last of the old commonwealth men, of the school of Vane. He hated the legitimate tyranny of Charles as much as he hated the usurped power of Cromwell. He disliked popery rather with the dislike of the philosopher than that of the Christian. Neither Russell nor Sidney contemplated the removal of political evils by the assassination of the king. When Charles gave for his reason for denying mercy to Russell, "If I do not take his life he will soon have mine," he was thinking of his father's fate rather than of such danger as that of the Rye House. He told Russell, upon his first examination before the council, that nobody suspected him of any design against his person, but that there was good evidence of his being in designs against his government. Russell was as conscious of his own political importance as Charles was aware that in removing him he removed the great obstacle to the designs which James now steadily advocated with the zeal of a bigot and the blindness of a despot. "Arbitrary government," said Russell to his chaplain, Mr. Johnson, "cannot be set up in England without wading through my blood."

The trial of Russell derives its chief interest from a circumstance which associates it with the tenderness, the devotion, the fortitude of woman. The day before the trial, Lady Russell, the daughter of the Earl of Southampton, wrote a note to her husband in these words: "Your friends believing I can do you some service at your trial, I am extremely willing to try—my resolution will hold out; pray let yours. But it may be the court will not let me; however, do you let me try." On the 13th of July, the forms of indictment having been gone through, and the prisoner having in vain requested a postponement of the trial for a day, that he might produce witnesses not yet arrived, he said, "May I have somebody to write, to help my memory?" "Yes, a servant," was the answer. "My wife is here to do it." And so, by her lord's side, sat that noble wife, calmly doing her office amid the most exciting scenes. Lord Howard of Escrick appears. He was Russell's relative. To save himself he offered to criminate his friends. He is put in the witness-box. His voice falters. "We cannot hear you, my lord," says one of the jury. Howard explains, "There is an unlucky accident happened which hath sunk my voice: I was but just now acquainted with the fate of my Lord of Essex." The news ran through the court that Essex had committed suicide in the Tower. "This fatal news coming to Hicks' Hall upon the article of my Lord Russell's trial was said to have had no little influence on the jury and all the bench to his prejudice." † The attorney-general said, "My Lord Russell was one of the council for carrying on the plot with the Earl of Essex, who hath this morning prevented the hand of justice upon himself." Men doubted whether Essex perished by his own hand. His head was so severed from his body "that an executioner could hardly have done more with an axe. There were odd reflections upon it." ‡ The evidence of Howard and other witnesses went to show that Russell, before Shaftesbury left the country, had attended a meeting in the city, at which a rising was debated, and there was talk of the feebleness of the king's guard at Whitehall. Howard also asserted that there was a cabal of six persons, Monmouth, Essex, Russell, Sidney, Hampden, and himself, and that one of their objects was to draw the Scotch malcontents to join with them. Russell made a very short defence, in which he solemnly denied the charges imputed to him: "I have ever looked upon the assassination of any private person as an abominable, barbarous, and inhuman thing, tending to the destruction of all society. How much more the assassination of a prince, which cannot enter into my thoughts without horror and detestation; especially considering him as my natural prince, and one upon whose death such dismal consequences are but too likely to ensue. . . . As for going about to make or raise a rebellion, that, likewise, is a thing so wicked, and withal impracticable, that it never entered into my thoughts. Had I been disposed to it, I never found, by all my observation, that there was the least disposition or tendency to it in the people. And it is known, rebellion cannot be now made here, as in former times, by a few great men." * And yet we cannot doubt that "a few great men" contemplated some coercion of the government, perhaps short of rebellion, despairing of "having things redressed in a legal parliamentary way." It is difficult to draw the line between legal and illegal resistance when men are hopeless of just government. Russell was convicted of treason, though certainly he was illegally convicted. He had committed no overt act, imagining the king's death, which had brought him within the Statute of Treasons of Edward the Third. The act of William and Mary, annulling his attainder, says that he was, "by partial and unjust constructions of law, wrongfully convicted, attainted, and executed for high treason." Russell went to his death with Christian fortitude. Extraordinary efforts were made to save his life, but Charles was not to be moved, even by the offer of a hundred thousand pounds. Russell was beheaded on the 21st of July, on a scaffold erected in Lincoln's Inn Fields. His parting with his noble wife had something more touching than sobs and tears. "This flesh you now feel, in a few hours must be cold," he said. They then kissed and separated, in eloquent silence.

The trial of Algernon Sidney was postponed till the 21st of November. Pemberton was chief justice when Russell was tried. He was removed to make room for Jeffreys. Lord Howard of Escrick was again the chief witness against the friend who had confided in the betrayer's professions of republicanism. Two witnesses were required by the Statute of Treasons. There was no second living witness against Sidney; that defect was supplied by a manuscript found among Sidney's papers, in which treasonable principles were held to be advocated. He approved of conspiracies against Nero and Caligula, and therefore was ready to compass the king's death. Howard's depositions were different from those which he gave on the trial of Russell. Sidney appealed to the jury whether any credit was due to a man who deceived and betrayed his friends—who had said he could not get his own pardon from the king till he had done "some other jobs." Of course Sidney was convicted in the utter absence of all legal evidence of treason. He was brought up for judgment on the 26th. When he heard his sentence he prayed God that, "if at any day the shedding of blood that is innocent must be revenged, let the weight of it fall only on those that maliciously persecute me for righteousness' sake." Jeffreys, although he had kept his brutal nature in some subjection to decency, then exclaimed, "I pray God to work in you a temper fit to go into the other world, for I see you are not fit for this." Sidney stretched out his arm, and said, "My lord, feel my pulse, and see if I am disordered." Evelyn records that on the 5th of December he was at a wedding where he met Lord Chief Justice Jeffreys and Mr. Justice Withings. "These great men spent the rest of the afternoon, till eleven at night, in drinking healths, taking tobacco, and talking much beneath the gravity of judges; who had but a day or two before condemned Mr. Algernon Sidney, who was executed the 7th on Tower Hill, on the single witness of that monster of a man, Lord Howard of Escrick, and some sheets of paper taken in Mr. Sidney's study, pretended to be written by him, but not fully proved." Sidney died with a simple courage and unostentatious composure worthy of his strength of mind. "When he came on the scaffold, instead of a speech, he told them only that he had made his peace with God; that he came not thither to talk, but to die; put a paper into the sheriff's hand, and another into a friend's;

* Russell's paper, delivered to the sheriff before his execution.
† Evelyn, "Diary," July 13th. ‡ Ibid.

* Lord John Russell's "Life," vol. ii. p. 60. From the MS. in Lord W. Russell's handwriting.

said one prayer as short as a grace ; laid down his neck, and bid the executioner do his office." *

Connected with the other chief participators in the alleged conspiracy of 1683 we may mention that Monmouth was ultimately pardoned ; and that Sir Thomas Armstrong was given up by the States of Holland, and executed without a trial upon his sentence of outlawry. He had surrendered within the year, during which the law allows the accused to claim a trial. Jeffreys rudely resisted this legal demand of Armstrong.

The connection of the English Whigs with the discontented in Scotland gave birth to a terrible persecution in that enslaved kingdom. In England even a Jeffreys could not go beyond a certain point under the forms of law. In Scotland those forms were utterly set at nought. Scotsmen, arrested in London, were sent to Edinburgh for their mock trials. Some eminent haters of the tyranny under which the land had fallen fled to Holland. Torture was administered to other suspected and accused persons with a ferocity exceeding even the times when the Duke of York superintended the process of the boot. Sentences of forfeiture were lavishly pronounced, by which such tools as Graham of Claverhouse were enriched. The prisons were crowded with Covenanters. In England James had openly succeeded to the chief administration of public affairs. He had not withheld his consent from the marriage of his daughter, Anne, to the Protestant Prince George of Denmark. The king rewarded the duke by his restoration to his offices of high admiral and privy councillor. † Titus Oates was indicted for *Scandalum Magnatum*, and damages of 100,000*l.* for a libel against the duke were awarded. The Rev. Samuel Johnson, chaplain to the late Lord Russell, was summoned before the council, to answer whether he was the author of a book called "Julian's Acts and Methods to undermine and extirpate Christianity." He acknowledged that he was. He was commanded to produce one of the books. He said that he had suppressed all the copies, "so that they were now his own private thoughts, for which he was not accountable to any power on earth." No copy could be obtained ; and he was therefore prosecuted for writing a book called "Julian the Apostate." He was condemned in a fine of five hundred marks, which he was unable to pay, and was committed to prison. In prison he remained till the time when James had the regal power, and exercised it with a frantic violence, of which the barbarity perpetrated upon this exemplary clergyman, whose only fault was a love of his country's liberties, was one of the most hateful examples. ‡ Arbitrary government had now its full swing. The Oxford divines came boldly forward to give their aid to degrade the free monarchy of England into an unmixed despotism. They published a decree against pernicious books and damnable doctrines. They anathematized the seditious and impious principle that civil authority is derived originally from the people ; that there was any implied compact between a king and his people : passive obedience was the only concern of the subject with the government under which he lived. Sir George Mackenzie, the Lord Advocate of Scotland, published his treatise, "Jus Regium," which he dedicated to the University of Oxford, in which he maintained that "whatever proves monarchy to be the best government, does, by the same reason, prove absolute monarchy to be the best government." Sir Robert Filmer's posthumous work, which had the honor of calling forth the refutation of its doctrines by Locke, went to the same extremes. Mr. Hallam truly says, "We can frame no adequate conception of the jeopardy in which our liberties stood under the Stuarts, especially in this particular period, without attending to this spirit of servility which had been so sedulously excited." The confidence of the ultra-royalists was unbounded : "now the king had brought his affairs to a more happy situation than ever they had been since the Restoration. He saw his enemies at his feet, and the duke his brother at his side ; whose indefatigableness in business took a great share of that burthen off his shoulders, which his indolent temper made uneasy to him." § Charles had his brother officially at his side through dispensing with the Test Act. Louis XIV. was carrying on his ambitious designs without any apprehension of the interference of England. By turns he bribed and he bullied the abject Charles. There were some even among Charles's advisers who felt the degradation. Halifax ventured to suggest the calling a parliament. James was diametrically opposed to such a measure. Halifax advised that France should no longer dictate to England. James knew that the French alliance ratified the slavery of England. Charles was undecided—or pretended to be so. The great arbiter stepped in to settle many doubts and difficulties.

On Sunday evening, the 1st of February, 1685, Evelyn was at Whitehall. A week after he recorded his impressions of the scene which he there witnessed : "I can never forget the inexpressible luxury and profaneness, gaming, and all dissoluteness, and as it were total forgetfulness of God, it being Sunday evening. The king sitting and toying with his concubines, Portsmouth, Cleveland, and Mazarine, etc. ; a French boy singing love-songs in that glorious gallery ; while above twenty of the great courtiers and other dissolute persons were at Basset around a large table, a bank of at least two thousand in gold before them." On Monday morning, the 2d of February, the king was struck with apoplexy. On the Tuesday he had somewhat recovered. On the Thursday his case was considered hopeless. Two bishops came to him ; he said he was sorry for what he had done amiss ; heard the form of absolution ; but declined to receive the sacrament. The Duchess of Portsmouth, who had manifested a real grief, told Barillon, the French ambassador, that Charles was really a Roman Catholic ; she urged Barillon to tell the duke that if any time were lost his brother would die out of the pale of his church. James tells the result himself. The duke "asked him if he desired he should send for a priest to him ? to which the king immediately replied, 'For God's sake, brother, do, and please to lose no time.' But then, reflecting on the consequences, added, 'But will you not expose yourself too much by doing it ?' The duke, who never thought of danger when the king's service called, though but in a temporal concern, much less in an eternal one, answered, 'Sir, though it cost me my life, I will bring one to you.'" * James found Father Huddleston, a Benedictine monk. The king confessed, received extreme unction ; and then the sacrament was administered by Huddleston. His natural children were called around the dying man's bed. Monmouth alone was absent, though his father had been privately reconciled to him. The queen sent to ask her husband's pardon for any offence she might have committed. "It is I that ought to ask her pardon," said Charles, with a passing remorse. "Do not let Nelly starve," he said to his brother. He apologized to the watchers around him for the trouble he was giving. The politeness of the gentleman remained with him to the last. Charles died at noon on Friday, the 6th of February. The people of London, odious as was the government of the king, lamented for the man. In that lament was probably mingled the fear that a worse king was coming.

About three years before the death of Charles the Second an event took place which would then attract little of the regard of English courtiers and politicians, but which was fraught with important consequences never to be forgotten in the history of the Anglo-Saxon race. On the 5th of March, 1682, William Penn, who we last saw standing undaunted at the bar of the Old Bailey, was before the king in council at Whitehall. His father, the admiral, had died in 1670, leaving his Quaker son a considerable property. The Duke of York, a friend of Admiral Penn, had undertaken to be the young man's protector. Two years after his father's death William Penn applied to James to use his influence to procure some remission of the persecution of the Quakers. The duke made some of those professions of toleration which he had learned to employ upon particular occasions. He was kind to Penn, who became a person of consequence at Whitehall. A considerable sum, about 16,000*l.*, was due from the Treasury to Penn as his father's heir—the amount of money lent by the admiral, with accumulated interest. He petitioned to have his claim settled, not by a money payment, but by the grant of a large tract in America—a region of mountains and forests and prairies, accessible from the sea by the river Delaware. During sixty years the colonization of the great North American continent by Englishmen had gone steadily forward. The plantation of Virginia, the plantation of New England, in the reign of James I., laid the foundations of that mighty community whose present marvellous prog-

* Evelyn, "Diary." † "Life of James II.," vol. i. p. 745.
‡ "Memorials of Mr. Samuel Johnson," prefixed to the folio vol-

rees appears but the faint realization of its ultimate destinies.* In the reign of Charles the Second Carolina was also settled. Maryland had been a previous acquisition; New Jersey had been conquered from the Dutch. The commercial importance of the English North American settlements was stated by De Witt in 1669, when he wrote "The Interest of Holland." He says, "The long persecution of Puritans in England has occasioned the planting of many English colonies in America, by which they drive a very considerable foreign trade thither." Penn knew well that in the persecuted of his own sect he would find the best of settlers—men always remarkable for their industry and frugality. Not so solicitous for worldly profit as for a home for his followers beyond the reach of penal laws, Penn assiduously pressed his suit; and on the 5th of March he stood before the king and council, to have his charter signed. The name suggested for this mountainous and wooded region was first New Wales, and secondly Sylvania. The king prefixed Penn to Sylvania. The Quaker legislator and his friend Algernon Sidney, the republican, drew up a constitution for the new colony. It was essentially democratic. Religious liberty was its great element, and with that was necessarily connected civil freedom. There was to be an executive council, of which Penn, the proprietor, or his deputy, was to be president; which council was to consist of seventy-two persons. There was to be an assembly. Both were to be chosen by universal suffrage. It has been justly observed, that "as the proprietor and legislator of a province which, being almost uninhabited when it came into his possession, afforded a clear field for moral experiments, he had the rare good-fortune of being able to carry his theories into practice without any compromises, and yet without any shock to existing institutions." †

The Welcome, a vessel of three hundred tons, in which Penn was to embark, set sail from Deal on the 1st of September, 1682. There were a hundred passengers on board, of whom a third died of the small-pox during the voyage. On the 27th of October the survivors, with their governor, landed at Newcastle, on the Delaware. The next day Penn assembled the inhabitants, consisting of families of various nations, Germans, Dutch, Swedes, English. He produced his charters. He explained his system of government. Penn's relation, Colonel Markham, had arrived before him, and had prepared the way for him, by calling an assembly for the purposes of legislation. In three days Penn's constitution was adopted, and supplementary laws were enacted to carry out its spirit. The industrial education of rich and poor was provided for; justice was to be cheaply administered; prisons were to be regulated with a view to the reformation of the criminal; death punishments, except for murder and treason, were to be abolished. The governor had much labor before him, but he went through it resolutely. The lands of the province were surveyed, and divided into lots for grant or purchase. Philadelphia was founded upon a plan which contemplated the growth of a magnificent city. In a year many houses had been built, and emigrants came in great numbers to become farmers or traders in a land where men could dwell without fear of oppression. Schools were founded. A printing-press was set up. A post was established. The great outworks of civilization were won. The principles of justice, upon which the new colony was founded, were to guide the conduct of the colonists toward the native Indians. The treaty with the red men—the only treaty that was never sworn to and never broken, says Voltaire—was one of friendship, and brotherhood, and mutual defence. An American has painted the scene, with the vagueness of his time as to portraiture and costume; but West's picture gives some notion of a solemn ceremony, in which the Great Spirit, the common Father of all, was appealed to in the pledge that the power of civilization should not be abused by the exercise of force or injustice against the weakness of barbarism.‡

CHAPTER CXIV.

Address of James the Second to his council—He is proclaimed—He goes openly to mass—Illegal levying of customs—The king's ministers—Roman Catholic counsellors—Roman Catholics and Quakers released from prison—Renewed severities against Covenanters—Elections in England—Money from France—Constitution of parliament—Its meeting—Conviction and punishment of Titus Oates—Conviction of Richard Baxter—Argyle lands in Scotland—Disastrous result of his expedition—His execution—Monmouth lands at Lyme—His declaration—He enters Taunton in triumph—He is proclaimed king—March to Bristol—Skirmish of Philip's Norton—Monmouth returns to Bridgewater—Battle of Sedgemoor—Flight of Monmouth—His apprehension—His abject submission to the king—His execution—Military executions in the western counties—The legal massacres under Jeffreys—Transportations—The court traffic in convicts—The legal traffic in pardons.

THE chamber of death is closed. James retires for fifteen minutes to the privacy of his closet, and then comes forth as king to meet the council. It was necessary that he should address the assembled counsellors. He declared that he would follow the example of his brother in his great clemency and tenderness to his people; he would preserve the government in Church and State as by law established; he knew that the principles of the Church of England were for monarchy, and that the members of it were good and loyal subjects, and therefore he should always have to defend and support it; he knew that the laws were sufficient to make the king as great a monarch as he could wish, and therefore, while he would never depart from the just rights and prerogatives of the crown, he would never invade any man's property. Some members of the council asked for copies of this "benign and gracious declaration." The king said that he had spoken from his heart without much premeditation, and had not his speech in writing. Finch, the solicitor-general, stated that he thought he could write it down word for word. He did write a report; the king approved, and ordered it to be published. The biographer of James says that Finch worded the speech as strong as he could in favor of the established religion, and that James passed it over without reflection: "He was afterward convinced it had been better expressed by assuring them he never would endeavor to alter the established religion, rather than he would endeavor to preserve it; and that he would rather support and defend the professors of it than the religion itself." * James the Second was proclaimed that same afternoon at Whitehall Gate, at Temple Bar, and at the Exchange. The council and other officers of state accompanied the procession. On their return they all kissed the hands of the king and queen. "The queen," writes Evelyn, "was in bed in her apartment, but put forth her hand, seeming to be much afflicted, as I believe she was, having deported herself so decently upon all occasions since she came into England, which made her universally beloved." † Charles the Second was buried on the 14th, "without any manner of pomp." This absence of the usual ceremonies is accounted for by the fact that the late king had died a Roman Catholic. That fact was not as yet public; and the people blamed the parsimony of James, or his want of the affection of a brother. The difficulty of conducting the funeral of Charles in accordance with "the greater ceremonies which must have been performed according to the rites of the Church of England," ‡ pressed with increased force when the coronation day arrived, on the 23d of April. Some alterations were made in the ritual; and, "to the sorrow of the people, no sacrament, as ought to have been." § The second Sunday after he came to the throne the king went openly to mass; and within a month of Charles' death the Romanists "were swarming at court with greater confidence than had been ever seen in England since the Reformation, so that everybody grew jealous as to what this would tend." ‖

James had not been more than three days king when his government committed an illegal act. The grant of customs for the life of the king expired on the death of Charles. A proclamation was issued ordering that the duties on merchandise should be levied as usual, till the royal revenue had been settled by parliament. This was against the advice of the lord keeper, Guilford, who recommended that the duties should be collected and kept apart in the exchequer till the parliament should dispose of them. "The temper of the public was, then, so propitious to the crown, that almost any-

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* See *ante*, vol. iii. p. 406.
† Macaulay, "History," vol. i. 8vo, p. 507.
‡ The interesting Biography of William Penn, by Mr. Hepworth Dixon, furnishes a very complete view of the settlement of Pennsylvania, of which ours is necessarily the briefest sketch.

* "Life of James II.," vol. ii. pp. 3 and 4.
† "Diary," February 6th.
‡ "Life of James II.," vol. ii. p. 6.
§ Evelyn, "Diary."
‖ Ibid., March 5th.

thing would be borne with, which, in other times, would have raised a flame." * The counsellors chosen by the king for his especial confidence were his brother-in-law, Rochester; Sunderland, who had been Charles' secretary of state; and Godolphin, who had been first lord of the treasury; Halifax, who had held the privy-seal, was appointed to the unimportant office of president of the council. It was nominally a higher office, and therefore a witticism which he had used on the promotion of Rochester was applied to himself—he was kicked upstairs. The king's other brother-in-law, Clarendon, was made privy-seal. Sunderland had voted for the Exclusion Bill, and therefore his continuance in office was a matter of surprise. But, if we are to credit the king's own assertion, this crafty minister saw the policy of connecting himself, however secretly, with the Roman Catholic party. James, in his own "Memoirs," says that in a consultation soon after his accession to the throne between Lord Sunderland, Father Petre, Mr. Jermyn, and Lord Tyrconnel, "it was agreed that Father Petre should be a cardinal, Lord Sunderland lord treasurer, Lord Tyrconnel lord lieutenant of Ireland (who engaged to procure my Lord Sunderland five thousand pounds per annum out of that kingdom, or fifty thousand pounds in money), and that Mr. Henry Jermyn should be made a lord, and captain of the horse-guards." † Tyrconnel and Jermyn were Roman Catholics. The king did not stand alone in his inclination to tread a path beset with dangers.

The apologists of James have endeavored to induce a belief that, soon after his accession, "he limited his views to the accomplishment of two objects, which he called liberty of conscience and freedom of worship, and which, had he been successful, would have benefited, not the Catholics only, but every class of religionists." Dr. Lingard expresses this opinion, after having stated that James "gave it in charge to the judges to discourage prosecutions in matters of religion, and ordered by proclamation the discharge of all persons confined for the refusal of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy." ‡ It is implied that "the dissenters" were relieved by this tolerant disposition. The relief extended only to Roman Catholics and Quakers. The Puritan dissenters—Presbyterians, or Independents, or Baptists—had evinced no objection to the oath which renounced the authority of the pope. Those who continued in prison were there for offences under the Conventicle Acts and the Five Mile Act. The Roman Catholics would not take the oath of supremacy; the Quakers would not take any oath. "I have not been able," says a high authority, "to find any proof that any person, not a Roman Catholic or a Quaker, regained his freedom under these orders." § The orders, signed by Sunderland, were issued on the 19th of April. The relief to the Roman Catholics was a natural manifestation of the disposition of the government. The relief to Quakers was the result of a conviction that they were a harmless sect, who carefully abstained from all political action, and avoided even political conversation. The influence of William Penn, who had returned home from Pennsylvania, was laudably exercised to obtain this relief for the society of which he was a member. The number of Quakers liberated was estimated at above fourteen hundred. Roman Catholics were liberated "to the amount of some thousands." ‖ The real disposition of the government toward Protestant dissenters was at that period amply manifested by the proceedings in the Scottish parliament. The meeting of the Estates preceded that of the English parliament by nearly a month. In obedience to a special letter from the king, calling for new penal laws against the Covenanters, it was enacted on the 8th of May that the punishment of death, and confiscation of land and goods, should be awarded against those who should preach in a conventicle under a roof, or should attend a conventicle in the open air, either as preacher or auditor. The persecution of the times of Charles II. was continued with increased fury. ¶ The soldiery were let loose upon the districts where the Covenanters were still unsubdued, to kill and plunder. The tale of two unhappy women who were condemned to be drowned, and were tied to stakes when the tide had receded, there to await the lingering but certain death that would follow its return, is not a fiction. Romance has not imagined any cruelty so horrible as that perpetrated by the scoundrel Major Winram. Of the two women whose drowning he superintended, one was a girl of eighteen, of the name of Margaret Wilson. She had seen her elder friend perish. She was half dead herself when she was taken out of the water. "Dear Margaret," said her neighbors, "only say God save the king." Her answer was, "God save him, if he will, for it is his salvation I desire." Beyond this she refused to go. She would not abjure the cause of her religion, and consent to attend the Episcopal worship; and she was again thrown into the ingulfing waves. The old laws against nonconformists were severe enough, and were executed with sufficient ferocity, to justify any resistance, even without the addition of the infamous law which James caused to be passed against those who attended conventicles. The biographer of James thus explains the motives of the sovereign who desired, according to his panegyrists, "liberty of conscience and freedom of worship:" "The king's earnestness to have the fields conventicles suppressed was not from any spirit of persecution—though those wretches deserved no quarter—but from an apprehension of new troubles." * He made the Puritan religion a pretence for manifesting his hatred of the Puritan love of freedom.

The parliament had been summoned to meet on the 19th of May. No one doubted that the House of Commons would exceed all former parliaments in subserviency, looking to the influences which had been exercised in the returns of members. Burnet, the Whig, complains of "the injustice and violence used in elections, beyond what had been ever practised in former times." Evelyn, the Tory writes, "Elections for the coming parliament in England were thought to be very indirectly carried on in most places." † Again, he says, "There are many of the new members whose elections and returns were universally censured, many of them being persons of no condition, or interest in the nation or places for which they served." The boroughs were almost wholly in the hands of the court; the old charters having been superseded by new charters, which placed the returns in the power of a corrupt few, nominated by the crown. "It was reported that Lord Bath carried down with him [into Cornwall] no fewer than fifteen charters, so that some called him the prince elector." ‡ James had some ambitious projects floating in his mind, and especially exciting him to secure an obedient parliament. The interference of the French king with the parliamentary system of England, during the reign of Charles, was perfectly known to his successor. James was not quite so abject as his brother; but nevertheless he was ready to receive the French livres, and to submit his policy to the wishes of his patron, till he could make himself sufficiently secure of a large revenue for life. Then he would manifest a real independence. Meanwhile he talked to foreign ministers about maintaining the balance of power in Europe. He aspired to vie with the court of France in its ceremonial observances toward ambassadors. His pride made him bear his yoke somewhat impatiently. "He seemed resolved," says Burnet, "not to be governed by French counsels." He gave out that he would cultivate the friendship of the Prince of Orange and the United Provinces. The courtiers said that a prince now ruled who would make France as dependent on England as England had been dependent on France. Louis slyly said that "for all the high things given out in his name, the King of England was willing to take his money, as well as his brother had done." §

The parliament assembled on the 19th of May. Under the Stuarts there had been a vast increase of the peerage. In the reign of James the Second there were fifteen dukes and duchesses, two marquises, sixty-seven earls and countesses, nine viscounts, and sixty-six barons and baronesses, making a total of one hundred and fifty-nine. Eighty years before there was no duke, only one marquis, about nineteen earls, three or four viscounts, and forty lords. ‖ The learned doctor of laws, from whose court calendar we derive this information, estimates that through luxury, licentiousness, and want of fit education, "it was lately difficult to find, as some are bold to

* North, "Life of Guilford," vol. ii. p. 113.
† "Life of James II.," vol. ii. p. 77.
‡ "History," 8vo edition, vol. xiv. p. 13.
§ Macaulay, "History," vol. i. 8vo, p. 509. Note. ‖ Lingard.
¶ We anticipated the date of the murder of "The Christian Carrier," to indicate the mode of proceeding with the Covenanters by the sanguinary Claverhouse. See p. 568.

* "Life of James II.," vol. ii. p. 12. † "Diary," May 10.
‡ Ibid., May 22. § Burnet.
‖ Chamberlayne, "Present State of England," 1687, Part I. p. 285.

affirm, the courage, wisdom, justice, integrity, honor, sobriety, and courtesy of the ancient nobility." Of the riches of the peerage he has no doubt. He computes the yearly revenue of all England to be about fourteen millions, and assigns one eleventh of the whole to the nobility. Including twenty-five spiritual peers (the see of York was vacant), there were a hundred and eighty-one lords of parliament. The number of members of the House of Commons was five hundred and thirteen.* From the printed list of members it appeared that there were not more than a hundred and thirty-five who had sat in former parliaments.† The Whig majority was gone. The country gentlemen, whether Whig or Tory, who were returned for the counties, were a weak minority, compared with the representatives of the newly chartered corporations. The composition of the House of Commons was such that it would have been difficult for the people to overestimate the extent to which their so-called representatives would go in placing the property and liberty of the country at the feet of the king. The language of James, in his speech from the throne, argues an undoubting confidence in the machinery which he had procured for obtaining a large revenue, and for enforcing a due compliance with his projects for restoring the influence of his own religion. He repeated not only the substance, but the exact words, of the speech which he had addressed to the privy council on the day of his accession; "the better," said the king, "to evidence to you that I spoke then not by chance." In demanding the settlement of the revenue for his life, for the many weighty necessities of government, he added these words, "which I must not suffer to be precarious." Mr. Fox has pointed out that "in arguing for his demand, as he styles it, of revenue, he says, not that the *parliament* ought not, but that *he* must not suffer the well-being of the government, depending upon such revenue, to be precarious; whence it is evident that he intended to have it understood that, if the parliament did not grant, he purposed to levy a revenue without their consent." ‡ Think not, says the incipient despot, that you are to supply me with a little money from time to time, out of your inclination to frequent parliaments. "This would be a very improper method to take with me. The best way to engage me to meet you often is always to use me well." And the whole House of Commons, with one exception, were awed by the "vultus instantis tyranni," and voted unanimously that the grant of revenue should be for life. The one bold member was Sir Edward Seymour, a cavalier of the stanchest breed. He did not oppose the grant, but he maintained that the first thing to do was to ascertain who were legal members of the house. This was more especially a duty, he said, when the laws and religion of England were in evident peril. No member dared to follow up this attack of a man whose high ancestry gave a special impulse to his proud courage. The members of this parliament "were neither men of parts nor estates; so there was no hope left of either working on their understandings, or of making them see their interest in not giving the king all at once. . . . There was no prospect of any strength in opposing anything that the king should ask of them." § An attempt was made a few days later to obtain some security in the matter of religion, by passing a resolution in committee "to assist and stand by his majesty, according to our duty and allegiance, for the support and defence of the reformed religion of the Church of England, as now by law established." This was a great deal more than his majesty desired. Nor was a concurrent resolution less unpalatable—that the house be moved to make an humble address to his majesty, to publish his royal proclamation "for putting the laws in execution against all dissenters whatsoever from the Church of England." Barillon, the French ambassador, writes that these votes gave great offence to the king and queen, and that orders were issued to the court members to get rid of them. When the house had to decide upon the resolution of its committee, the previous question was moved; and it was resolved, unanimously, "That this house doth acquiesce, entirely rely, and rest wholly satisfied, in his majesty's gracious word, and repeated declaration, to support and defend the religion of the Church of England, as it is by law established, which is dearer to us than our lives."

There were two remarkable trials at this period, which must have had a considerable influence upon public opinion. The one was the prosecution of Titus Oates for perjury, the other the prosecution of Richard Baxter for libel. Of the justice of the conviction of Oates there can be little doubt. The atrocious severity of his punishment was to gratify the revenge of the Roman Catholics, who crowded Westminster Hall on his trial, on the 7th of May. The chief witness to the popish plot had long been lying in prison, heavily ironed, in default of payment of the excessive fine imposed upon him on his conviction for libelling the Duke of York. He had been accustomed to browbeat juries, and to be lauded to the skies by judges. He had now to bear all the tyrannous invective which judges thought it decent to use in state prosecutions; and, what to his unabashed impudence was far more terrible, he was to be pilloried in Palace Yard, and at the Royal Exchange. He was to be whipped from Aldgate to Newgate on one day, and then again to be whipped from Newgate to Tyburn. He was to be imprisoned for life. He was to stand in the pillory five times every year. His conviction, says Reresby, "was a grateful hearing to the king." His majesty said 'that Oates being thus convicted, the popish plot was dead." Reresby is proud of his ready reply: "I answering, that it had long since been dead, and that now it would be buried, his majesty so well approved of the turn that, going with him afterward to the Princess of Denmark, I heard him repeat it to her." * While the small joke was circulating about the court, the wretched Oates was tortured in a way which even the haters of his perjuries must have thought excessive. He was flogged at the cart's tail on the first day almost to death. Intercession was made to the king to remit the second flogging. The answer was, "He shall go through with it, if he has breath in his body." He did go through with it, and survived even seventeen hundred lashes. It is clear that the judges meant him to be flogged to death. He could not be executed for his offence, but he could be subjected to the torments of a lingering execution. Flogging, under the government of James the Second, became a favorite punishment. Another of the plot witnesses, Dangerfield, was scourged for a libel, and he died. His death was laid upon a violent man who struck him with a cane, injuring his eye, as he was carried in a coach back to Newgate after his flogging; and that man, Francis, was hanged for murder. The lacerated body of Dangerfield showed that the brutal assault of Francis was a secondary cause of Dangerfield's death.

If Titus Oates was unmercifully scourged, for the satisfaction of the Papists, Richard Baxter was harassed, insulted, fined, and imprisoned, for the terror of the Puritans. Baxter was tried for a seditious libel, contained in his "Paraphrase on the New Testament," in which he somewhat bitterly complained of the wrongs of the dissenters. Baxter's counsel moved for a postponement of the trial. "I would not give him a minute more to save his life," exclaimed the brutal chief justice: "Yonder stands Oates in the pillory, and if Baxter stood by his side the two greatest rogues and rascals in England would be there." The trial, if trial it could be called, went on. The barristers who defended the venerable man, now in his seventieth year, were insulted by the ermined slave of the crown. Baxter himself attempted to speak, and he was thus met by Jeffreys: "Richard, Richard! dost thou think we will hear thee poison the court? Richard, thou art an old fellow, an old knave; thou hast written books enough to load a cart; every one is as full of sedition (I might say treason) as an egg is full of meat; hadst thou been whipped out of thy writing trade forty years ago it had been happy. Thou pretendest to be a preacher of the Gospel of peace, and thou hast one foot in the grave; it is time for thee to begin to think what account thou intendest to give; but leave thee to thyself and I see thou wilt go on as thou hast begun; but, by the grace of God, I'll look after thee. I know thou hast a mighty party, and I see a great many of the brotherhood in corners waiting to see what will become of the mighty Don, and a doctor of the party [looking to Dr. Bates] at your elbow; but by the grace of Almighty God I will crush you all." †

* Chamberlayne, "Present State of England," 1687, Part II. p. 91.
† Evelyn, May 22. ‡ Fox, "James II."
§ Burnet. The writer, David Hume, who has had the chief direction of the English historical mind for nearly a century, had the impudence to fabricate a debate in the House of Commons for this occasion, in which he makes the opposers of the grant use arguments well worthy of a free and enlightened assembly. Mr. Fox pointed out that this was a pure invention, utterly unsupported by any contemporary writers, or even by tradition.

* "Memoirs," p. 299. † "State Trials."

The famous nonconformist—he who in the earnestness of his piety and the purity of his life was unsurpassed by the greatest of the great divines of the English Church from which he differed so little—was of course found guilty. He was surrounded by friends and admirers who wept aloud. "Snivelling calves!" exclaimed Jeffreys. He was anxious, it was said, that the prisoner should be whipped at the cart's tail, but that was overruled by the three other judges. Baxter was unable to pay his fine of five hundred marks, and he remained in prison for eighteen months, when his pardon was obtained.

The king in his speech to the two houses on the 23d of May informed them that he had received news that morning from Scotland that Argyle had landed in the West Highlands with men from Holland. The houses sympathized with the king in his anger that Argyle had charged him with "usurpation and tyranny." The earl had been three years and a half in Holland, an exile under his unjust sentence. Many who had fled from the oppressions exercised upon the Presbyterians had gathered around him. He was the natural leader in any open resistance; for five thousand of his vassals would immediately flock to his banner, and with the Covenanters in the western counties would form a considerable army. The Duke of Monmouth had seen Argyle, and had been pressed by him to make a simultaneous attempt to raise an insurrection in England. Argyle was fully prepared with money and with arms. He had with him to support the cause of his church men of rank and influence. Monmouth had made no preparations, and had very slight means of making any; and his supporters were not men on whom great reliance could be placed. But Monmouth's adherents had this advantage over the followers of Argyle—they were not jealous of intrusting authority to one hand; they were not distracted by minute differences, as the Covenanters had ever been distracted. Reresby says that at the beginning of May the government had "advice that a store of arms had been bought up in Holland and conveyed into Scotland;" and that Argyle and Lord Grey, and even Monmouth, had gone with them. James had desired that the States of Holland should interfere to prevent any expedition sailing from their ports. The Prince of Orange, it is alleged, was anxious to meet the wishes of his father-in-law, who had manifested some disposition to throw off his dependence upon France. But the authorities of the United Provinces were very slow in the exercise of their divided responsibilities; and three ships, in one of which Argyle was on board, sailed out of the Zuyder Zee on the 2d of May. Monmouth and Grey were not with him. They remained to prepare for their own desperate adventure.

From the very first the expedition of Argyle was conducted with an imprudence which was the result of indecision. At Kirkwall, in the Orkneys, two men were allowed to go on shore. They were arrested; and the news of the armament quickly reached Edinburgh, while Argyle was lingering on the coast to obtain the release of his men. When he reached Lorn, and his son went on shore to summon the clans to gather round their chief, no person of mark came to join in the war-cry of the Campbells. Many humble vassals, however, assembled at Tarbet. Here the counsels of the insurgents became more dangerously opposed to any plan of concentrated action. Argyle wished to make a stand in his own Highlands. Sir Patrick Hume and Sir John Cochrane were for marching into the western Lowlands. The army divided. A squadron, bound for Ayrshire, sailed up the Clyde; and Cochrane, having landed at Greenock, was convinced of the hopelessness of an attempt to rouse the population into revolt. Argyle was now in the isle of Bute, and Cochrane returned to him. After various encounters with the king's troops, Argyle was marching upon Inverary, when the Lowlanders of his army refused to advance into the Highlands. He then, with a greatly reduced number of followers, moved to Dumbartonshire, intending to march for Glasgow. Meanwhile his ships had been taken, and the stores which he had disembarked were also lost. Disaster followed upon disaster. When the rebel army crosed the Leven they were surrounded by the royal troops. It was determined not to risk an engagement, but to advance upon Glasgow by a night march. They mistook their course. The little army was reduced by desertion to a few hundred men. Their leaders fled. Argyle, disguised as a peasant, was at last captured in the manner quaintly described by Lord Fountainhall: "Argyle himself, being alone on a little pony, was overtaken by two men of Sir John Shaw's, who would have had his pony to carry their baggage; whereupon he fired a pistol at them, for he had three on him, whereof I have two, which I got from his son-in-law, the second Marquis of Lothian; and thereafter took the water of Inchinan. But a webster, dwelling there, hearing the noise, came with a broadsword." The weaver would not quit Argyle, though the other two men would have let him go for gold; and finally "the webster gave him a great pelt over the head with his sword, that he damped him so that he fell into the river, and in the fall cried, 'Ah, the unfortunate Argyle!'" His fate was now sealed. He was conducted to Glasgow, and thence to Edinburgh. The same humiliations were inflicted upon him as were inflicted upon Montrose. It was determined to execute him, without any further trial, under the flagitious sentence that had condemned him to death in 1681. All the innate nobleness of his character was developed in these his last hours of misery. He was threatened with torture, but he refused to criminate any of his friends. He made no supplications for mercy, but he prepared himself for the scaffold, with the proud consciousness that he fell in a good cause, and with the calm fortitude of an undoubting faith. The placid sleep of the prisoner as the hour approached in which he was to die—that sleep which the apostate who gazed upon him could scarcely hope again to enjoy—is a worthy subject for the historical painter, and it has been worthily treated by a living artist.

On the 14th of June Evelyn makes the following entry in his "Diary:" "There was now certain intelligence of the Duke of Monmouth landing at Lyme in Dorsetshire." The fact had been communicated to parliament the day before. At daybreak of the 11th of June three vessels were descried in the deepest part of the bay; and at a creek five miles east of Lyme three persons landed, and proceeded to White Lackington House, near Ilminster. This was the scene of Monmouth's first progress. The surveyor of the port of Lyme, in the discharge of his official duty, put off in a boat to visit the three vessels. He was conducted to the duke, was civilly treated, but was not allowed to depart till late in the day. The surveyor belonged to a club, who met weekly to play at bowls and to dine. The members grew alarmed at their friend's absence. The post came in at five o'clock, and brought a newspaper, giving an account of three ships having sailed from a port in Holland. The alarm increased. The mayor and burgesses went on the cliffs to watch the suspicious vessels. They talked of firing a great gun, but they had no powder or shot. It was now near sunset; and the terrified magistrates saw the king's revenue boat, with three other boats, filled with men, rowing in-shore. The men landed. The few borough militia ran away. Some of the townsmen cried "A Monmouth! A Monmouth! The Protestant religion!" Before nightfall the duke's standard was set up in the market-place of Lyme, and a declaration was read. Monmouth had landed with only eighty-three followers.*

The alacrity of the two houses of parliament to support the king "against James Duke of Monmouth, his adherents and correspondents," was manifested in a spirit of ultra-loyalty. Without the slightest evidence, beyond that of the mayor of Lyme, who had posted to London with his news, they passed in one day a bill of attainder against Monmouth; and they passed another bill "for the preservation of his majesty's royal person and government," in which, to assert the legitimacy of Monmouth, or to propose in parliament any alteration of the succession to the crown, were made high treason. The duke's declaration was ordered to be burned by the common hangman. A supply was voted to the king to meet the charges attending this rebellion, and the Lords and Commons were dismissed to their respective counties, by adjournment. The declaration issued by Monmouth asserted the great principle that "government was originally instituted by God, and this or that form of it chosen and submitted to by men for the peace, happiness, and security of the governed, and not for the private interest and personal greatness of those that rule." It accused the existing government of attempting to turn "our limited monarchy into an open tyranny," and to undermine "our religion by popish councils." It declared that "the whole course and series of the life of the present usurper hath been but one

* From a MS. in the British Museum, written by Samuel Dassell, a custom-house officer of Lyme, abstracted in Mr. Roberts' "Life of Monmouth," vol. i. p. 220.

continued conspiracy against the reformed religion and rights of the nation." It then accused the Duke of York of having contrived the burning of London; of having fomented the popish plot; of having assassinated the Earl of Essex; of having poisoned his own brother the late king. It was not a wise declaration. The violence which stimulated the passions of the ignorant was offensive to the reflecting and the moderate. There was no possibility of accommodation when it was declared that the sword should not be sheathed till the reigning monarch was brought to condign punishment. In asserting his own legitimacy and his consequent right to be King of England the adventurer first said that he would leave his claims to be decided by a free parliament. In a subsequent manifesto he took other ground. Rash and impolitic as were many parts of Monmouth's declaration—"full of much black and dull malice," as Burnet describes it—there were others besides the clowns and mechanics of the western shires who regarded "the Protestant duke" as their deliverer. The Independents of Axminster recorded in their "Church Book" their hopes "that the day was come in the which the good old cause of God and religion, that had lain as dead and buried for a long time, would revive again." * The fervid expectations excited by the landing of Monmouth were not entirely local in their character. Daniel Defoe, then twenty-four years of age, joined the blue banner of the duke in the confidence that he came to do battle for civil and religious liberty. Defoe subsequently recorded some of the incidents of this short warfare—happily the last occasion in which Englishmen had to meet Englishmen in a deadly encounter for great principles.

A royalist force had collected at Bridport, and Monmouth resolved to attack them. He had landed from his ships four pieces of cannon. He had fifteen hundred suits of defensive armor, a small number of muskets, carbines, and pistols and about a thousand swords and pikes. On the day after his landing he had a thousand foot under his command, and a hundred and fifty horse. On that day dissension broke out among his followers. The celebrated Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, who was in command of Monmouth's horse, had received an insult from Thomas Dare, one of Monmouth's followers, who had been a goldsmith at Taunton; and the fiery Scot shot the Englishman, who instantly died. Such summary vengeance was unsuited to the national character, and Fletcher was obliged to fly to Monmouth's ship. This was an ominous commencement. On the 14th Lord Grey marched to Bridport, fought with the militia there, and then retreated in disorder to Lyme. In spite of quarrels and disasters numerous recruits flocked to Monmouth's head-quarters at the George Inn at Lyme—an antique hostelry, which was burned down about forty years ago. The Duke of Albemarle, Lord Lieutenant of Devonshire, marched from Exeter, with four thousand of the train bands. On the 15th he was met at Axminster by a large body of the insurgents. He thought it judicious to retreat. His men were not stanch. They threw away their arms and clothes; and the road to Exeter was free to Monmouth. He was satisfied to march to Taunton, which he reached on the 18th of June. Situate in a valley of unrivalled fertility, and abundantly prosperous in its serge manufacture, Taunton had long been conspicuous for its resolute adherence to the old spirit of Puritanism. Oppressed as was its dissenting population under the various statutes against nonconformists, the principle of resistance was not extinguished among them. Their pulpits were burned; they evaded the statutory penalties for non-attendance at church, by joining in the liturgy beneath the tower of St. Mary Magdalen. But this was only surface obedience. Monmouth approached the town, and found that the population had possessed themselves of the arms stored in the belfry of their church, ready for his service. Hundreds went out to meet their idol. They thronged around him in their narrow streets, every man with a green bough in his hat. The ways were strewed with flowers; the windows were hung with garlands; maidens of good families went in procession to offer him twenty-seven standards, which they had worked with their own hands. One of them was "The Golden Flag," embroidered with J. R. and a crown. This reception at Taunton probably decided Monmouth to proclaim himself king. That resolve was not in accordance with his first declaration. It was offensive to many of his followers, who cherished the notion of a republic. Welwood says, "Ambitious he was, but not to the degree of aspiring to the crown till after his landing in the west; and even then he was rather passive than active in assuming the title of king. It was importunity alone that prevailed with him to make that step; and he was inflexible till it was told him that the only way to provide against the ruin of those that should come in to his assistance in case he failed in the attempt was to declare himself king; that they might be sheltered by the statute made in the reign of Henry VI. in favor of those that should obey a king de facto." * This forced application of the statute of Henry VII. was altogether fallacious. Monmouth was himself too ready to forget its real meaning. Had Monmouth been king de jure, James was king de facto. And yet Monmouth proclaimed the adherents of James as rebels and traitors. The assumption of the regal title secured Monmouth no real accession of strength. Not a nobleman joined him; not even any head of a rich and influential Whig family. His pretensions were ridiculed even by those of the higher classes who had no affection for the existing government. He issued proclamation after proclamation, "from our camp at Taunton, in the first year of our reign." The assembly sitting at Westminster, voting and acting as a parliament under the usurper, James, Duke of York, were desired to disperse, under the penalties of treason. All who collected and levied taxes for James, Duke of York, were declared to be rebels and traitors. Christopher, Duke of Albemarle, and his adherents, "now in arms at Wellington," were to be pursued as rebels and traitors. Monmouth marched out of Taunton on the 22d of June. Albemarle marched into Taunton on the 23d. He immediately wrote a few brief words to Sunderland: "I came hither this night, where I found these several proclamations, which I send to your lordship only for your diversion." †

Monmouth marched from Taunton to Bridgewater with six thousand men. Many were armed with scythes, fixed on upright handles. This rustic weapon was so important that warrants were issued to tithing-men "to search for, seize, and take all such scythes as can be found in your tithing, paying a reasonable price for the same." ‡ The large numbers that gathered round Monmouth's standard were rather an embarrassment than an aid. They could not be provided with arms. They were a burden upon the country through which they marched. But the general disposition of the humbler ranks of people to join Monmouth is evident from this fact: the lords lieutenant were ordered to call out the militia, not so much to oppose the duke "as to hinder the country from flocking in to him; for the king could have little confidence in the militia of those parts, who were framed, to be sure, of the same mould and temper of their neighbors, who so readily had joined the invader." § On the 22d of June the insurgents marched to Glastonbury. The monastic ruins and the churches gave shelter to the wearied men, who had travelled through a swampy district under a drenching rain. The next day they had reached Shepton Mallet. The object of the march was to attack Bristol. On the 25th they crossed the Avon at Keynsham. The night before a ship had taken fire at the quay at Bristol. It was afterward alleged against the Bristowans that they had fired the ship as a signal to the rebels. They were suspected by the authorities, for the Duke of Beaufort, having a considerable body of Gloucestershire train bands with him in Redcliffe Mead, threatened to fire the city if they afforded any aid to Monmouth. The king's forces now surrounded the insurgents. They became irresolute, and marched away to Bath. Monmouth grew dejected. The large reward of five thousand pounds had been proclaimed for "any who should kill him." ‖ He was deeply mortified at the manifest unwillingness of the country gentlemen to engage in his support. He expected some of the royal army to come over to him. He had himself commanded a regiment, and was personally beloved. But those who knew him best knew the weakness of his character. He was brave in the field; but he had none of those high qualities which fitted him to contend, even with the enthusiastic support of large bodies of people, against the organized power of a government that was capable of inspiring dread if it failed to secure affection. Monmouth made no attack upon Bath, which had a strong garrison. He marched to

* Roberts, vol. i. p. 232.

* "Memoirs," p. 148.
† Ellis, "Original Letters," First Series, vol. iii. p. 340.
‡ Roberts, vol. i. p. 328.
§ "Life of James II.," vol. ii. p. 29. ‖ Evelyn.

Philip's-Norton, half way between Bath and Frome. On the morning of the 27th the advanced guard of the king's army, under the Earl of Feversham, was close to the insurgents. That guard was commanded by the Duke of Grafton, the youngest of the illegitimate sons of Charles the Second. Through a narrow lane which led into Philip's-Norton, Grafton led his grenadiers against his eldest half-brother. A barricade stopped their progress, and Monmouth attacked them in flank. Grafton cut his way through, and got back to the main body of the royal army. There was fighting for several hours, and the cause of the insurgents was strengthened by the proof that, raw and undisciplined as they were, they could stand up against regular troops. The royal army retreated to Bradford. Defoe says that if Monmouth had pursued his advantage he would have gained a complete victory.* The same night the insurgent army marched, under incessant rain, to Frome. This night-march and the morning engagement greatly reduced the number of Monmouth's followers. Many had thought of the glories of war—of a pleasant march to London, where their beloved duke would establish the liberties of his country and reward his trusty friends. They had seen some of the dangers and miseries of real warfare, and they hastened to escape from them.

At Frome Monmouth heard of the defeat and capture of Argyle. At Frome there were no joyful congratulations as at Taunton; for the Earl of Pembroke had a few days before put down a popular demonstration of those termed in the *London Gazette* "the rabble." The prospects of Monmouth became more and more dark. He was advised, according to some authorities—he himself meditated, according to other accounts—to leave his followers to their fate, and escape to some foreign place of refuge. He had a devoted mistress to fly to, Lady Wentworth, whose passionate attachment might console him for all the disappointments of his ambition. Lord Grey opposed this dastardly hope of the unhappy man, and he remained for a last struggle. At Wells his army had become unmanageable. They lived at free quarters, and attempted to deface the cathedral. On the 2d of July they marched on toward Bridgewater. A deputation from the people of Taunton came now to entreat Monmouth not to return to their town. There were symptoms enough that his cause was now desperate. He had marched out of Bridgewater with a confident army on the 22d of June. He was again at Bridgewater with a broken and dispirited force on the 4th of July. In these eleven days he had accomplished nothing. On Sunday, the 5th, the Earl of Feversham, at the head of the royal army, entered the great moor, called King's Sedgemoor, which stretches in a south-easterly direction from below Bridgewater to Somerton. He encamped on this morass, on the west side of which flows the river Parret, and whose deep and broad ditches, called Rhines, and high causeways, showed how gradually the labor of man had converted this dismal swamp into a region comparatively fertile. In this ancient region of waters Alfred had found refuge in its Isle of Athelney. The names of the villages, compounded of "Zoy"—zee, sea—showed the maritime origin of the district. Feversham's horse were quartered in the village of Weston Zoyland. His infantry were under canvas. On that Sunday the determination was taken by the insurgent leaders to attack the king's army at night, to anticipate the expected assault of Feversham. Monmouth, says Defoe, "went up to the top of the steeple, with some of his officers; and viewing the situation of the king's army, by the help of perspectives, he resolved to make an attempt upon them by way of prevention. He accordingly marched out of the town in the dead of the night to the attack."† Monmouth from the elevation of Bridgewater Church could distinguish the regiment that he had once commanded. If he had these men with him, he exclaimed, he could not doubt of success. He had been told that the royal army was not intrenched. He saw a plain beneath him intersected by great ditches. He was promised to be led safely across them by guides. He would not take the direct road from Bridgewater to Weston Zoyland, but would advance along the Eastern Causeway, across the North Moor and the Langmoor, and surprise his sleeping enemies in their camp. By this circuitous route of six miles, Monmouth would avoid the royal artillery that commanded the direct road. But he had undertaken a night march of extraordinary difficulty. The biographer of Monmouth, whose local knowledge is evidently complete, says, "A guide was needed in the lanes, but was indispensable, after the forces reached the open moor. Indeed, any person desirous of traversing the moor by daylight at the present time would be glad of direction to make a way to the cradle bridges across the great drain or cut."* The front of the royal army was covered by this great drain or cut, called the Old Bussex Rhine. It was filled by the recent heavy rains. Defoe, who may be regarded as an actor in these events, says of Monmouth, "Had he not, either by the treachery or mistake of his guides, been brought to an impassable ditch where he could not get over—in the interval of which the king's troops took the alarm by the firing of a pistol amongst the duke's men, whether also by accident or treachery is not known—I say, had not these accidents and his own fate conspired to his defeat, he had certainly cut the Lord Feversham's army all to pieces."

The report of the pistol was heard in the royal camp. The mist lay heavy upon the moor, but the moon was at the full; and in the uncertain light a body of men was seen approaching. The alarm was sounded by the beat of drum. Grey had advanced with the cavalry; Monmouth was following at the head of the infantry. Suddenly the great Bussex Rhine intercepted their progress. Concealment was no longer possible. King Monmouth! was shouted, with the old rallying word of the Puritans, "God with us!" The king's troops fired across the ditch, and the untrained cavalry horses of the insurgents were scattered about the peat-moor. Monmouth came up to the edge of the Rhine, and shots were exchanged across that impassable ditch for some time. The whole royal army was now roused. Passing along the Weston Zoyland road they could soon be in the open plain. The sun was rising as the life-guards scoured the moor, and the foot-guards and other regiments advanced in compact ranks. Monmouth fled from the field when he saw that his horsemen and his wagons had gone. The king's artillery was brought up, the Bishop of Winchester having applied his carriage-horses to drag the guns along the Bridgewater road. Yet the peasants and cloth-workers made a brave stand with their scythes and pikes. Their muskets were useless, for in vain they shouted "For God's sake, ammunition!" Another race of hardy men stood their ground to the last. "The slain," says Evelyn, "were most of them Mendip miners, who did great execution with their tools, and sold their lives very dearly."

It is impossible to regard the fate of Monmouth without a large amount of commiseration. Bred up amid all the follies and vices of a luxurious court; pampered with every indulgence by his imprudent father; rendered independent at a very early age by marriage with a rich heiress; raised to the highest honors and employments; made the tool of a party, unqualified as he was for any consistent political action; bewildered with popular applause; he finally engaged in a desperate enterprise against a stern and relentless enemy. When he fled from the field of Sedgemoor he had about him a pocketbook, in which there were certain entries which indicate that Charles the Second had a design to get rid of the control of the Duke of York and restore Monmouth to his former position. On the 16th of February is this expressive memorandum: "The sad news of his death, by L. O cruel Fate!"† After his defeat there was no hope for Monmouth. The price set upon his head made escape from the kingdom almost impossible. Before four o'clock of that July morning the fugitives from the fatal moor were hiding in every ditch and every hovel from their pursuers. By six o'clock Monmouth, with Grey and two or three others, was twenty miles from the field in which he had better have died fighting. They rode all day toward the New Forest, till their horses were exhausted. Disguised as countrymen they proceeded on foot. Parties of militia were on the look-out on every side. Grey was taken early on the morning of the 7th, near Ringwood. Two men had been seen entering some inclosed grounds, intersected with hedges, some of the fields affording the shelter of standing crops, and some overgrown with fern and brambles. The two men were Monmouth and Busse, a German. The place was surrounded all night with soldiers, after a fruitless search.

* Wilson, "Life of Defoe," vol. i. p. 108. Philip's-Norton is erroneously called Chipping-Norton in the passage quoted by Wilson.

† "Tour through Great Britain," quoted by Wilson.

* Roberts, vol. ii. p. 63.

† Welwood's "Memoirs," Appendix xv.

Early on the morning of the 8th Busse was discovered. The soldiers were stimulated to greater exertion by the announcement that the reward offered for Monmouth's apprehension would be divided among his captors. The unhappy man, worn out with fatigue, starving, was found in a ditch, in the garb of a shepherd. The same pockets that had held the raw peas which had been his only food, contained the George with which Charles had invested his first-born son. The prisoner was conveyed to Ringwood, about six miles distant from the field now known as Monmouth's Close. The real character of him who had led so many devoted followers to ruin was now displayed. He did not rise out of misfortune a nobler man, as Argyle had risen. His first act was to write an abject letter to King James, expressive of remorse for the wrongs he had done him. He had assured the Prince and Princess of Orange that he would never stir against his majesty, but horrid people had led him away with false arguments. He could say many things to move compassion, but he only begged to have the happiness to speak to the king, for he had that to say which he hoped would give his majesty a long and happy reign. He had one word to say of too much consequence for him to write. After remaining at Ringwood two days, Monmouth and Grey were conducted to London under a strong escort. They were three days on the road. Monmouth was prostrated by his fears; Grey was unmoved by his impending danger. Arrived at Whitehall, a scene ensued which the French ambassador, Barillon, considered opposed to the ordinary usage of other nations. The sovereign saw the prisoner whose life he had determined not to spare. Monmouth was brought pinioned into his uncle's presence. "He fell upon his knees, crawling upon them to embrace those of his majesty; and forgetting the character of a hero, which he had so long pretended to, behaved himself with the greatest meanness and abjection imaginable, omitting no humiliation or pretence of sorrow and repentance, to move the king to compassion and mercy." This is the account given upon the supposed authority of King James's papers. It is not contradicted by other narratives. The mean motive of the king in granting an audience which in ordinary cases implied a pardon, is exhibited in this statement: "There appearing no great matters of discovery, there was no advantage drawn to either side by this unseasonable interview."* The "one word," if spoken, was of no avail to save the prisoner's life.

Detailed narratives of executions for state offences occupy a considerable portion of most English histories; and, we presume, they are attractive to the general reader. Whether those who died by the axe under Plantagenet, Tudor, or Stuart, were innocent or guilty, were of pure or corrupt lives, the fortitude with which they looked death in the face—without shrinking even from the disgusting preparations for the barbarities that accompanied death for high treason—is an almost universal characteristic of their untimely ends. The abjectness which Monmouth displayed when he deluded himself with hopes of life appeared to the French ambassador very different to the ordinary fortitude of Englishmen. Monmouth, however, recovered his courage when the last great trial was at hand. He had seen his wife in the presence of Lord Clarendon, on the Monday when he was committed to the Tower. He saw her again on the Wednesday of his execution. The nature of these interviews is perhaps correctly given by Evelyn, who says that the duke received his duchess "coldly, having lived dishonestly with the Lady Henrietta Wentworth for two years." The duchess was far more affected than her husband; but he showed a proper consideration for her future safety by maintaining that she had been averse to his behavior toward the late king, and knew nothing of the circumstances of his recent attempt. In his prison and on the scaffold Monmouth was attended by the Bishop of Ely and the Bishop of Bath and Wells. The conduct of these prelates, Turner and Ken, toward the unhappy man has been compared to that of "fathers of the Inquisition."† On the other hand it has been said, "they appear to have only discharged what they considered a sacred duty."‡ They pressed him to acknowledge the doctrine of non-resistance to be true, if he were of the Church of England. He would do no more than acknowledge the doctrines of the Church of England in general. Again and again he was exhorted to a positive declaration upon this point. Upon one subject his opinions were singularly illustrative of his defective moral training. He maintained that his intercourse with Lady Wentworth was not sinful; for she had reclaimed him from licentiousness, and their mutual attachment was profound and enduring. His disrespect for the conjugal tie was considered by the prelates as a reason for not administering the sacrament to one so imperfectly repentant. He was urged to speak to the soldiers, and say that he stood there, a sad example of rebellion. He was urged to entreat the soldiers and the people to be loyal and obedient to the king. His answer was emphatic: "I have said I will make no speeches; I will make no speeches: I come to die." His death was a horrible butchery, through the unskilfulness of the executioner. The multitude around, who, for the most part, regarded the duke as martyred for the Protestant religion, yelled with fury when they saw their idolized favorite thus mangled; and as they dipped their handkerchiefs in his blood, the thought must have crossed many minds that the day would still come when new Monmouths should arise, to uphold the cause with happier results.

One of the dying man's answers to the questions with which he was assailed was expressive of his consistent humanity: "Have you not been guilty," he was asked, "of invasion, and of much blood which has been shed?" He replied, "I am sorry for invading the kingdom and for the blood that has been shed." Again pressed upon this matter, he said, "What I have done has been very ill; and I wish with all my heart it had never been. I never was a man that delighted in blood: I was very far from it." Could the soft-hearted Monmouth have looked forward to the slaughters that were still to be perpetrated upon his poor followers, he would have had still heavier reason for lamenting his brief career of civil warfare. It is horrible to know that a king sat upon the English throne, in times not barbarous, who could command and sanction the execution of nearly four hundred of his subjects for their rash participation in a sudden revolt. It is still more odious to know that, not two centuries ago, there was an English judge so eager for bloodshed, and English juries so awe-stricken, as to condemn three hundred and thirty-one persons to the death of traitors, during one terrible assize. In addition to those who suffered the extreme penalty, eight hundred and forty-nine of the insurgents were transported, and thirty-three were fined or whipped. The record of such circumstances is chiefly valuable to show us the nature of the tyranny from which we have escaped. The professional atrocities of a Colonel Kirke, however exaggerated, were natural results of the uncontrolled power of a brutal captain of a brutal soldiery. The calculating barbarities of a Chief Justice Jeffreys, under the forms of law, exhibit the excesses of an authority far more dangerous to freedom than the passing inflictions of drum-head tyranny. When Kirke and his officers sit carousing at the White Hart at Taunton, and at every toast of the drunken crew a prisoner was hanged up for their merriment, and the drums were ordered to beat to give the quivering limbs music for their dancing—we trace the degradation of the unchristian warriors, who brought the habits of their warfare with barbarians to be the scourges of their own countrymen. But when the Chief Justice of England strains every faculty of his depraved intellect to procure the condemnation of a lady, whose only crime was giving a meal and a lodging to two fugitives, we may well believe that there is no more direct evidence of the fatal curse of arbitrary power than its capacity to make the sword of justice a far more terrible weapon of oppression than pike or gun, and to degrade the head of a learned and liberal profession to an office lower than that of the hangman. The Lady Alice Lisle, then seventy years of age, calmly slept at the bar while Jeffreys charged the jury against her with the vehemence of an advocate; and she went to the scaffold with a composure which her furious judge must have resented as the proof of his impotence to kill the soul. Alice Lisle was his first victim, and the only one at Winchester. Every exertion was made to obtain her pardon, but King James was inexorable. It was nothing to the revengeful Stuart that the venerable lady had been illegally convicted as an accessory in concealing a traitor, before the trial and conviction of the said traitor himself. It was enough that she was the widow of John Lisle, the member of the Long Parliament and of the High Court of Justice. Jeffreys only fleshed his fangs upon Alice Lisle. In Dorsetshire he executed seventy-four persons. In Devonshire a mere thirteen were put to death. In Somersetshire two hundred and thirty-three suffered all the barbarous punishments of high treason. The pitch caldron was

* "Life of James II.," vol. ii. p. 36. † Roberts. ‡ Macaulay.

constantly boiling in the assize towns, to preserve the heads and limbs from corruption that were to be distributed through the beautiful western country. As the leaves were dropping in that autumn of 1685, the great oak of many a village green was decorated with a mangled quarter. On every tower of the Somersetshire churches a ghastly head looked down upon those who gathered together for the worship of the God of love. The directing post for the traveller was elevated into a gibbet. The laborer returning home beneath the harvest moon hurried past the body suspended in its creaking gimmaces (chains). The eloquent historian of this reign of terror has attested from his own childish recollections, that "within the last forty years peasants, in some districts, well knew the accursed spots, and passed them unwillingly after sunset." *

The barbarous executions of this evil time can only be matched by the infamy of the great, in seeking to make a money advantage in proportion to the number of prisoners to be transported. It was calculated that a thousand of these unfortunates were to be distributed among certain favored persons; and Sunderland, writing to Jeffreys by order of the king, says, "The queen has asked for a hundred more of the rebels." They were to be sold by these merchants in human flesh for field labor in Jamaica, Barbadoes, and the Leeward Islands. Jeffreys did not approve of this courtly generosity, that would assign to others the proper wages of the king and his instruments; and he writes to James, "I beseech your majesty that I may inform you that each prisoner will be worth ten pounds, if not fifteen pounds apiece; and, sir, if your majesty orders them as you have designed, persons that have not suffered in the service will run away with the booty."† The most notorious of these transactions was that of the claim of the maids of honor to make a profit out of the pardon of the young girls of Taunton, who had presented the embroidered banners to Monmouth on the day of his triumphal entry. More than two thousands pounds were paid to these ladies of the Queen of England to avert a prosecution of the innocent children who had graced the procession of the handsome duke whom they were told was their rightful king.

Jeffreys returned from his bloody circuit to be rewarded with the great seal. He boasted that he had hanged more for high treason than all the judges of England since William the Conqueror. In his proceedings he had a double gratification. He had a pleasure in hanging, and a more solid delight in reprieving. He sold his pardons for enormous sums; and he was enabled by his lawful earnings in this fattening time to purchase estates of the value of thirty-four thousand pounds.

CHAPTER CXV.

Tendencies to absolutism—Revocation of the Edict of Nantes—Meeting of parliament—James announces his appointments of Romish officers—Address of the Commons—Dissatisfaction of the Peers—Parliament prorogued—Trials for treason—Repeated prorogations, and final dissolution of the parliament—Preponderance of the Jesuit party in the government—Embassy to Rome—Dispensing power of the king—Court of King's Bench affirms the royal power to dispense with the test laws—Roman Catholics appointed to benefices—The ecclesiastical commission—The Bishop of London suspended from spiritual functions—Monastic bodies settle in London—Mass at Oxford—Trial of the Rev. Samuel Johnson—Massey, a Romanist, Dean of Christchurch—Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge deprived—Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford, ejected.

When the failure of Monmouth's expedition seemed almost inevitable, Louis the Fourteenth wrote to his ambassador in England, "There is every appearance that he will soon meet with the same fate as the Earl of Argyle, and that his attempt will have served to render the king of England much more absolute in his kingdom than any of his predecessors." Louis made this incontrovertible deduction from the whole course of history. Tyranny never learns moderation from the resistance which is made to it. The resistance must be strong enough to crush the tyranny, or the second state of the enslaved people will be far worse than the first. The attempt of Monmouth was premature. The nation had vague fears of the disposition of the government, but those fears were not sufficient to justify insurrection. The system of James was not at that time fully developed. The man who undertook to attack that system in its infant strength had not the confidence of the best part of the nation. Yet his rallying cry of "The Protestant Religion" might have convinced any ruler less blind and obstinate than James that the principle which was sufficient suddenly to raise the industrious people of the western counties into an army of cloth-workers and miners—to make the train-bands throw away their uniforms, and to leave it doubtful whether the militia would fight—would, if provoked beyond a certain point, convert the whole nation into the opponents of the king. Fortunate was it for the future destinies of England that James the Second, who would have been the most dangerous of rulers a century earlier, was the weakest of despots, in his utter ignorance of the new elements of society which had been called into real vitality during the struggles of his father. He was not wanting in ability and in decision of character; he was capable of serious application to business; he was not utterly prostrated by idleness and luxury as his brother was. But his personal merits were as the fuel to nourish the fire of his intense egoism. Every action of his life had reference to his personality. James, the king, was the one power in the state that was to counterbalance every other power. If James, the king, could retain an established church, to proclaim his divine right to dispense with laws, and to share its honors and riches with the Romanists, till it should be wholly recovered to Rome, it were well. If James, the king, could maintain a large standing army, by the voluntary contributions of the people, it were well. But if parliament should refuse supplies; if the Church should preach of the supremacy of the law over the will of the sovereign; if the people should murmur under a hated military domination—then parliament should be dismissed; a high commission should again purge the Church of all disloyalty; the soldiers should familiarize burgess and yeoman with the benefits of free quarters. James was not a man to accomplish such designs. He ran straightforward, snapping as the mad-dog runs and snaps, and of course had the same mad-dog ending, as a public enemy.

The parliament was to meet on the 9th of November. Its meeting had been preceded by the dismissal of Halifax from his office of president of the council. The king could not induce the ablest man of his time to fall into his own views as to the removal of the Test Act. The schemes of James were maturing, and he desired to be surrounded by ministers who would have no scruples in seconding them. The removal of the barriers which opposed the admission of Roman Catholics to office, the repeal of the Habeas Corpus Act, and the establishment of a large standing army, were the objects to which the king devoted himself without reserve. The Jesuits urged on the king, persuading him that "the present juncture is the most favorable one that can be hoped for," to strengthen his authority. "But the opulent and settled Catholics are alarmed for the future, and apprehend a change which may ruin them." So wrote Barillon, the French ambassador. This juncture was not altogether the most favorable. That persecution of the Protestants in France which was carried into effect by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes took place in October. Under this edict the Protestants had lived undisturbed in the exercise of their religion. The edict had been originally declared to be a perpetual and irrevocable law. The most peaceful and industrious communities had flourished under this toleration; and now the law was suddenly abrogated at the will of a despotic king, to whom the people were no more than the beasts of the field. Louis had long carried on a petty warfare against the Calvinists—interfering with education, seizing upon property, closing places of worship. But now the Protestant religion was to be extirpated in France at one blow. The ministers of the reformed faith were suddenly banished or imprisoned; children were taken away from their parents; women were driven into nunneries; dragoons were let loose upon the people, to pillage and to destroy. Burnet has described the horrible scenes of what he terms "one of the most violent persecutions that is to be found in history." He says, "I went over the greatest part of France while it was in its hottest rage, from Marseilles to Montpelier, and from thence to Lyons, and so to Geneva. I saw and knew so many instances of their injustice and violence, that it exceeded even what could have been well imagined; for all men set their thoughts at work to invent new methods of cruelty. In all the towns through which I passed I heard the most dismal accounts of those things possible; but chiefly at Valence, where one

* Macaulay, vol. i. 8vo, p. 645. † Roberts, vol. ii. p. 241.

Derapine seemed to exceed even the furies of inquisitors. One in the streets could have known the new converts, as they were passing by them, by a cloudy dejection that appeared in their looks and deportment. Such as endeavored to make their escape, and were seized (for guards and secret agents were spread along the whole roads and frontier of France), were, if men, condemned to the galleys; and if women, to monasteries. . . . The fury that appeared on this occasion did spread itself with a sort of contagion: for the intendants, and other officers, that had been mild and gentle in the former parts of their life, seemed now to have laid aside the compassion of Christians, the breeding of gentlemen, and the common impressions of humanity. The greatest part of the clergy, the regulars especially, were so transported with the zeal that their king shewed on this occasion that their sermons were full of the most inflamed eloquence that they could invent, magnifying their king in strains too indecent and blasphemous to be mentioned by me." The persecuted families carried their industry to other countries. To England they brought their silk trade; and they taught us to make the hats which we had been accustomed to buy from France. "The tryant's revenue," says Evelyn, "was exceedingly diminished; manufactures ceased." At the moment at which the Protestant refugees were pouring into England, James was laboring to attain the same power that Louis had so wantonly exercised. There was no concealment about the matter. Evelyn writes, "I was shewed the harangue which the bishop of Valentia, on Rhone, made in the name of the clergy, celebrating the French king, as if he was a god, for persecuting the poor Protestants; with this expression in it: 'That as his victory over heresy was greater than all the conquests of Alexander and Cæsar, it was but what was wished in England; and that God seemed to raise the French king to this power and magnanimous action, that he might be in capacity to assist in doing the same here.'" *

The king opened the parliament with a bold declaration. The rebellion, he said, was suppressed, but the militia was insufficient for such services. "There is nothing but a good force of well-disciplined troops in constant pay, that can defend us from such as, either at home or abroad, are disposed to disturb us." He had increased the number of that army. He asked for a supply answerable to the expenses of that force. "Let no man take exception, that there are some officers in the army not qualified, according to the late tests, for their employments. The gentlemen, I must tell you, are most of them well known to me; and having formerly served with me on several occasions, and always approved the loyalty of their principles by their practice, I think them now fit to be employed under me." He was afraid, he declared, that some men might be so wicked as to hope and expect that a difference through this might happen between the parliament and himself; but he did not apprehend that any such misfortune could happen as a division, or even a coldness; nor anything to shake their steadiness and loyalty to him. Up to a certain point the House of Commons would have borne anything. All the municipal corporations of England might be destroyed; corrupt juries might be terrified into false verdicts; judicial massacres might be perpetrated without rebuke; an alderman of London, Cornish, might be hanged at this very time upon the revived story of the Rye House Plot; a poor widow, Elizabeth Gaunt, might be burned at Tyburn for giving shelter to a rebel, who afterward betrayed her; there was no amount of civil despotism which a parliament would not have sanctioned, and a church declared righteous. But to put the power of the sword into the hands of popish officers, and to ask the Protestant Commons to pay for this dangerous army, was something more than could be borne. We have happily lived to see these distinctions abolished; but it may be a question if English Protestantism could have ultimately shown its capacity for doing a tardy justice to Roman Catholics, if its most violent prejudices had not been roused at this season, and had not acquired a real strength and dignity by finding that the cause of religion was also the cause of liberty. The House of Commons, however the majority was composed of the nominees of the court, was still penetrated with the old instincts of freedom. It hesitated about voting supplies, before considering the king's address. It beat the court in a division of 183 against 182. It then, cautiously and timidly, gave the king to understand that he had committed an illegal act in appointing officers without their taking the test; and humbly hoped that "he would be graciously pleased to give such directions that no apprehensions or jealousies may remain in the hearts of his majesty's good and faithful subjects." He frowned upon the Commons. He did not expect such an address. He had warned them against fears and jealousies. The reputation which God had blessed him with in the world ought to have created a greater confidence in him. The Commons were awe-struck by the threatening brow of this poor inflated creature. A country gentleman, Cook, of Derbyshire, said he supposed they were all Englishmen, and not to be frightened from their duty by a few high words. The new-born independence of the house was laid low, and Cook was committed to the Tower for daring to say a word of implied reproach. But the spirit of resistance began to spread. The Peers manifested a deeper indignation against the violation of the test acts avowed in the royal speech than the Commons had dared to exhibit. The sarcasm of Halifax was supported by the zeal of Compton, the Bishop of London, and by the boldness of Lord Mordaunt, afterward the famous Earl of Peterborough. The king was present at a great debate. Jeffreys, the chancellor, attempted to carry the brutality of the bench to his new position on the woolsack. The presence of his master was not sufficient to protect him from the indignation of the proudest nobility of Europe. The government dared not divide upon the motion to take the king's speech into consideration; and the next morning the parliament was prorogued, without any supplies having been voted.

We have now come to the end of the first act of the drama of the English Revolution. The king's manifestation of a temper to govern despotically, and of a design to force an obnoxious creed upon the nation, had been gradually becoming more evident. The suppression of Monmouth's rebellion had made him presumptuous. He had a large hereditary revenue, and he had obtained the vote for life of the most important imposts. He had established a powerful standing army, and his provident expenditure, amounting almost to parsimony, would enable him to maintain it. The judges were his creatures. The Church might be awed or cajoled into any practical acceptation of its favorite doctrine of non-resistance. From the time of this first dissension with the most obsequious parliament that had sat since the early years of the restoration, James manifested the most perfect reliance upon his own self-sufficient power. His nature could brook no opposition. He held to his purpose with a firmness that would have been admirable, if it had been the result of any other principle than that proud stupidity which could see no danger and accept no warning. Having dismissed the parliament, he had a little more judicial business to accomplish. He pardoned Grey for his part in Monmouth's rebellion, because he could induce him to play the betrayer, having bought his life at a heavy money payment and the heavier price of his forfeited honor. Lord Gerard of Brandon, and John Hampden, were tried for their participation in the Rye House Plot, upon Grey's confession. Their lives were spared. The Earl of Stamford had been indicted upon the same charge; but the prorogation of parliament prevented his trial before his peers. Lord Delamere was tried before the court of the high steward. Jeffreys, who presided, had used every means to obtain a conviction, by the selection of the triers from men opposed in politics to the prisoner, and he conducted himself on the trial with his usual coarse partiality. But Delamere was acquitted. The most courtly began to feel that enough vengeance had been taken for past offences. Lady Rachel Russell expressed the general sentiment when she wrote to her friend, "I do bless God that he has caused some stop to be put to the shedding of blood in this poor land."

England was again to be governed without a parliament. After the prorogation of the 20th of November, 1685, it was twice prorogued in 1686, and twice in 1687; and it was dissolved by proclamation on the 2d of July in that year. The course of the government toward arbitrary power is a flood which has no constitutional barrier to prevent it devastating the land. Will the old sea-wall ever be built up again? A strong people is equal even to that work. A less vigorous race would have folded their hands, and have left their fairest possessions to the destroyer.

At the beginning of 1686 King James was steering his state vessel, with a blind fatality, toward the inevitable rapids. Prudent friends entreated him, while it was yet possible, to slacken sail, to tack, to veer round, or to seem to veer. Such counsel became offensive to

* "Diary," November 3.

him. His brothers-in-law, Clarendon and Rochester, were looked coldly upon, for they were steadfast in their adherence to their Protestant convictions. Sunderland became the prime adviser of the king, for he had consented to embrace Catholicism. Having impaired his fortune by habitual gambling, he shamelessly received a pension of twenty-five thousand crowns from the King of France to espouse his interests, and prevent the reassembling of the parliament. The minister and the king had now a common bond of union, in the purpose of degrading their country abroad and enslaving it at home. The Jesuits, with Father Petre as their great director, were now paramount in the government of England. The moderate Roman Catholics looked with apprehension upon the rashness by which the habitual temper of the nation might easily be lashed into fury. The ostensible ministers of James were divided into two parties. The real power was with the secret cabal of Sunderland and Petre. It was determined to send an ostentatious embassy to the pope, to replace the modest agency with which the diplomatic business with the court of Rome had been previously conducted. Lord Castlemaine, the husband of the Duchess of Cleveland, one of the late king's mistresses, was appointed to this mission. The pontiff, Innocent XI., was not favorable to the Jesuits, and was opposed to the measures of the French king. Castlemaine was instructed to listen to the counsels of the general of the Jesuits and of the ambassador of France. The pope sympathized with the feelings of the moderate English Catholics, who were satisfied to be unmolested without hoping to be paramount. The rector of the Jesuits' College at Rome congratulated Castlemaine that the flourishing imperial crown of England was at length added to the papal diadem.* The pope's agent in England, Count d'Adda, had been instructed to solicit the intercession of James "with the French monarch, in favor of the French Protestants." † Although the King of England had at first exhibited some pity for the persecuted families who had sought shelter in his dominions, his real temper and views were now unmistakably displayed. On the 5th of May, by the especial direction of the king in council, and not without remonstrance from some of his counsellors, there was burned at the Royal Exchange, by the common hangman, the translation of a small volume recently published on the Continent. Evelyn describes this volume as "a translation of a book written by the famous Monsieur Claude, relating only matters of fact concerning the horrid massacres and barbarous proceedings of the French king against his Protestant subjects." The book was burned "without any refutation of any facts therein." Evelyn adds, "So mighty a power and ascendant here had the French ambassador, who was doubtless in great indignation at the pious and truly generous charity of all the nation, for the relief of those miserable sufferers who came over for shelter." The disposition of "the nation" never presented the slightest obstacle to the egoism of the Stuarts; and they always had abettors, in such antiquated idolators of royalty as Sir John Bramston, who, now in his seventy-fifth year, being told that Claude's book had in it "expressions scandalous to his majesty the King of France," says, "If so, it was fitly burned, for all kings ought to be careful of the honor and dignity of kings and princes." ‡

The time was close at hand when the old cry of the cavalier, "Church and King!" would be uttered "with bated breath." The king and the Church were not unlikely to dissolve that partnership which Strafford and Laud attempted to perpetuate, and for the maintenance of which the first Charles struggled at the risk of his crown and his life. The bishops, who had never ceased to preach the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance, and some of whom had been suspected of inclinations toward popery, were now alarmed at the tendencies of the king. A brief had been ordered in council for collecting contributions for the French refugees. The collection was put off, under various pretexts. Previous to the publication of the brief, Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells, exerted his eloquence in expressing "detestation of the cruelties of the French, and exhorting to constancy in the Protestant religion. This sermon was the more acceptable, as it was unexpected from a bishop who had undergone the censure of being inclined to popery." § Other bishops manifested the same spirit; which example was followed by many of the Anglican clergy. The king and his advisers would not be warned, but intimated to the Archbishop of Canterbury that he must warn his clergy not to preach on the miseries which the bigotry of Louis had inflicted on his unhappy Protestant subjects. Such warning was a significant fact. The clergy were not propitiated by the intolerant resolution of the king that, in the distribution of alms to the refugees, the commissioners appointed to that duty should only relieve those who would conform to the Church of England, by receiving the sacrament according to its ritual. James was now resolved to bring to issue the question of the king's dispensing power—that is, of the right of the sovereign to abrogate express laws by the exercise of his prerogative. This prerogative had been exercised in the earliest times of the constitution; but had gradually become more and more limited, as the legislative power had become more defined. It still continued to be exercised in matters of trifling import, and especially with regard to laws which had fallen into disuse. To admit this dispensing power as a general principle, applicable to all statutes affecting the well-being of the community, would be to render the monarchy of England absolute. The Test Act had been passed, in direct opposition to the desire of Charles the Second, to prevent the admission of Roman Catholics to civil and military offices. James the Second openly proclaimed his design to render the Test Act nugatory by his dispensing power of admitting to all offices, secular or ecclesiastical. He had appointed Sir Edward Hales, a papist, to be governor of Dover Castle, and colonel of a regiment. He resolved to make an effort to have his dispensing power sanctioned by the courts of law. Four of the judges, although not opposed to the politics of the court, remonstrated with the king on the illegality of his proposed measure; and they were dismissed from their offices. His solicitor-general, Finch, held the same conviction; and he was also dismissed. Four subservient judges, and a crawling solicitor, were appointed in their places. A collusive action was brought in the Court of King's Bench for the penalty incurred by Sir Edward Hales, for not taking the sacrament according to the Test Act. The information was laid by his own servant. The object of the action was to obtain an authoritative decision as to the legality of the plea of the defendant, that he was enabled to hold his commission by letters patent authorizing him to do so notwithstanding the Test Act. The king's dispensing power was now solemnly confirmed. "The new, very young, Lord Chief Justice Herbert, declared on the bench, that the government of England was entirely in the king; that the crown was absolute; that penal laws were powers lodged in the crown to enable the king to force the execution of the law, but were not bars to bind the king's power; that he could pardon all offences against the law, and forgive the penalties; and why could he not dispense with them? By which [judgment] the Test Act was abolished. Every one was astonished." * The attorney-general, Sawyer, had refused to draw warrants, which the king required him to draw, by which members of the Church of Rome were authorized to hold benefices of the Church of England. The solicitor-general was more obsequious. The warrants were issued. Under one, Edward Sclater, described by Evelyn as "an apostate curate of Putney," was enabled to hold two livings; and under another, Obadiah Walker, Master of University College, Oxford, who, from the accession of James, had been a declared Roman Catholic, and had been busily engaged in the work of conversion, was enabled to hold his offices and his benefices. The king's design to sap the foundations if not to destroy the whole edifice of the Anglican Church, was now sufficiently manifest. One step remained to be taken. The powers of ecclesiastical supremacy which had been assumed at the Reformation for resisting the authority of Rome, were now to be adopted with renewed vigor for re-establishing that authority. James determined to create a Court of Ecclesiastical Commission—a court modelled upon the Court of High Commission, which had been solemnly abolished at the Restoration.

The king, as the head of the Church, had issued directions to the clergy not to introduce into their pulpits any discussion upon doctrinal points which were matter of controversy. The whole question of the differences between the Anglican and the Roman churches were to be excluded from the consideration of their congregations. A royal license was granted to an apostate Protestant of the name of Hall, to be the king's printer, for printing missals, lives of saints, and

* Wellwood, "Memoirs," Appendix xviii. † Lingard.
‡ "Autobiography," p. 228. § Evelyn, "Diary," March 14th.

* Evelyn, "Diary," June 27th.

Roman Catholic tracts, whose publication was prohibited by various acts of parliament. The Protestant pulpit was to be silenced; the papist pulpit was to be free. The Protestant press was to work under terror of venal judges and terrified juries, the papist press was to be sanctioned by royal license. A divine of high reputation, Sharp, Rector of St. Giles'-in-the-Fields and Dean of Norwich, refused to submit to the decree that the clergy were not to preach upon controversial topics. One of his parishioners earnestly begged to be informed of the reasons upon which the Church of England rested its claims to be a true national church, in opposition to the universal pretensions of the see of Rome. He expounded, as he was requested to do, the essential differences of doctrine and practice between the two churches. Compton, the Bishop of London, was required to suspend Dr. Sharp. He declined to do so; but he requested the offending dean to suspend his preaching for a season. The Ecclesiastical Commission was now in force. Jeffreys, the chancellor, to whom all religious and moral principle was a mattter of indifference, was its president. Sancroft, the archbishop, would not act. The Bishops of Durham and Rochester were more compliant. Sunderland, the new convert to Rome, and Herbert, the advocate of the dispensing power, were two other commissioners. The Protestant convictions of Rochester, another of the commissioners, were not strong enough to lead him to risk his loss of place. Compton was called before this partial and illegal tribunal. Jeffreys bullied him; but the bishop was firm. The one question was, Why he had disobeyed the king? Conscience, duty, were of no avail in this court. He was suspended from his spiritual functions. The crown did not dare to seize his revenues; for the courts of law must have restored them.

The king has himself recorded some of the manifestations of his open encouragement of Roman Catholicism, which gave deep offence. His kingdom, he says, "grumbled at his taking the chapel of St. James into his own hands, which then lay useless; though to avoid all reasonable cause of complaint he took care to leave the chapel of Whitehall to the Protestants, and built one there from the ground for his own use. He settled fourteen Benedictine monks in that of St. James, and gave leave to the Jesuits to build one in the Savoy, and settled a college there for the education of children, in which they had so good success that in a little time there was at least two hundred Catholic scholars, and about as many Protestants, who were no ways constrained in their religion, or required to assist at mass or any of their public devotions." * The chapel of Whitehall was opened with all the pageantry of the Romish ceremonial, at Christmas, 1686. A bishop was consecrated on the 29th of December. † He sat in his rich copes and wearing his mitre; Jesuits and priests stood around, "censing and adoring him;" the silver crosier was put in his hand, "with a world of mysterious ceremony." The worthy courtier, Evelyn, was astonished: "I could not have believed I should ever have seen such things in the King of England's palace." The Benedictine monks at St. James, the Jesuits' College in the Savoy, were only parts of a general system. The Franciscans had their chapel in Lincoln's Inn Fields; the Carmelites settled in the city. The streets presented the wondrous spectacle to English eyes of cowled and girdled friars mixing with the crowd; and exultingly telling the wonderers that "they hoped in a little time to walk in procession through Cheapside." ‡ Such things could not be without exciting the violent dislike of a populace that regarded popery with the traditional hatred of a hundred and fifty years. Riots took place in London. The priests were insulted in their worship in new chapels in the country. The school of the Jesuits in the Savoy, and the schools which they had set up in various towns, obtained little favor from their being opened to children of Protestant as well as of Catholic parents. The dread of proselytism assumed a practical shape, in the rapid establishment of those charity schools throughout the land, to which popular education was almost wholly confined during the eighteenth century. The Jesuits' school in the Savoy gave the first impulse to private endowments of those metropolitan schools for the poor, whose children of both sexes now annually gather beneath the dome of St. Paul's, to unite their five thousand voices in the simple hymns of a devotion well adapted to the national character. The side aisles of the great Protestant cathedral were appendages which James compelled Wren to introduce into his plan, in the hope that they might resound with the chants of Palestrina as the host was borne along among kneeling worshippers. Fortunate for our country that our forefathers preferred to join in Luther's hymn! The opposition of the Protestant mind of the latter years of the seventeenth century to the secular teaching of the Jesuits was natural and inevitable. No consideration of their ability as teachers could disarm the suspicion that they sought to make converts, under the guise of affording instruction adapted to all churches and sects. The same doubts of all religionists who profess to be merely secular teachers still linger among us under other forms; and they will continue to prevail between Protestant and Catholic, Churchman and Dissenter, until Christian worship rests upon a broader foundation of Christian love.

The measures of the king became day by day more clearly directed to the gradual advancement and ultimate supremacy of his own creed. The popular discontent was growing serious. When the first Roman Catholic chapel was opened in the city, the train-bands hesitated to disperse the mob that insulted the priests. When mass was first celebrated at University College, Oxford, in a chapel opened by Obadiah Walker, the dangers of the Church were proclaimed from pulpits in which it had been recently proclaimed that there was no danger and no sin to be compared to that of resistance to the divine authority of kings. The formation of a great camp on Hounslow Heath was naturally considered to be for the purpose of coercing a sinful generation, that obstinately refused to accept the gracious invitation to come back to the creed of Gardiner and Bonner. The ponderous folio of "Acts and Monuments" was again brought out, and mothers gathered their children around their knees to hear the sad stories of Rowland Taylor and Anne Askew. The camp at Hounslow was supposed to be the evidence that another time of fiery trial was at hand. "There were many jealousies and discourses of what was the meaning of this encampment," writes Evelyn. The Reverend Samuel Johnson chose to interpret its meaning in his own incautious fashion. He had been in prison since his conviction in 1683 for writing "Julian the Apostate." * A restless and dangerous man, Hugh Speke, was his fellow-prisoner; and in the spirit of mischief he excited Johnson to write an address to the troops encamped at Hounslow, which Speke undertook to get circulated. It was entitled "An humble and hearty address to all the Protestants in King James' army;" and, says the biographer of Mr. Johnson, "he exhorted the Protestant officers and soldiers not to serve as instruments to enslave their country, and to ruin the religion they professed." † Johnson was discovered as the author. He had the generosity not to implicate Speke, and he alone suffered. He was convicted, on the 16th of November, of a libellous publication, and was sentenced to stand three times in the pillory, and to be publicly whipped. According to one account, when sentence was pronounced he said, "You whip, upon my back, acts of parliament and the Church of England." ‡ According to another account, when told by the judge to be grateful to the attorney-general that he was not tried for high treason, he exclaimed, "Am I, when my only crime is that I have defended the Church and the laws, to be grateful for being scourged like a dog, while popish scribblers are suffered daily to insult the Church, and violate the laws with impunity?" He was scourged like a dog; but previous to his punishment he was stripped of his gown, by the Bishops of Durham, Rochester, and Peterborough, commissioners appointed for the diocese of London, during the suspension of Compton, the bishop. Johnson's cruel sentence was inflicted on the 1st of December, though strenuous endeavors were made to obtain a remission of the whipping. "The king was deaf to all entreaties: the answer was, that since Mr. Johnson had the spirit of martyrdom, 'tis fit he should suffer." § His biographer says of the courageous endurance of the suffering, "He observed afterward to one of his most intimate friends, that this text of Scripture, which came suddenly into his mind, 'He endured the cross, and despised the shame,' so much animated and supported him in his bitter journey, that had he not thought it would have looked like vainglory, he could have sung a psalm while the executioner was doing

* "Life," vol. ii. p. 79. "His Own Papers."
† Evelyn, "Diary." ‡ Welwood. "Memoirs," p. 173.

* See *ante*, p. 576.
† "Memorials," p. xi.
‡ Bramston's "Autobiography," p. 249.
§ "Memorials," p. xii.

his office, with as much composure and cheerfulness as ever he had done in the church; though at the same time he had a quick sense of every stripe which was given him, with a whip of nine cords knotted, to the number of three hundred and seventeen."

In addressing the army of King James in a style which was an incentive to mutiny, Johnson went out of his province as a clergyman, and thus brought himself under the cognizance of a law which could scarcely be considered as arbitrary. The censorship of the press had been revived; and this address to the soldiers was one of the many publications that evaded all attempts at repression. One class of publications, however, the licensing system could not restrain—works of theological controversy. There were divines then in England who were fully equal to the task of defending their Church against the advocates of Rome, whose pamphlets, encouraged by the court, and issued by its printer, were boldly denounced by Johnson upon his trial. In this controversy writers whose names live in honored remembrance ardently engaged—Sherlock and Tillotson, Stillingfleet and Prideaux. Such who filled the pulpits of London—others who were the ornaments of the universities—had feeble opponents in the priests who addressed the learned in bad English, and sought to convert the multitude by legends of miracles, over which the shrewd artisan had his heartiest laugh. The government could not touch the controversial pamphlets, of which the Archbishop of Canterbury was the licenser. Disputants without a professional privilege could be either punished or frightened away. At Amsterdam the amusing John Dunton tells us he had the good-fortune to meet with Doctor Partridge, "whose almanacks had been so sharp upon popery that England was too hot to hold him." * But the contest soon grew beyond the skirmishes of a paper war. Before the close of the year 1686 the king's determination to thrust Roman Catholics into the higher offices of the Church and the universities was manifested by the appointment of John Massey to the deanery of Christchurch, Oxford. This Romanist convert was installed without opposition, on the 29th of December. The success of this illegal act was encouraging. The fellowships of Oxford and Cambridge were as freeholds, held by Protestant tenure. No one could be admitted to a degree without taking those oaths which had been provided by acts of parliament to exclude Catholics from academical honors and offices. These statutes King James resolved to violate. On the 7th of February a royal letter was sent to the authorities of the University of Cambridge, commanding that Alban Francis, a Benedictine monk, should be admitted to the degree of Master of Arts. The authorities required the Benedictine to take the oaths. He declined, and left Cambridge, hinting at the consequences of a refusal to submit to the sovereign will. There was an awkward precedent for granting degrees to foreigners. The secretary to the ambassador of Morocco, a Mahometan, had received the Master of Arts' degree. Burnet points out that a proper distinction was made between strangers, whose degree was merely honorary, and those who would have a vote in convocation, as the king's priests would have, if admitted upon the royal mandate. The university was twitted with the obvious remark that a papist was treated worse than a Mahometan. John Pechell, the vice-chancellor, had to endure an agonizing conflict between obedience to the statutes and obedience to the king. Learned dignitaries had been preaching and writing in support of the king's absolute power, and they were now to have a practical lesson of the real meaning of their doctrine. The terrified vice-chancellor writes to our old friend Samuel Pepys, to relate his misery under his dread sovereign's frown: "Worthy sir, 'tis extraordinary distress and affliction to me, after so much endeavor and affection to his royal person, crown, and succession, I should at last, by the providence of God, in this my station, be exposed to his displeasure." † The "princely clemency" upon which the vice-chancellor desired to cast himself, was sought in vain. The vice-chancellor and the Senate were summoned before the Ecclesiastical Commission. Their judges were papists, or of papistical tendencies. Jeffreys, the chancellor, to whom all principles were indifferent as long as he had the power to enforce arbitrary decrees by his own insolent demeanor, was the mouthpiece of this body. Pechell was frightened. The other delegates of the Senate in vain pleaded that they had acted in obedience to the laws. The vice-chancellor was deprived of his office, and suspended from the enjoyment of his revenue as Master of Magdalene College. The property rights of the college, which were as sacred from any such interference as the estate which Jeffreys had bought out of the price of his swindling pardons during his bloody campaign, were thus as openly violated as the statutes of the realm.

Cambridge was subjected to no further molestation. At Oxford it was concluded that the spirit of resistance might be easily kept down. Oxford had accepted a papist dean of Christchurch. Oxford had suffered mass to be performed in two of its colleges. The noble institutions of Oxford might gradually be made as available for the advancement of Catholicism as the College of Douay, or the Jesuits' school in the Savoy. Had not Oxford, to use the words of Burnet, "asserted the king's prerogative in the highest strains of the most abject flattery possible, both in their addresses and in a wild decree they had made but three years before this, in which they had laid together a set of such high-flown maxims as must establish an uncontrollable tyranny?" * Surely resistance would not come from Oxford, whatever might happen. There were premonitory symptoms that the spirit of English gentlemen would at length be roused out of the sleep of slavery. Obadiah Walker was insulted and ridiculed in his popish seminary. The undergraduates had long believed, as Colley Cibber represented his own school-boy belief in 1684: "It was then a sort of school doctrine to regard our monarch as a deity; as in the former reign it was to insist he was accountable to this world, as well as to that above him." † The undergraduates of 1686 were a little veering round to this obsolete notion; and in spite of the Oxford deification of James II. it was necessary to quarter a troop of dragoons in that loyal city, to allow "Ave Maria" to be sung in more than one chapel without interruption from the scurrilous songs of the street. The crisis was at hand. The presidency of Magdalen College was vacant. It was rumored that Anthony Farmer was to be recommended by a royal letter. This man was not qualified by the statutes of the college, the presidency being limited to fellows of Magdalen or of New College; he was of notoriously immoral life; he had become a pervert to Rome. The fellows of Magdalen remonstrated in vain against the probability of this indecent choice. The royal letter came. In the hope of some compromise the election was postponed till it could be postponed no longer. John Hough, a man worthy of the office, was elected. The fellows were cited before the Ecclesiastical Commission. They produced such proofs of Farmer's unfitness that no attempt was made to enforce his election; but that of Hough was declared void. In August a royal recommendation of Parker, Bishop of Oxford, arrived. The fellows justly held that the right of election was in themselves; that Hough was duly elected; that the presidency was not vacant. The king had set out on a progress. On the 3d of September he reached Oxford. He lodged at the deanery of Christchurch, and heard mass in a chapel fitted up by the dean. The fellows of Magdalen College were sent for. William Blathwayte, the clerk of the council, writes to Mr. Pepys an account of what took place at this audience: "His majesty being informed that the fellows of Magdalen College had refused to admit the Bishop of Oxford to be their president in the stead of Mr. Farmer, sent for them yesterday, after dinner, to his antechamber in Christchurch College, where his majesty chid them very much for their disobedience, and with much a greater appearance of anger than ever I perceived in his majesty; who bade them go away immediately and choose the Bishop of Oxford before this morning, or else they should certainly feel the weight of their sovereign's displeasure. The terms were to this effect; and yet I hear this morning they have not obeyed his majesty's commands, the consequences of which I cannot yet learn." ‡ The consequences were more full of peril to the threatening tyrant than to the fellows of Magdalen College. Resolute against the king's heaviest displeasure—unseduced by the arts of a man whose political faults all would willingly forget, but whose partial aberration from the path of duty can scarcely be disproved—the fellows of Magdalen College persisted in their right of election. Their legal president was ejected by a special commission, whose decrees were enforced by

* Dunton's "Life and Errors," p. 210, 1705.
† Letter of February 23d, in the Pepys Correspondence.

* "Own Times," Oxford edit., vol. iii. p. 146.
† "Apology for the Life of Colley Cibber," edit. 1756, p. 23.
‡ Pepys' "Correspondence," September 5th, 1687.

troops of cavalry. Hough refused to give up the keys of the college, and the doors were broken open. The Bishop of Oxford was installed by proxy, only two fellows of the college giving their attendance. The other fellows at length consented to a modified submission to the authority which had been forced upon them. The king required a public acknowledgment that they had acted undutifully, and that the appointment of the Bishop of Oxford was legal: they must sue for pardon. They one and all refused to submit to this humiliation. They were one and all ejected from their college, and declared incapable of holding any ecclesiastical appointment. The Ecclesiastical Commission, by which this edict was issued, forgot that a power might be raised again, as it had once been raised, before which high commissioners might be swept away, and even the throne might totter to its base. The immediate object of the king was accomplished. Magdalen College soon became a college of papists, with a Roman Catholic bishop at its head; for Parker, the Bishop of Oxford, had enjoyed his dignity only during a few months, in which his authority was so openly resisted that he died, as men believed, of anxiety and mortification. A subscription was raised for the ejected fellows. All but the most bigoted saw that the ties which bound the Church to the throne were so loosened that upon one more violent strain the union might be utterly broken.

CHAPTER CXVI.

Fall of the Hydes—Tyrconnel lord deputy in Ireland—Declarations in Scotland and England for liberty of conscience—Abolition of penal tests—Effects of the declaration of indulgence—The camp at Hounslow Heath—The papal nuncio publicly received by the king—The king's policy toward Dissenters—Dryden's poem of "The Hind and the Panther"—The declaration commanded to be read in churches—The petition of the seven bishops—They are committed to the Tower—The public sympathy—The trial and acquittal of the bishops—Birth of the Prince of Wales.

THE year 1687 opened with evil forebodings to those who were well-wishers to the monarchy and the Church. One whose loyalty must have been sorely shaken by the dangerous experiments upon the temper of the nation thus records his impressions: "Lord Tyrconnel gone to succeed the lord lieutenant in Ireland, to the astonishment of all sober men, and to the evident ruin of the Protestants in that kingdom, as well as of its great improvement going on. Much discourse that all the white-staff officers and others should be dismissed for adhering to their religion."* The lord lieutenant, to whom Tyrconnel is to succeed, is Clarendon. The white-staff officers are to follow the dismissed lord-treasurer, Rochester. The fall of the two Hydes, the brothers-in-law of the king, was of evil omen. It was seen that the ties of relationship, of ancient friendship, of fidelity under adverse circumstances, were of no moment when the one dominant idea of the king was to coerce all around him into his measures for forcing his creed upon a reluctant nation. From the highest minister of the crown to the humblest country magistrate, all appointments were to be made with reference to this royal monomania: "Popish justices of the peace established in all counties, of the meanest of the people; judges ignorant of the law, and perverting it. So furiously do the Jesuits drive, and even compel princes to violent courses, and destruction of an excellent government both in Church and State."† Tyrconnel, whose violence and rashness were objected to even by moderate Catholics, was instructed to depress the English interest, and proportionately to raise that of the Irish; "to the end that Ireland might offer a secure asylum to James and his friends, if by any subsequent revolution he should be driven from the English throne."‡ But Tyrconnel, says Dr. Lingard, "had a further and more national object in view." He entered, with the sanction of the king, into secret negotiations with Louis XIV., "to render his native country independent of England, if James should die without male issue, and the Prince and Princess of Orange should inherit the crown." Ireland was then to become a dependency of France—a truly "national object." Tyrconnel went about his work in a wild way. He displaced the Protestant judges, and filled their seats with Catholics. He terrified the cities and towns into surrender of their charters, and gave them new charters which made parliamentary representation a mockery. He had a scheme for dispossessing the English settlers of the property which they had acquired in the forfeitures of half a century previous. His projects were opposed by grave Catholic peers, who said that the lord deputy was fool and madman enough to ruin ten kingdoms. His character and that of his master were ridiculed in the famous ballad of Lilli Burlero:

"Dare was an old prophecy found in a bog,
Lilli burlero, bullen a-la;
Ireland shall be ruled by an ass and a dog,
Lilli burlero, bullen a-la."

James was the ass and Tyrconnel the dog. This ribaldry of Lord Wharton was adapted to a spirited air of Purcell, published ten years before. "The whole army," says Burnet, "and at last the people both in city and country, were singing it perpetually." Wharton afterward boasted that he had rhymed James out of his dominions. He had produced a song, like many other songs, of wondrous popularity, with little intrinsic merit. But those whose conviviality, even in our own days, has been stirred by its fascinating melody,* may well believe that it was whistled and sung in every street in 1688; and that it had charms for Corporal Trim, and his fellow soldiers in Flanders, when its satire upon the "new deputie" who "will cut de Englishman's troat," was utterly forgotten.

There is no error more common, even among educated persons, than to pronounce upon the opinions of a past age according to the lights of their own age. In February, 1687, James issued in Scotland a declaration for liberty of conscience. In April, 1687, he issued a declaration for liberty of conscience in England. Why, it is asked, were these declarations regarded with suspicion by churchmen and by dissenters? Why could not all sincere Christians, of whatever persuasion, have accepted the king's noble measures for the adoption of that tolerant principle which is now found to be perfectly compatible with the security of an established church. It was precisely because the principle has been slowly making its way during the contests of a hundred and fifty years, that it is now all but universally recognized as a safe and wholesome principle. It is out of the convictions resulting from our slow historical experience that all tests for admission to civil offices are now abolished forever. Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, Quaker, Methodist, Independent, Unitarian, Jew, all stand upon the same common ground as the churchman, of suffering no religious disqualification for the service of their country. But to imagine that such a result could have been effected by the interested will of a papist king, who had himself been the fiercest of persecutors—who had adopted, to their fullest extent, the hatred of his family to every species of nonconformity—is to imagine that the channels in which the great floods and little rills of religious opinion had long been flowing, were to be suddenly diverted into one mighty stream, for which time and wisdom had prepared no bed. King James announced to his people of Scotland that, "being resolved to unite the hearts and affections of his subjects, to God in religion, to himself in loyalty, and to their neighbors in Christian love and charity, he had therefore thought fit, by his sovereign authority, prerogative royal, and absolute power, which all his subjects were to obey without reserve, to give and grant his royal toleration to the several professors of the Christian religion after named." The moderate Presbyterians might meet in their houses; but field conventiclers were still to be resisted with the utmost severity. Quakers might meet and exercise their worship in any place. Above all, the various prohibitions and penalties against Roman Catholics were to be void; and all oaths and tests by which any subjects are incapacitated from holding place or office were remitted. The council of Scotland made no hesitation about "sovereign authority" and "absolute power;" for they had told James at his accession that "we abhor and detest all principles and positions which are contrary or derogatory to the king's sacred, supreme, absolute power and authority." In Scotland the experiment appeared to be successful. The successors of John Knox made no sign of resistance to a decree which gave honor to the image-worshippers. James now summoned his English council to proclaim to them his new charter of religious liberty. Freedom of conscience was conducive to peace and quiet, to commerce

* Evelyn, "Diary," January 17. † Ibid. ‡ Lingard.

* "A very good song, and very well sung
Jolly companions, every one."

and population; during four reigns conformity in religion had been vainly attempted. All penal laws should be suspended by the royal prerogative. "A Daniel come to judgment," cried some short-sighted Protestants of that day. "A wise and upright judge," cry some liberal philosophers of the nineteenth century.

While James was introducing his scheme to his council, he was sounding every peer and influential commoner who approached him, as to the probability of parliament sanctioning the abolition of the Test Act. The houses were shortly expected to meet. It was desirable to secure the adhesion of the members to this object, upon which the king had set his heart. He was met by coldness or open refusal, by many upon whose loyalty he thought he could count; and he believed that the loyalty which held kings to be divine would shrink from no sacrifices of higher principles. Upon those who held places he felt sure that he could successfully operate. "It was against all municipal law," said the king, "for free-born subjects to be excluded the service of their prince, or for a prince to be restrained from employing such subjects as he thought fit for his service; and that therefore he hoped they would be so loyal as not to refuse him their voices for annulling such unreasonable laws." * Sir John Reresby was attacked by deputy: "The king ordered the judges, in their several circuits, to feel the pulses of the men; in consequence of which I was, to my great surprise, accosted at York by the judge, who told me he had orders to talk with me on the subject." The prudent Governor of York evaded giving a direct expression of his intentions: "Had I answered in the affirmative, I might have incurred the displeasure and censure of the greatest part of the nation; if in the negative I should have utterly disobliged the king." Such negative would have forfeited his place: "Every man that persisted in a refusal to comply with this suggestion was sure to be *outed*." The labors of the king to gain the support of members of parliament, "even to discoursing every one of them particularly in his closet, which made the English call that way of conference *closeting*," † set the worldly courtiers upon devising the most polite forms of expressing love and duty that committed them to nothing. When Sir Dudley North was pressed, "he remembered an old Turkish saying, viz., that a man is to say 'no' only to the devil." ‡ Penn went over to Holland to sound the Prince of Orange. William told him "that no man was more for toleration in principle than he was; he thought the conscience was only subject to God; and as far as a general toleration, even of papists, would content the king, he would concur in it heartily. But he looked on the tests as such a real security, and indeed the only one, when the king was of another religion, that he would join in no councils with those that intended to repeal those laws that enacted them." § Penn undertook to promise that if the tests were abolished the king would secure toleration by a solemn and unalterable law. He was answered by a demonstration of the value of irrevocable laws to a bigoted despot—a blunt reference to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. James left off his closetings and his negotiations. His judges and lords lieutenant were not required to persist in their labors of threat or persuasion. He resolved to do without the parliament; which he prorogued for six months, with a full determination to be truly the absolute king. On the 4th of April he issued his declaration for entire liberty of conscience. He would protect the Established Church in its legal rights, but all penal laws against all nonconformists were suspended. All religious tests as a qualification for office were abrogated. Every form of worship, Roman Catholic or Protestant, might be publicly followed. The effects of this declaration were instantaneous. Ralph Thoresby and his friends used to attend the preaching of "Mr. Sharp, in private, as we could get opportunity, for which we went several miles." The declaration came, and "Mr. Sharp preached the first sermon in public." The declaration of King James, he says, "gave us ease in this case; and, though we dreaded a snake in the grass, we accepted it with due thankfulness." ‖

Regarded simply as a matter of political expediency, without reference to higher principles of action, the Declaration of Indulgence of 1687 was a master-stroke worthy of the Jesuitical subtlety to which it doubtless owed its origin. The king had committed himself against the Church of England. The Church of England had resented his manifest design of thrusting Roman Catholics into its preferments. "As he was apt," says Burnet, "to go warmly upon every provocation, he gave himself such liberties in discourse upon that subject that it was plain all the services they had done him, both in opposing the exclusion and upon his first accession to the crown, were forgotten." * There were four bodies of dissenters, whose united support would be an important counterpoise to the dissatisfaction of the churchmen. These were Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists, Quakers. They had all been the victims of Conventicle Acts and of Two Mile Acts. Hundreds of the Presbyterian clergy, long ejected from their pulpits, had been supported by private charity. Some, up to the date of the declaration, had been lying in the jails, among felons and common debtors, unable to pay the fines which had been imposed upon them for preaching. The declaration opened a new world to them. They were again free publicly to teach their followers. In new meeting-houses, and in their old barns, they might again declaim against church discipline and set forms of prayer, and warn their hearers against that popery which was again lifting its head. But then Roman Catholics were equally freed from state interference with their worship. Mass might be publicly performed; auricular confession might be encouraged; monastic institutions might once more flourish. The penal laws against papists were utterly suspended. Many dissenters were happy to embrace the relief which was thus afforded them. They were soothed by the high-sounding professions of toleration which issued from the royal lips. They were flattered by the agents of the court into the belief that they again could make head against the church which had persecuted them. But they were warned by the examples of their two greatest ministers, Howe and Baxter, not to fall into the snare. Young Defoe said to his nonconformist brethren, "I had rather the Church of England should pull our clothes off by fines and forfeitures than that the papists should fall both upon the Church and the dissenters, and pull our skins off by fire and faggot." † The most eloquent and sagacious statesman of the day, Halifax, addressed them in his "Letter to a Dissenter"—a model of skilful popular argument: "There must be something extraordinary, when the Church of Rome setteth up bills, and offereth plaisters, for tender consciences. By all that hath hitherto appeared, her skill in chirurgery lieth chiefly in a quick hand to cut off limbs; but she is the worst at healing of any that ever pretended to it." He warns the dissenters against the temptation to enjoy a freedom from which they had been so long restrained: "If the case then should be, that the price expected from you for this liberty is giving up your right in the laws, sure you will think twice before you go any farther in such a losing bargain." ‡ A large proportion of the nonconformists held aloof from the blandishments of the court, and ultimately made common cause with the Church. In his subsequent indignation against the relapse of churchmen into intolerance, Defoe exclaims, "Where had been the Church of England at this time, humanly speaking, if the dissenters had one and all joined in with the measures King James was taking to overthrow it?" The Church knew this, and made loud professions of brotherly regard to the separatists. The king and his papistical advisers, on the other hand, employed every device to manifest that the country was in favor of that dispensing power of a gracious king which could bestow, not only toleration, but unlimited blessings of national glory and prosperity, which were not to be bestowed by old statutes or new enactments. Paternal government was the true remedy for all that was harsh and unequal in statutory laws. The corrupt corporations sent up fulsome addresses of thanks to the king. In these some Protestant nonconformists were induced to join. But the great body remained firm; and a common danger brought them nearer to that union with the Church which the Stuarts, during four unhappy reigns, had done their best to render impracticable.

In the summer of 1687 a great camp was again formed on Hounslow Heath. It was a military display of royal and aristocratic lux-

* Reresby. "Memoirs," p. 320.
† Father D'Orleans, "History of the Stuarts."
‡ "Life of Sir Dudley North," p. 181.

* "Own Times," vol. iii. p. 151.
† Quoted in Wilson's "Life of Defoe," vol. i. p. 128.
‡ This letter is reprinted in the "Somers Tracts," and in "Parlia-

ury, "the commanders profusely vying in the expense and magnificence of their tents."* The four troops of horse-guards were commanded by the Earl of Feversham, the Duke of Northumberland, Lord Churchill, Lord Dover. The Duke of Grafton commanded the first regiment of foot-guards, the Earl of Craven the second regiment. There were nine regiments of horse commanded by the Earls of Oxford, Peterborough, Plymouth, Arran, Shrewsbury, and Scarsdale; by Sir John Lanies, General Warden, and Sir John Talbot. There were three regiments of dragoons, commanded by Lord Cornbury, the Duke of Somerset, and Colonel Berkeley. Lastly, there were fourteen regiments of foot, commanded by the Marquis of Worcester, the Earls of Dumbarton, Bath, Litchfield, and Huntington, Lord Dartmouth, and by colonels of the rank of commoners, among whom was the notorious Colonel Kirke. The standing army had been trebled, as compared with its number in 1683.† The courtly habits of its commanders caused the people to regard this army as the instrument by which the king could accomplish his designs against their liberties and their religion. And yet in the hour of need this formidable army struck not a single blow; and most of his courtly officers deserted the king—a lesson which princes who rely upon military force have often been taught, however slow they may be to learn. The Londoners went out in holiday parties to look upon the magnificence of the camp at Hounslow. They mixed with the soldiers, who, with the exception of the household troops, were of their own rank as artisans and laborers. The temper of the nation was roused out of its apathy, to express itself with a freedom which Englishmen use when their political indignation is excited. A shrewd observer, then a very young man, thus describes this period: "It were almost incredible to tell you, at the latter end of King James' time—though the rod of arbitrary power was always shaking over us—with what freedom and contempt the common people, in the open streets, talked of his wild measures to make a whole Protestant nation papists. And yet, in the height of our secure and wanton defiance of him, we of the vulgar had no farther notion of any remedy for this evil, than a satisfied presumption that our numbers were too great to be mastered by his mere will and pleasure; that, though he might be too hard for our laws, he would never be able to get the better of our nature; and that to drive all England into popery and slavery, he would find, would be teaching an old lion to dance."‡

The camp at Hounslow was conveniently located between Whitehall and Windsor. It was at hand to suppress disturbances in the capital; it could be speedily summoned to protect the king in the castle upon which his brother had lavished his adornments. Windsor was now to be the scene of a gorgeous ceremony, such as could scarcely have been exhibited without danger in the streets of Westminster. James had knelt at the feet of the papal nuncio, who in the royal chapel of Whitehall had been consecrated Bishop of Amasia. He was now to receive this ambassador of the pope, with a pomp that belonged to past generations. It was resolved that a duke should introduce the nuncio to the king. James proposed the honor to the Duke of Somerset—the commander of the queen's regiment of dragoons, and a lord of the bed-chamber. This young nobleman, who afterward obtained the distinction of being called "The proud Duke of Somerset," behaved with a spirit on this occasion that wholly forfeited the royal favor: "He humbly desired of the king to be excused; the king asked him his reason; the duke told him he conceived it to be against law, to which the king said he would pardon him. The duke replied, he was no very good lawyer, but he thought he had heard it said that a pardon granted to a person offending, under the assurance of obtaining it, was void. This offended the king extremely. He said publicly he wondered at his insolence; and told the duke he would make him fear him as well as the laws."§ On the 3d of July Windsor was crowded with visitors. There was a procession to the castle of thirty-six coaches, each drawn by six horses. The nuncio, robed in purple, was in the king's coach, with the Duke of Grafton, who had agreed to introduce him. His own coaches followed with ten priests. Then came the coaches of the ministers of state, and great officers of the household; and in that train of equipages were the coaches of the Bishop of Durham and the Bishop of Chester. The king and queen sat upon a throne in St. George's Hall.* The pensioner of France looked upon Verrio's painted walls, where the triumphs of the Black Prince were represented with no common skill. The devotee of Rome honored its ambassador with manifestations of homage that reminded those who knew their country's history of the time when the ignoble John became "a gentle convertite." Although this outrage upon the popular feeling took place at Windsor, it was not done solely in the view of court attendants: "The town of Windsor was so full of all sorts of people, from all parts, that some of the inhabitants were astonished; and it was very difficult to get provisions or room either for horse or man; nay, many persons of quality, and others, were forced to sit in their coaches and calashes almost all the day."† As if to mark that England was entering upon a new era of government, on the 4th of July a proclamation dissolving the parliament appeared in the *London Gazette*.

In the autumn of 1687 the king made a progress through some parts of the west of England. One of his objects was to propitiate the dissenters, who had taken so prominent a part in the insurrection of Monmouth. Storms and birds of prey had not yet cleared the gibbets of Somersetshire of the rags and bones of the victims of 1685, when James went among the scenes of Jeffreys' campaign, to promise not only spiritual liberty but civil honors to the relatives and friends of those who had fought the battle which they thought all good Protestants should fight. He gained little by his blandishments. The answer which was given to him by the rich nonconformist, William Kiffin, the grandfather of two youths who were treated with marked severity at the especial instance of the king, was perhaps not unknown in the west. "I have put you down, Mr. Kiffin, for an alderman of London," said James. "I am unfit to serve your majesty, or the city," replied the old man: "I am worn out; the death of my poor boys broke my heart." Others might have thought of their own bereavements, and have felt a bitter contempt toward that king who had talked of his capricious favor as the "balsam for such sores."‡ The government had forced new charters upon London, and upon many of the municipal corporations throughout the country. Although the power of the crown to nominate corporate functionaries, as well as to eject them, was disputed, the process of ejection was very summarily exercised. The supporters of Church and king were thrust out; the papists and the Independents were nominated. Nonconformists of different ranks of life were brought together in a way that offended the pride of the upper classes among them. Ralph Thoresby says, speaking of the corporation of Leeds, "The places of such as were to be ejected were filled up with the most rigid dissenters, who had put my name in the fag end of their reformed list, there being but one, a smith by trade, after me."§ The process of regulation, as it was called, was not successful. Many of the charters were consequently attempted to be called in; but the resistance carried on in the law courts by corporations was almost general. All these arbitrary measures of the crown had reference to the necessity which might arise of calling a parliament, and to the readiest means of procuring a servile parliament. Sir John Reresby tells us how, in his own case in 1688, this process was managed. The king commanded him to stand for York, in the event of an election. Reresby asked for his promise of more than ordinary support—"Whether he would assist me all he could to prevent my being baffled, and particularly by such means as I should propose to him. His answer was yes; and he gave immediate orders to the lords for purging of corporations, to make whatever change or alteration I desired in the city of York; and to put in or out, which the king it seems had reserved to himself by the last charter, just as I pleased."‖ In London James had put in an Anabaptist lord mayor—"a very odd, ignorant person," as Evelyn reports. When the sheriffs invited the king and queen, according to custom, to feast at Guildhall, the king commanded them to invite the nuncio. Burnet says the mayor and aldermen disowned the invitation, which much offended the king, who said "he saw the dissenters were an ill-

* Evelyn, "Diary," June 6.
† For full details of the military force of 1687, see Chamberlayne's "Present State of England," for that year. Part i. p. 176; part ii. p. 143.
‡ "Life of Colley Cibber," vol. i. p. 48.
§ Lord Lonsdale's Account. Note to Burnet, vol. iii. p. 178.

* Bramston's "Autobiography," p. 280.
† Relation of the Nuncio's public entry. Printed in 1687. Reprinted in the Somers Tracts.
‡ See Macaulay. "History," vol. ii. p. 230, 1st edition.
§ "Diary," vol. i. p. 186.
‖ "Memoirs," p. 351.

natured sort of people, that could not be gained." This opinion seems to have been that usually received at court, if we may judge from the court calendar of this year, in which the dissenters are denounced as "the private, sullen, discontented, niggardly nonconformists." * At this time Dryden published his famous poem of "The Hind and the Panther"—at a time of which he says, "The nation is in too high a ferment for me to expect either fair war, or even so much as fair quarter, from a reader of the opposite party. All men are engaged either on this side or that; and though conscience is the common word which is given by both, yet if a writer fall among enemies, and cannot give the marks of their conscience, he is knocked down before the reasons of his own are heard." Dryden aims his satire at those he calls "the refractory and disobedient"—not against those "who have withdrawn themselves from the communion of the panther, and embraced the gracious indulgence of his majesty in regard to toleration." † The great poet, however, does not attempt to propitiate the sectaries. "The Panther"—the Church of England—is "sure the noblest next the Hind"—the Church of Rome. But the "Independent beast" is typified by "the Bear;" the Anabaptist is "the bristled Boar" who "lurk'd in sects unseen;" the Presbyterian is "the insatiate Wolf" who "pricks up his predestinating ears;" "False Reynard" is the Socinian. The papist Laureate of James did not bid for popularity when he thus addressed the countries whose names had been hateful in English ears from the days of Queen Mary:

> "Oh happy regions, Italy and Spain,
> Which never did those monsters entertain!"

We can now admire the beauty of his versification, and the energy of his reasoning, in this poem of a period when Dryden thought his cause was triumphant. It may be doubted whether it produced many converts to Romanism, or effected a wider separation of the Panther from the Bear, the Boar, and the Wolf. Many who would scarcely heed his musical polemics would recollect his own heedless sarcasm against the teaching of an infallible church:

> "The priest continues what the nurse began,
> And thus the child imposes on the man."

The year 1688 is come. Men were thinking of the corresponding year of the previous century—of the glorious 1588, when the nation rallied round the great Elizabeth, and the invaders who came, with the papal blessing, to destroy the heretical islanders perished in their pride. The contrast was humiliating. The king was now laboring to drive back the mind of England into the night of the fifteenth century. At this very time the great ally of this king was hunting his Protestant subjects to the death by his "dragoon missioners." Could any other consummation be expected from an illegal Declaration of Indulgence, which, abolishing the tests under pretence of universal toleration, thrust Romanists into the highest civil and military offices, seated Father Petre among the privy counsellors of the kingdom, and turning out the members of corporations who clung to a Protestant establishment, gave the municipal power to bigoted papists or unscrupulous dissenters. Thus reasoned the great body of Englishmen when this ominous year arrived. It was opened with "a solemn and particular office of thanksgiving for her majesty being with child." An heir to the throne had long ceased to be expected as the issue of James and his queen. The priests everywhere proclaimed that the king had put up his prayers for such an event at the Well of Saint Winifred; and that his supplications had been heard. The divines of the English Church were girding on their spiritual armor for a conflict. While, at the beginning of April, mass was being performed at one chapel at Whitehall, the other chapel was crowded by eager multitudes to hear Bishop Ken describe the calamity of the Reformed Church of Judah under the Babylonian persecution. As God had delivered Judah upon the repentance of her sins, so should the new Reformed Church be delivered, wherever insulted and persecuted. ‡ The Princess Anne, the daughter of James, was among the hearers. The contest soon assumed a more formidable shape than in the eloquence of the pulpit or the arguments of the press. The king issued a second Declaration of Indulgence on the 27th of April. It was a repetition of the declaration of 1687, with an avowal that his resolution was immutable, and that he would employ no servants, civil or military, who refused to concur with him. He would hold a parliament in the following November, and he exhorted his people to choose representatives who would support him in his resolves. This proceeding was little regarded; for all knew what the king meant, and knew also the pride and obstinacy of his character. But his next step was something more exciting. By an order in council of the 4th of May he commanded the declaration to be read in all churches and chapels throughout the kingdom, on two successive Sundays, by the ministers of all persuasions. The *Gazette* of the 7th of May fixed the 20th of that month for the first reading in London and the neighborhood. In the country the first reading was to take place on the 3d of June. There was short time to collect the opinions of ten thousand ministers of the Anglican Church. There were then very imperfect means of communication. The *Gazette* was wholly under the control of the government. Letters could not be sent through the post-office without the certainty that they would be opened, if suspected, and would be stopped if their contents were displeasing. Country clergymen would peruse the order of council in the *Gazette*, and some might hear that it was considered by their brethren in London as an insult to their order. But to disobey was to incur the danger of deprivation by the Ecclesiastical Commission. The most eminent of the London clergy came to a resolution not to read the declaration; and a large majority joined in the same pledge. On the 18th a great meeting of prelates and other divines took place at Lambeth, and a petition to the king was drawn up by the Archbishop of Canterbury on behalf of himself, of divers of the suffragan bishops of his province, and of the inferior clergy of their dioceses. They professed their averseness to distribute and publish the king's declaration for liberty of conscience, not from any want of duty and obedience—for the loyalty of the Church of England was unquestionable—"nor yet," they said, "from any want of tenderness to dissenters, in relation to whom we are willing to come to such a temper as shall be thought fit, when the matter shall be considered and settled in parliament and convocation." Their averseness especially arose from the consideration that the declaration was "founded upon such a dispensing power as hath been often declared illegal in parliament." It was so declared, they said, in 1662, in 1672, and at the beginning of his majesty's reign; and therefore they could not in prudence, honor, or conscience, make themselves parties to the declaration, as the distribution and solemn publication of it in God's house would amount to. They therefore prayed the king not to insist upon their distributing and reading this declaration. The archbishop and six suffragan bishops signed this petition. Sancroft was not received at court; and therefore, without their head, Bishops Lloyd, Turner, Lake, Ken, White, and Trelawney, immediately went to the king's palace, and were admitted to the royal closet. The king was unprepared for resistance to his mandate. When he read the petition he broke out into unseemly violence. "This is a standard of rebellion," he cried. Three bishops passionately disclaimed the imputation. "Did ever a good churchman question the dispensing power before?" Ken answered, "We honor you, but we fear God." The final threat of the king that they should disobey him at their peril was met by "God's will be done" from the lips of Ken. The petition of the prelates was circulated through London on that Friday night. It was imputed to them that they were instrumental to this publication; but they denied it. There was but one copy, which the king kept. Burnet and Dalrymple intimate that some one was concerned in the publication to whom the king had shown the original. A commentator on Burnet, Bevil Higgons, says, "All agreed that it must have been in the press, if not before, by the time it was delivered to the king, which was about five in the afternoon, and it came out that very night at twelve, and was so bawled and roared through the streets by hawkers, that people rose out of their beds to buy it." * Slow as were the operations of the printing press at that time, there was no necessity that the delivery of the petition, and the printing, should have occurred at the same hour of five, if not before, to allow of its circulation at midnight. The printers of that age had learned to do their work with speed during the civil war, when the broadside stood in the place of the newspaper, and a ballad was as effective as a leading

* Chamberlayne's "Present State," p. 41.

article. On the Sunday following this memorable Friday, the reading of the declaration "was almost universally forborne throughout London." * One exception to this disobedience shows the direction of popular opinion. "I was then at Westminster school," says Lord Dartmouth, "and heard it read in the abbey. As soon as Bishop Sprat, who was dean, gave order for reading it, there was so great a murmur and noise in the church that nobody could hear him; but before he had finished, there was none left but a few prebends in their stalls, the choristers, and Westminster scholars. The bishop could hardly hold the proclamation in his hands for trembling, and everybody looked under a strange consternation." † In only four of the London churches was obedience yielded to the mandate of the king. Over all England, not above two hundred of the clergy read the declaration. "One, more pleasantly than gravely, told his people that though he was obliged to read it, they were not obliged to hear it; and he stopped till they all went out, and then he read it to the walls." ‡

Sir John Reresby reports that he was told by Lord Huntingdon, one of the privy council, "that had the king known how far the thing would have gone, he would never have laid the injunction he did, to have the declaration read in churches." § In its blind self-reliance, tyranny rarely sees how far the thing will go. It puts the match to the combustible matter, and is then astonished at the explosion. James had boasted that his past life ought to have convinced his people that he was not a man to recede from any course which he had once taken. In this case he took more than a week to look about him before he proceeded on his perilous way. Some of his more prudent counsellors recommended that he should issue a conciliatory proclamation, stating his deep mortification at the proceedings of the clergy, but admitting that, as their scruples might have been conscientious, he was unwilling to treat them with the severity due to their disobedience. This advice was rejected. It was determined to prosecute the bishops for a seditious libel. They were summoned to appear on the 8th of June before the king in council. During this interval there had been no signs of submission in the metropolis or in the country. The Archbishop of Canterbury, and his six suffragans, came into the royal presence at Whitehall on the appointed afternoon. They were asked if they acknowledged the petition to be theirs. They had received sound legal advice, and they refused to criminate themselves. At length the archbishop said that if the king positively commanded him to answer he would do so, in the confidence that what he said in obedience to that command should not be brought in evidence against him. They were sent out, and upon their return the king gave the positive command. Sancroft and his brethren then acknowledged their handwriting. They were immediately called upon to enter into recognizances to appear in the Court of King's Bench on a criminal information for libel. They refused, maintaining that as peers they could not be so called upon. Their firmness irritated and embarrassed the misguided king. He must still proceed on his dangerous course. A warrant was made out for their committal to the Tower. Then was presented a spectacle which struck terror into the soul of the despot. The people of London had, in many a year of trouble, seen the state barge leave Palace Yard stairs with some unhappy peer proceeding from Westminster Hall to his last prison. Often had they wept, as the axe was borne before some popular favorite. But never had there been such an outburst of feeling as on this evening of the 8th of June. The seven prelates, surrounded by guards, passed through lines of weeping men and women, who prayed aloud for their safety, and knelt to ask their blessing. When they entered their barge, the river was sparkling in the setting sun, as the oars of a thousand wherries dashed up its silver waters. From Whitehall to the Tower, as the twilight stole on, the voices of the people were heard in one solemn cry of "God bless your lordships." There was something in their popular sympathy far more elevating and consoling than the favor of kings which the Church had so labored to earn. The Church was now in its right attitude—the champion of the national faith and the national freedom. It seemed as if the old contests for minute differences of doctrine and discipline were at an end. To manifest respect toward them would be to secure the resentment of the king; but the feeling toward them received no abatement. Their very guards in the Tower would drink no other health than that of the bishops. Day by day such numbers of persons flocked to them, "for their blessing and to condole their hard usage," as Reresby relates, "that great and very extraordinary remarks were made both of persons and behavior." The king saw with dismay that his frown was powerless, even over a nobility that had been too long accustomed to fancy that the royal favor was their breath of life. Most indignant was James when ten nonconformist ministers—leading men among those whom he thought would be forever at enmity with episcopacy—visited the prelates in the Tower. "He sent for four of them to reprimand them; but their answer was, 'that they could not but adhere to the prisoners as men constant and firm to the Protestant faith.'" *

The bishops remained a week in confinement. On the 15th of June they were brought before the Court of King's Bench. There was the same throng of spectators begging their blessing. They were called upon to plead, after legal objections against their commitment had been overruled. Their trial was fixed for the 27th, and they were then enlarged upon their own recognizances. The people fancied they were wholly released, and lighted up bonfires. The excitement went all through the land. The Dutch ambassador expected an insurrection in London. The miners of Cornwall would come to the rescue of their countryman, Trelawney, the Bishop of Bristol, as the burden of the old ballad declares:

"And shall Trelawney die?
There's twenty thousand underground
Will know the reason why." †

The day of trial came. Evelyn says there were "near sixty earls and lords on the bench." Westminster Hall and the whole neighborhood were thronged with eager crowds. The trial lasted from nine in the morning till six in the evening. Every point was ably contested by the lawyers on each side—for a nation was looking on. No one could distinctly prove that the signatures to the petition were the handwriting of the accused. The clerk of the privy council, Blathwayte, was at last brought forward to swear that he had heard them confess that they had signed it. Then ensued a cross-examination which the counsel for the crown tried in vain to stop; for it might implicate the king on an implied promise that the confession should not be used against the petitioners. The writing was thus proved. No evidence, however, could be obtained of the publication, till Sunderland came to swear that the bishops had told him of their intention to present a petition to the king. The subject matter of the petition was at last argued. It was maintained that the bishops were perfectly right when they held that the dispensing power was illegal. Among their counsel there was one, a young man, John Somers, who that day took the high position which he ever after maintained as the great constitutional lawyer and statesman of his time. The chief justice, Wright, summed up that the petition was a libel. Justice Alibone held the same opinion. But the other two judges, Holloway and Powell, differed from them; and Powell affirmed that the dispensing power, as then administered, was an encroachment of the prerogative, and if not repressed would put the whole legislative authority in the king. The jury were locked up all night. The king's brewer had fought stoutly for his royal customer; but he at last yielded; and at ten o'clock the verdict of "Not guilty" was delivered. The shouts went from the benches and galleries of the court to Westminster Hall; from the hall to the streets and the river; from London to every suburb. They were echoed by the camp at Hounslow, when an express came there to James to tell him of his great failure. He left directly for London. "He was no sooner gone out of the camp than he was followed by an universal shouting, as if it had been a victory obtained." ‡ The king asked the cause of the uproar. He was answered that it was nothing; the soldiers only rejoiced that the bishops were acquitted. "Do you call that nothing?" said the baffled tyrant. He muttered some threat of "so much the worse for them"—for whom the threat was meant was not quite clear. He had one revenge. The two judges, Hollo-

* Evelyn.
† Note to Burnet, vol. iii. p. 218.
‡ Burnet, ibid.
§ "Memoirs," p. 346.

* Reresby, p. 347.
† In the quotation in Lord Macaulay's "History," the words run, "thirty thousand Cornish boys." See *Quarterly Review*, vol. cii. p. 313.
‡ Burnet, vol. iii. p. 226.

way and Powell, as soon as the term was over, were dismissed from their seats on a bench where independence and honesty were qualities not to be endured. On the night of the 30th of June London was one blaze of bonfires and illuminations. The effigy of the pope again came forth to be burned, as in the days of Shaftesbury. Pope-burners and bonfire-lighters were indicted at the Middlesex session; "but," says Reresby, who was present as a justice, "the grand jury would find no bill, though they were sent out no less than three times; so generally did the love of the bishops and the Protestant cause prevail." The Declaration of Indulgence, and the order in council that the clergy should publish it, appeared the climax of the king's determination to set his dispensing power above the law. The resistance of the clergy brought the question to issue between the king and the people. It was shrewdly observed that "a solemn declaration that a king will not govern according to law seems a formal renouncing of any right he has by it; and when he has cut the bough he sat upon, he has little reason to be surprised if he falls to the ground."*

Two days after the seven bishops were sent to the Tower, the council announced to the lords lieutenant of counties that it had "pleased Almighty God, about ten o'clock of this morning, to bless his majesty and his royal consort the queen with the birth of a hopeful son, and his majesty's kingdoms and dominions with a prince."† In the language of the council it was "so inestimable a blessing" that all the people would be called upon to unite in thanksgiving. Another language was held even by the stanch friends of the monarchy. Evelyn enters in his diary of June 10th, "A young prince born, which will cause disputes." The legitimacy of this young prince was long disputed. This birth was as little a blessing to the house of Stuart as it promised to be to the weary subjects of that house. A large majority of the nation was convinced that this heir of the crown was suppositious. It was almost universally believed that imposture had been practised. The Princess Anne did not give credit to the queen's alleged pregnancy. It was wholly disbelieved at the court of the Prince of Orange. The birth arrived a month before it was said to be expected. The most ordinary precautions were not taken to put the fact beyond a doubt; for none but those in whom the people had little confidence were in attendance on the occasion. That there was no imposture is now matter of historical belief; but so convinced were many political partisans that there was no real son of James II. that, seventy years afterward, Johnson drew the character of a violent Whig, who "has known those who saw the bed into which the pretender was conveyed in a warming-pan."‡ Burnet devotes five or six pages of his folio volume to the various accounts of this pretended birth—stories which Swift properly ridicules. The belief in this story is the only blot in the subsequent declaration of William of Orange to the English people; and James took the manly, though necessarily somewhat indelicate step, of instituting an inquiry and publishing all the evidence to refute the calumny. The most important influence of this birth upon the fortunes of England was, that the prospect of an heir to the crown, born of a Catholic mother, and to be brought up in the bigoted school of a father who had cast aside Protestantism to be governed by Jesuits and apostates, precipitated the revolution.

CHAPTER CXVII.

William, Prince of Orange—His character and position with regard to English affairs—The Princess Mary, and the succession—Invitation to the Prince of Orange—Preparations of William—His declaration—Hopes of the English people—Alarm of the king—William sails from Helvoetsluys—The voyage—Landing at Torbay—Public entry at Exeter—The king goes to the army at Salisbury—Desertions of his officers—The Prince of Denmark and the Princess Anne—James calls a meeting of peers—Commissioners to negotiate with the Prince of Orange—The queen and child sent to France—The king flies—Provisional government—Riots—The Irish night—James brought back to London—The Dutch guards at Whitehall—The king again leaves London—The Prince of Orange enters—The interregnum—The Convention—William and Mary king and queen—The revolution the commencement of a new era in English history.

At the village of Hurley, on the Berkshire side of the Thames between Henley and Maidenhead, stood, in 1836, an Elizabethan mansion called Lady Place, built on the site of a Benedictine monastery by Sir Richard Lovelace, who was created a peer by Charles I. This building was the seat of Lord Lovelace in the reigns of Charles II. and James II.—a nobleman whose lavish hospitality and expensive tastes were rapidly wasting "the king of Spain's cloth of silver"* which his ancestor, one of Drake's privateering followers, had won. The spacious hall opening to the Thames, the stately gallery whose panels were covered with Italian landscapes, the terraced gardens—were ruined and neglected when we there meditated, some thirty years ago, upon the lessons of "Mutability." All the remains of past grandeur are now swept away. But beneath the Tudor building were the burial vaults of the house of "Our Lady," which seemed built for all time, and which, we believe, are still undisturbed. In these vaults was a modern inscription which recorded that the monastery of Lady Place was founded at the time of the great Norman revolution, and that "in this place, six hundred years afterward, the revolution of 1688 was begun." King William III., the tablet also recorded, visited this vault, and looked upon the "Recess," in which "several consultations for calling in the Prince of Orange were held." During the four years in which James had been on the throne the question of armed resistance had been constantly present to the minds of many Whigs; and to the Prince of Orange they looked for aid in some open attempt to change the policy of the government by force—or, if necessary, to subvert it. The wife of the Prince of Orange was the presumptive heir to the crown; he was himself the nephew of the English king. His political and religious principles, and those of the republic of which he was the first magistrate, were diametrically opposed to those of his uncle. The chief enemy of his nation was the chief ally of King James. The one great purpose of the life of William of Orange was to resist the overwhelming ambition of Louis XIV. In 1688 he was thirty-eight years of age. When he was only in his twenty-second year he had arrested the march of French conquest, and had saved his country. His uncle Charles had deserted his alliance, and had become the degraded pensioner of France. His uncle James equally crouched at the feet of the enemy of national independence, and of civil and religious liberty. William, under every difficulty, had in 1686 succeeded in forming the league of Augsburg, to hold in check this overwhelming ambition. His unrivalled sagacity and prudence had united rulers of Catholic as well as of Protestant states, in a determination that the balance of power in Europe should not be destroyed. James of England was content that his country should remain in the degraded position in which it had been left by his brother, provided that a continuance of that degradation would enable him to establish Jesuits and monks in the high places of the Church, and rule without parliaments, by a power above the law. William of Orange must have long been convinced that this system could not endure. Holland was the refuge of many an Englishman who had fled from persecution, when dissenters were the objects of King James' hatred. They had no confidence in his pretended toleration, because it was based upon absolute authority. The public opinion of Englishmen at home was uniting in the same conclusion. A crisis was at hand, not only in England, but in the general policy of Europe. William had stood aloof from any connection with plots in the later years of Charles, or of insurrections in the first year of James. His object was that in England there should be union between the crown and the parliament; for then England would be strong, and capable of taking a part once more in such a joint system of action as was contemplated in the Triple Alliance. That hope was now utterly gone. It was clear that James and his people would never be at accord. It was equally clear that any bold and elevated foreign policy was hopeless. Unless he had determined wholly to separate himself from English affairs, William of Orange would necessarily become associated with the leading men of England, who saw that the government was driving on to ruin. His original policy was to wait. The time might come when the Princess of Orange would be queen, and then William would naturally be England's ruler. It was the desire of Mary that

* Lord Dartmouth's note in Burnet, vol. iii. p. 228.
† Letter to the Earl of Rochester. Ellis. Series I. vol. iii. p. 339.
‡ "Idler," No. 10.

* "Worthies."

her husband, in that event, should be the real sovereign. Burnet relates this circumstance with some self-applause, but with evident truth: "I took the liberty, in a private conversation with the princess, to ask her what she intended the prince should be, if she came to the crown. She, who was new to all matters of that kind, did not understand my meaning, but fancied that whatever accrued to her would likewise accrue to him in the right of marriage. I told her it was not so. . . . I told her a titular kingship was no acceptable thing to a man, especially if it was to depend on another's life; and such a nominal dignity might endanger the real one that the prince had in Holland. She desired me to propose a remedy. I told her the remedy, if she could bring her mind to it, was, to be contented to be his wife, and to engage herself to him, that she would give him the real authority as soon as it came into her hands, and endeavor effectually to get it to be legally vested in him during life: this would lay the greatest obligation on him possible, and lay the foundation of a perfect union between them, which had been of late a little embroiled. . . . She presently answered me, she would take no time to consider of anything by which she could express her regard and affection to the prince; and ordered me to give him an account of all that I had laid before her, and to bring him to her, and I should hear what she would say upon it. . . . She promised him he should always bear rule; and she asked only that he would obey the command of 'husbands, love your wives,' as she should do that, 'wives, be obedient to your husbands in all things.'" * Dartmouth conjectures that the prince ordered Burnet—whom he calls "a little Scotch priest"—to propose this to the princess, before he would engage in the attempt upon England. When the insane proceedings of James had rendered it more than probable that the event would happen which his brother Charles said should never happen to him—that he should be sent again upon his travels—the Prince of Orange, with an ambition that was founded upon higher motives than mere personal advancement, might not unreasonably think that there was a shorter road to the English crown than by succession. At the very climax of the folly of James, a son, or a pretended son, was born. William and his wife believed that their just rights were attempted to be set aside by an imposture. The leading men of England believed the same. The quarrel between the king and the Church appeared to be irreconcilable; and thus the most powerful influence over the people had ceased to be committed to the doctrine of non-resistance to arbitrary power. The time for decision was come in the summer of 1688. Edward Russell had been over to the Hague in May, to urge the Prince of Orange to a bold interference with the affairs of England. "The prince spoke more positively to him than he had ever done before. He said he must satisfy both his honor and conscience, before he could enter upon so great a design, which, if it miscarried, must bring ruin both on England and Holland; he protested that no private ambition nor resentment of his own could ever prevail so far with him as to make him break with so near a relation, or engage in a war, of which the consequences must be of the last importance both to the interests of Europe and of the Protestant religion: therefore he expected formal and direct invitation. Russell laid before him the danger of trusting such a secret to great numbers. The prince said, if a considerable number of men, that might be supposed to understand the sense of the nation best, should do it, he would acquiesce in it." † Russell returned to England and communicated with Henry Sidney, the brother of Algernon; with the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Earl of Danby, the Earl of Devonshire, and other peers. Compton, the suspended Bishop of London, was also confided in. On the 30th of June, the great day of the acquittal of the seven bishops, an invitation to William of Orange to appear in England, at the head of a body of troops, was sent by a messenger of rank—Admiral Herbert. It was signed in cipher, by Shrewsbury, Devonshire, Danby, Lumley, Compton, Russell, and Sidney. William took his determination. He resolved on a descent upon England. With a secrecy as remarkable as his energy, he set about the preparation of such a force as would insure success, in conjunction with the expected rising of nineteen twentieths of the people to free themselves from an odious government.

In this eventful autumn there were dangers immediately surrounding the unhappy king of England, which were the almost inevitable results of a long career of government which had weakened, if not wholly extinguished, political honesty. The high public spirit, the true sense of honor, which had characterized the nobles and gentry of England during the civil war, was lost in the selfishness, the meanness, the profligacy, of the twenty-eight years that succeeded the restoration. Traitors were hatched in the sunshine of corruption. The basest expediency had been the governing principle of statesmen and lawyers; the most abject servility had been the leading creed of divines. Loyalty always wore the livery of the menial. Patriotism was ever flaunting the badges of faction. The bulk of the people were unmoved by any proud resentments or eager hopes. They went on in their course of industrious occupation, without much caring whether they were under an absolute or a constitutional government, as long as they could eat, drink, and be merry. They had got rid of the Puritan severity; and if decency was outraged in the court and laughed at on the stage, there was greater license for popular indulgences. The one thing to be avoided was nonconformity, which was a very hard service, even when lawful; and a very desperate sacrifice when it brought fine and imprisonment. Such was the temper of England at the accession of James. It was a temper fitted for any amount of national humiliation. It was a temper apt for slavery. But there was one latent spark of feeling which James blew into a flame. The English hated popery with a passionate hatred. It was then seen by crafty politicians who had endured and even stimulated the bigotry of the king, that he had gone too far, and that he would not recede. Such a politician was Sunderland, who had even made a public profession of Romanism to retain his places. He became a Catholic to please the king in June. In August the breach between the king and the Anglican Church had become so irreparable that Sunderland was in correspondence with the Prince of Orange. The selfish instinct of such men was their storm-barometer. Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, says of this crisis: "It was evident to all the world, that as things were carried on by King James, everybody must be ruined who would not become a Roman Catholic." * "Everybody" has a very limited signification in this lady's vocabulary. It included Lord Churchill and a few others. The narrative which we have to pursue to the end of this chapter does not exhibit the nation in any very glorious light. The story of the revolution of 1688 is not a great epic, full of heroism and magnanimity. There is only one real hero on the scene; and he is a cold, impassive man, stirring up no passionate enthusiasm—a hero, the very opposite of the fascinating Monmouth, who had crowds at his chariot-wheels. William of Orange goes steadily forward, flattering none, trusting few, suspecting most—a self-contained man, who will put his shoulder to the work to which he has been called, and if he fails, he fails. Such a man was wanted to reconstruct the shattered edifice of English freedom upon solid foundations. A popular king, with an undoubted title, might have found a nation ready enough to be again manacled.

In the "Memoirs of King James," it is said that he never gave any real credit to the belief that the preparations of the Prince of Orange were designed against himself till the middle of September; "for, besides the repeated assurances he had from the States, by their ambassadors and others, and even the Prince of Orange himself, that these preparations were not designed against him, the Earl of Sunderland, and some others about him whom he trusted most, used all imaginable arguments to persuade the king it was impossible the Prince of Orange could go through with such an undertaking; and particularly my Lord Sunderland turned any one to ridicule that did but seem to believe it." † Louis XIV. saw clearly the danger. He exhorted James; he remonstrated; he offered naval assistance. The envoy of France told the States that his king had taken the king of England under his protection, and that war against James would be war against Louis. James, in a spirit almost incomprehensible, despised the protection, and rejected the proffered aid. The intentions of the Prince of Orange to come to England with an army were soon made manifest. A proclamation was prepared by the grand pensionary, Fagel; "who," says Burnet, "made a long and heavy draft, founded on the grounds of the civil law, and of the law of nations." Burnet translated it into English, and "got it to be much shortened,

* "Own Times," vol. iii. p. 129. † Burnet, vol. iii. p. 263.

* "Authentick Memoirs," p. 82.
† "Life of James II.," vol. ii. p. 177.

though it was still too long." It is, indeed, a long document; very little calculated for popular excitement. It set forth, in a calm and dispassionate tone, the violations of their laws, liberties, and customs, to which the people of England had been subjected. It detailed the various acts by which a religion opposed to that established by law had been attempted to be forced upon the nation. It alluded to the general belief that a pretended heir to the throne had been set up, against the rights of the Princess of Orange. It declared that "since the English nation has ever testified a most particular affection and esteem, both to our dearest consort the princess, and to ourselves, we cannot excuse ourselves from espousing their interest in a matter of such high consequence; and from contributing all that lies in us for the maintaining, both of the Protestant religion and of the laws and liberties of those kingdoms, and for the securing to them the continual enjoyment of all their just rights; to the doing of which we are most earnestly solicited by a great many lords, both spiritual and temporal, and by many gentlemen, and other subjects of all ranks." For these reasons the prince declares that he had thought fit to go over to England, and to carry with him a sufficient force to defend him from the violence of the king's evil counsellors. This expedition had no other design than to have a free parliament called, of which the members should be lawfully chosen. "We, for our part, will concur in everything that may procure the peace and happiness of the nation, which a free and lawful parliament shall determine, since we have nothing before our eyes, in this our undertaking, but the preservation of the Protestant religion, the covering of all men from persecution for their consciences, and the securing to the whole nation the free enjoyment of their laws, rights, and liberties, under a just and legal government." The declaration is dated from the Hague on the 10th of October.

The expectation of the speedy arrival of the Prince of Orange with his army was universal at the beginning of October. On the 7th Evelyn writes that the people "seemed passionately to long for and desire the landing of that prince, whom they looked on to be their deliverer from popish tyranny; praying incessantly for an east wind, which was said to be the only hindrance of his expedition with a numerous army ready to make a descent." The king now endeavored to put himself into a new attitude toward his people. He gave audience to the Archbishop of Canterbury and some of the bishops. They represented to him the desirableness of revoking all the acts done under the dispensing power; of restoring the fellows of Magdalen College; of giving back their old franchises to the corporations. The king did attend to some of these suggestions. He dissolved the Ecclesiastical Commission. He sent his chancellor to deliver back to the corporation of London their ancient charter; and he issued a proclamation restoring all the municipal corporations to their ancient franchises. He gave powers to the Bishop of Winchester, which allowed him, as visitor, to reinstate the ejected fellows of Magdalen College. A sudden amendment of life under the influence of fear is not generally considered as likely to be permanent. A king's sudden redress of unjust acts, when one was at hand who could compel justice, was not likely to propitiate subjects whose confidence had been destroyed.

On the 16th of October, William, having taken a solemn leave of the States of Holland, set forward from the Hague to sail from Helvoetsluys. A fleet of fifty men-of-war, twenty-five frigates, many fire-ships, and four hundred transports, was there assembled. There were embarked four thousand horse and ten thousand foot-soldiers. The command of the army was intrusted to Marshal Schomberg. The van of the fleet was led by Admiral Herbert. The Prince of Orange embarked on the 19th. His ship bore a flag with the arms of England and Nassau, surrounded with the motto, "The Protestant Religion and Liberties of England." Underneath was the motto of the House of Orange, "Je maintiendrai." The equivocal device of his ancestry, "I will maintain," was now associated with a definite purpose, of unprecedented importance.

The east wind, which the people of London had been praying for, bore the fleet of William prosperously toward the English shores. But it suddenly changed; and a strong western gale, which increased to a tempest, compelled the Dutchmen to seek the refuge of their own havens. News reached the court of James that the damage had been so serious that the arrival of no hostile armament need now be dreaded. The *Gazette* announced these tidings. But the damage was quickly repaired. On the evening of the 1st of November the fleet of William was again at sea. The east wind was now full and strong. For some time an effort was made to steer northward; but that course was at last abandoned, and about noon of the 2d the order was given to steer westward. The same wind that bore the Dutch fleet toward our western shores kept the English fleet in the Thames. On the 3d, midway between Dover and Calais, a council of war was held. Rapin, the historian, who accompanied the expedition, thus describes the unwonted scene: "It is easy to imagine what a glorious show the fleet made. Five or six hundred ships in so narrow a channel, and both the English and French shores covered with numberless spectators, are no common sight. For my part, who was then on board the fleet, it struck me extremely." The 4th of November was William's birthday. He dedicated that Sunday to private devotion while the fleet rode past Portland with the intention of anchoring in Torbay. The prince's ship was in the van. The night was dark and rainy; the wind was violent; the pilot mistook his course, and ran past Torbay toward Plymouth. There was danger in attempting a landing at that port, which was strongly garrisoned. But in the morning of the 5th the wind became calm, and a southern breeze carried them back into the magnificent bay. Here Napoleon, gazing on its shores from the deck of the Bellerophon, exclaimed, "What a beautiful country!" Here William saw only hills shrouded in mist, and the huts of a fishing village. But Torbay was, according to Rapin, "the most convenient place for landing horse of any in England." Before night the whole of the infantry was on shore. The horse were landed the next morning. William and Schomberg were among the first to land at Brixham. In the market-place of this prosperous fishing town of narrow and dirty streets, there is a block of stone with this inscription: "On this stone, and near this spot, William, Prince of Orange, first set foot on landing in England, 5th of November, 1688." Burnet says, "As soon as I landed, I made what haste I could to the place where the prince was; who took me heartily by the hand, and asked me if I would not now believe predestination. I told him I would never forget that providence of God, which had appeared so signally in this occasion. He was cheerfuller than ordinary. Yet he returned soon to his usual gravity." Rapin continues the narrative, with the graphic details of an eye-witness: "The prince's army marched from Torbay, about noon the next day, in very rainy weather, and bad roads. The soldiers, before they landed, were ordered to bring three days' bread with them, and they carried their tents themselves. But the officers, even the most considerable, were in a very uneasy situation, at their first encampment, being wet to the skin, and having neither clothes for change, nor bread, nor horses, nor servants, nor other bed than the earth all drenched with rain, their baggage being yet in the ships." Burnet says, "It was not a cold night." After this first disagreeable halt on English ground, the army, by noon the next day, was on its march toward Exeter. It was the fourth day from the landing before William made his public entry into the capital of the west. Two hundred captains of the host, on Flanders steeds, clothed in complete armor, each horse led by a negro; two hundred Finlanders, with beavers' skins over their black armor; led horses; state coaches; the standard of the deliverer who was to maintain the liberties of England; the prince himself, with white ostrich feathers in his helmet; guards and pages—volunteers; and then a gallant army, bedabbled indeed with mud, and wearing the orange uniform, strange enough in eyes accustomed to the English scarlet; twenty pieces of cannon, then of enormous size; and, what was almost as potent, wagons loaded with money—such was the spectacle upon which the people of Exeter gazed, as the long procession moved through the steep streets, and welcome was shouted from many a window of the old gabled houses. But William had expected a reception more decisive—a welcome which should give a greater assurance of success than a fleeting popular enthusiasm. No man of rank, with troops of followers, was at Exeter to salute him. "The clergy and magistrates of Exeter were very fearful and very backward. The bishop and the dean ran away." Lord Dartmouth has a note upon this passage of Burnet. Shrewsbury, he says, informed him that the prince began to suspect he was betrayed, and had some thoughts of returning; but Shrewsbury told William that "he believed the great difficulty among them was, who should run the haz-

ard of being the first; but if the ice were once broken, they would be as much afraid of being the last." * It was a week from the landing before any gentleman of Devonshire joined the prince. There was a king upon the throne whose vengeance would be even more terrible than in 1685, if another attempt against him should fail. But in that second week the feeling of confidence became more strong. Sir Edward Seymour arrived with "other gentlemen of quality and estate," and he organized an association. The clothworkers and laborers, sufferers as they had been, had shown less calculating apathy than the "gentlemen of quality." "While the prince stayed at Exeter," says Burnet, "the rabble of the people came to him in great numbers." He has no word of gratitude for their generous support. It was the fashion of that day, and long continued to be the fashion, to speak of the common people as "rabble" and "mob." William, in his cold way, looked upon this rabble of Exeter only as a soldier looks. He did not think it necessary to arm this undisciplined multitude, for he understood, from the temper of the royal army, that if his cause were likely to prosper, the hired defenders of the throne would come over to him. He was not deceived.

From the time that the news arrived of the landing at Torbay, the metropolis was naturally the scene of the greatest excitement. A proclamation was issued, prohibiting all persons from reading the declaration of the Prince of Orange. Of course the desire to see that manifesto was increased. The king sends for the primate and three bishops, and shows them that passage in which the promised assistance of spiritual as well as temporal peers is set forth. They express a doubt whether the manifesto is genuine. The king upbraids them for their lukewarmness; they recapitulate their old injuries. He requires from them a declaration of abhorrence of the proceedings of William. They refuse to stand alone in such a declaration. The king in anger sent them away, and applied himself to touch for the evil, with a Jesuit and a popish priest officiating.† A large force had been assembled at Salisbury. On the 15th the king received the news that Lord Cornbury, the eldest son of the Earl of Clarendon, had marched from the camp, at the head of three regiments of cavalry. He did not carry through his design of joining the army of William, for his officers refused to proceed; but he arrived at the Dutch camp himself, and many of the men followed his example. The king was staggered at the treachery of a young man who had been bred up in the household of his own daughter Anne—of a favored courtier, who was the son of his brother-in-law. James called the officers of the army to give him counsel. He exhorted them to preserve their loyalty as subjects and their honor as gentlemen. "They all seemed," says James in his "Memoirs," "to be moved at this discourse, and vowed they would serve him to the last drop of their blood. The Duke of Grafton and my Lord Churchill were the first that made this attestation, and the first who, to their eternal infamy, broke it afterward." ‡ We can sympathize with the indignation of the unhappy king, without shutting our eyes to his errors and his crimes. Still more can we sympathize, when, ten days afterward, he learned that his son-in-law, George of Denmark, and his own daughter, Anne, had deserted him. He had set out for Salisbury, which he reached on the 19th. His agitation brought on a violent bleeding at the nose, which lasted three days. Meanwhile support was gathering round the Prince of Orange from every quarter. The northern counties were in arms. Nottingham was the rallying point for the assembling of large bodies of men, headed by Devonshire and other great earls. On the 22d, when the army of the Prince of Orange was at a short distance from Salisbury, the Earl of Feversham, the commander of the royal troops, intimated that there was defection in the camp, and advised arrests. James was still confident that no one could be a traitor to *him*. His prodigious self-esteem and self-confidence blinded him to signs of danger which were evident to all others. He began, however, to think of retreating. He called a council of war on the evening of the 24th. On the morning of the 25th Churchill and Grafton were in William's camp. All was alarm; and an immediate retreat was commanded by the king. At Andover the Prince of Denmark fled from him, with two noblemen. On the king's arrival in London on the evening of the 26th he found that his daughter, Anne, was gone. "God help me," exclaimed the wretched king, "my own children have forsaken me." Anne escaped from Whitehall, with the assistance of her friend, Lady Churchill, and was taken by the Bishop of London to Nottingham. "The king," writes the Duchess of Marlborough, "went down to Salisbury to his army, and the Prince of Denmark with him; but the news quickly came from thence that the Prince of Denmark had left the king, and was gone over to the Prince of Orange, and that the king was coming back to London. This put the princess into a great fright. She sent for me, told me her distress, and declared that rather than see her father she would jump out at the window." The crafty duchess says, "It was a thing sudden and unconcerted; nor had I any share in it, farther than obeying my mistress's orders, in the particulars I have mentioned; though indeed I had reason enough on my own account to get out of the way, Lord Churchill having likewise at that time left the king and gone over to the other party." *

James records his sense of his abandonment when he had come back to London: "The contagion was spread so universally that all parts of England furnished the same news of risings and defections; the only strife was who should be foremost in abandoning the king." † He had sent the infant Prince of Wales to Portsmouth, to be conveyed to France, if there was no turn in affairs. Father Petre and other obnoxious advisers had fled. There was no manifestation of aid on the part of his Roman Catholic subjects—of those who had lighted bonfires, and madly danced around them when the unfortunate child was born.‡ In his deep distress, James called a meeting of all the peers who remained in London. Nine spiritual lords and between thirty and forty temporal lords attended him at Whitehall on the 27th. He had received a petition, before he departed for Salisbury, entreating him to convoke a free parliament. At the meeting those who had signed it explained their views. But they further suggested that it would be desirable to send commissioners to treat with the Prince of Orange. They also urged a general amnesty. Upon this point the king manifested some impotent anger; but he had provocations of treachery enough to irritate a wiser man; and he was goaded by words from Clarendon, which Burnet even characterizes as "insolent and indecent." Three commissioners, Halifax, Nottingham, and Godolphin, were appointed to treat with the prince. Godolphin told Evelyn that "they had little power." A proclamation for a general amnesty was issued; writs were ordered to be sent out to call a parliament for the 13th of January. But James, even in this moment of despairing concession, was insincere. He told Barillon, the French ambassador, that a parliament would impose conditions on him that he could not bear. He must leave England. He would take refuge in Ireland, or in Scotland, or he would seek aid in person from the King of France, as soon as he had secured the safety of the queen and his son. Dartmouth, the admiral of the fleet, refused to be a party to carry the Prince of Wales out of the country. The child was therefore brought back to Whitehall. The commissioners proceeded to the camp of the Prince of Orange, who was steadily advancing toward the capital. On the 6th of December he had reached Hungerford. A skirmish took place at Reading between two hundred and fifty of his advanced guard, and six hundred Irish troops who had entered the town. The inhabitants joined with the Dutch troops in attacking the Irish, who were regarded by them as enemies. It was the only serious affair of arms during this bloodless contest for a crown. The memory of this Sunday fight was long celebrated in Reading, by ringing the bells on the anniversary of the defeat of the "papishes," who came to destroy the town "in time of prayer," as a ballad records. At Hungerford the king's commissioners arrived on the 8th. William would not give them a private audience. They announced to him, amid a crowd of his supporters, that the proposition which they had to make was, that all matters in dispute should be referred to the parliament, for which writs were being issued; and that in the interval the prince's army should not approach within thirty miles of the capital. The prince retired, leaving the noblemen and gentlemen to consult together. The majority of his adherents

* Burnet, vol. iii. p. 314.
‡ "Life," vol. ii. p. 219.
† Evelyn's "Diary."

* "Authentick Memoirs," p. 80.
† "Life," p. 230—"Original Memoirs."
‡ At Carlisle; Story's Journal.

considered that the proposition of the king should not be accepted. William thought otherwise. But he required that if his troops were not to approach London within the prescribed distance on the west, the king's troops should be removed to an equal distance on the east. While the negotiation was proceeding at Hungerford, the queen and the prince were privately conveyed down the river, and the vessel in which they were aboard sailed with a fair wind for France. This was on the 10th of December. On that day James wrote to Lord Dartmouth, "Things having so very bad an aspect, I could no longer defer securing the queen and my son, which I hope I have done, and that to-morrow by noon they will be out of the reach of my enemies. I am at ease now I have sent them away. I have not heard this day, as I expected, from my commissioners with the Prince of Orange, who I believe will hardly be prevailed with to stop his march; so that I am in no good condition, nay, in as bad a one as is possible." * When the king wrote this letter he was meditating his own flight. The true character of the man was disclosed in his last hours of sovereignty. He sent for the great seal, and for the writs to summon a parliament that had not gone out. He threw the writs into the fire. He annulled those which had been issued. To no one of his ministers did he reveal his intentions. He had announced to many peers who had been invited by him to the palace that he had sent his queen and his son away, but that he should himself remain at his post. At three o'clock of the morning of the 11th he stole out of Whitehall by a secret passage, entered a hackney coach provided by Sir Edward Hales, crossed the Thames in a wherry, and threw the great seal into the river. Before London was awake he was far on the road toward Sheerness.

England was without a government. Her king, who would not rule according to law, left his people to the terrible chances of anarchy. In a great metropolis like London there are marauders always ready to take advantage of any public commotion. James had commanded the Earl of Feversham by letter to disband his troops; and they were let loose without any of the restraints of discipline. In an emergency like this it was necessary that some decided resolution should be instantly taken to prevent universal confusion. Seven spiritual lords, with Sancroft as their head, and twenty-two temporal peers, drew up a declaration that the flight of the king having destroyed the hope of a parliamentary settlement of affairs, they had determined to join the Prince of Orange, and until his arrival to preserve order by their own authority. Never was some authority more necessary. The night came, and a fierce multitude, amid the cry of No popery, burned Roman Catholic chapels, and attacked the houses of ambassadors from Roman Catholic states. But no lives were sacrificed. The next day the train-bands were under arms, and tumults were kept down by some troops of cavalry. On that day, the hated lord chancellor, Jeffreys, was discovered in the disguise of a sailor, in a public house at Wapping. He was saved from a fierce mob by the train-bands, but not without severe injury, and was taken before the lord mayor. It was mercy to the terrified judge who had carried terror into so many families, to send him to the Tower by an order from the peers at Whitehall.

The night of the 12th was long memorable in London as "the Irish night." The rioters had gone home. The city was peaceful. But a rumor was spread that the Irish troops of Feversham's disbanded army were marching on London. Every citizen came forth with pike and musket to fight for life and property, while every window was lighted up, and barricades were hastily constructed in every leading thoroughfare. The alarm was altogether false. But by some unknown agency the same consternation was excited throughout the country. Thoresby has left a vivid picture of a night scene at Leeds. A fearful cry went through the town of "Horse and arms, horse and arms! the enemy are upon us." The drums beat, the bells rang backward, the women shrieked. Thousands of lighted candles were there also placed in the windows. Aged people who remembered the civil wars, said they never knew anything like it.† When the panic was over, men felt ashamed of their fears. If the agents in spreading this shameful delusion had expected to excite the people against the depressed Roman Catholics, they were greatly mistaken. The exaggerated terror showed how little there was really to apprehend in a country in which nine tenths of the people were Protestants. The poor Irish soldiers, wandering through the towns and villages, begged for food, but they neither massacred nor plundered. They were soon required to deliver up their arms, and were provided with sufficient necessaries.

On the third day from the flight of James it became known in London that he had not left the country. He had gone on board a hoy near Sheerness. But the vessel was detained by the state of the tide; and the news had come that the king had absconded. The hoy was about to sail at night, when she was boarded by fishermen, who had heard that some persons, dressed as gentlemen, had taken their passage in her. They roughly treated the king, who they fancied was Father Petre, and they carried him and Sir Edward Hales ashore to Sheerness. James was recognized by the crowd around the inn to which he was taken; but although they treated him with respect, they refused to let him go. The council in London were assembled, when a messenger arrived from the king bringing a paper calling upon all good Englishmen to rescue him. A troop of lifeguards was immediately sent off; and when Feversham, their commander, arrived, he found the king guarded by militia, and surrounded by Whig gentlemen of Kent, who thought it would be an acceptable service to detain him. He was now moved to Rochester. William learned at Windsor that the flight of James was thus unluckily interrupted. On Sunday, the 16th, the king had been persuaded by his friends to return to Whitehall. Pity, among many, had taken the place of hatred. He was received by the people with shows of kindness that misled him. He instantly put on the attitude that had so alienated his subjects. He "goes to mass, dines in public, a Jesuit saying grace." Evelyn adds, "I was present." He called the lords before him who had saved the country from confusion, and haughtily blamed their presumption in taking upon themselves the government. The next day, the 17th, a council of lords was held at Windsor. It was determined that the king should not remain at Whitehall. A message was sent to recommend him to move to Ham House, near Richmond. Meanwhile the army of William was advancing. On the night of that Monday, Whitehall was guarded by Dutch troops. The lords from Windsor arrived. James declined to go to Ham. He would prefer Rochester. A messenger was sent to William, who had reached Sion, and returned in a few hours with his approval. One entry from Evelyn's diary briefly tells the great event of the next morning: "I saw the king take barge to Gravesend at twelve o'clock—a sad sight." That night the Prince of Orange slept in St. James' Palace.

The reign of James II. is held to have terminated on the 11th of December, when he secretly departed from Whitehall, with the intention of leaving the kingdom. The reign of William and Mary is determined by statute to have commenced on the 13th of February, 1689, "the day on which their majesties accepted the crown and royal dignity of King and Queen of England." The interval of about two months is called by historians

The Interregnum.

On the 19th of December the Prince of Orange held a court at St. James'. Thither came the corporation of London in state. All the prelates were there, with the exception of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The London clergy were not wanting in their tribute of respect. Nonconformist divines also attended in a body. "Old Sergeant Maynard came with the men of the law. He was than near ninety, and yet he said the liveliest thing that was heard of on that occasion. The prince took notice of his great age, and said that he had outlived all the men of the law of his time: he answered, he had like to have outlived the law itself, if his highness had not come over." * Amid this throng William stood, "stately, serious, and reserved." † His position was one of exceeding difficulty. He was urged to take the crown, as Henry VII. had taken it, by right of conquest. He rejected the advice. Such a claim would have been a violation of his own promises. It would have justly irritated a proud and sensitive people, who already looked with suspicion upon the orange uniform of his guards. He resolved to assemble, provisionally, two bodies that should represent the Lords and Commons of

* "Pepys' Correspondence," vol. v. p. 147.
† Thoresby, "Diary," vol. i. p. 190.

* Burnet, vol. iii. p. 341. Swift has a characteristic note on this passage. "He was an old rogue for all that."
† Evelyn.

England. He invited the Peers to attend him; he invited also those who had sat in the House of Commons during the reign of Charles II., and with them the aldermen of London, and a deputation from the common council. He begged them to consider the state of the country, and communicate to him the result of their deliberations. The two bodies met in separate chambers; and they each finally agreed to present to William addresses, to request that he would issue letters to summon a convention of the estates of the realm, and in the mean time take upon himself the administration of government. These resolutions were agreed to with less hesitation when it was known that James, after staying a week at Rochester, had gone over to France. William applied himself with all the energy of his character to extricate the nation out of its confusion. The exchequer was almost empty. Such was the confidence in him that, upon his word alone, two hundred thousand pounds were immediately placed in his hands by the common council of London, as a loan subscribed by the merchants. The nation felt, generally, that it was under a temporary ruler who would respect the law, and maintain order and security. The letters for calling the convention were sent out; the old charters had been restored; and the elections proceeded without any interference with the freedom of the electors, by the influence of the servants of the government. The Prince of Orange had also been requested to proceed in the same manner in regard to Scotland as in England—to take on himself the provisional administration, and to call a convention of the estates.

On the 22d of January the convention met. The composition of the House of Commons was such that there was not likely to be any serious difference of opinion upon the fundamental principles of a settlement of the nation. But there were great difficulties to be overcome. Evelyn has related the discussions at a dinner on the 15th, at the palace of the Archbishop of Canterbury, where he met five bishops and several peers: "Sorry I was to find there was as yet no accord in the judgments of the Lords and Commons who were to convene. Some would have the princess made queen without any more dispute; others were for a regency; there was a Tory party, then so called, who were for inviting his majesty again upon conditions; and there were republicans, who would make the Prince of Orange like a stadtholder." The bishops, he adds, "were all for a regency, thereby to salve their oaths, and so all public matters to proceed in his majesty's name." The most important of these differences was encountered and settled by the Commons, in their great vote of the 28th of January: "Resolved, That King James the Second, having endeavored to subvert the constitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original contract between king and people, and, by the advice of Jesuits, and other wicked persons, having violated the fundamental laws, and having withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, has abdicated the government, and that the throne is thereby become vacant." On the 29th they passed another resolution: "That it hath been found, by experience, to be inconsistent with the safety and welfare of this Protestant kingdom, to be governed by a popish prince." The Lords, on receiving the resolution of the Commons that the throne was vacant, to which their concurrence was desired, entered upon long and serious debates, having concurred in the resolution that the kingdom ought not to be governed by a popish prince. The great question by them discussed was, whether a regency, under which the royal power should be administered in the name of King James II. during his life, was not the best and safest way to preserve the laws and the Protestant religion. This motion was only lost by a majority of two, fifty-one to forty-nine. They then proceeded to the discussion of the abstract question, whether or no there was an original contract between king and people. This brought into conflict the assertors of divine right, and the assertors that all power originally belonged to the community, the power of the king being by mutual compact. This latter position, which rejected the notions of absolute authority which had been so servilely maintained since the restoration, was carried by fifty-three votes against forty-six. It was then resolved that King James had broken the contract; and then the substitution of the word "deserted" for "abdicated" in the resolution of the Commons was agreed to. But the great point of discussion was, "Whether King James, having broken that original contract between him and his people, and deserted the government, the throne was vacant." The negative was decided by a majority of fifty-five to forty-one. The Lords and Commons were now at issue upon a great principle. The majority maintained that in the monarchy of England the throne could never be vacant; that upon the demise of the crown the right of the heir was complete; any other principle would make the monarchy elective. A conference between the two houses was carried on with remarkable ability; but the firmness of the Commons, intent as they were upon a practical result, led the Lords to agree, the day after the conference, to the resolution of the Commons, without alteration; and further, to resolve that the Prince and Princess of Orange should be declared King and Queen of England and all the dominions thereunto belonging. The Commons had resolved, on the 29th of January, that "before the committee proceed to fill the throne now vacant, they will proceed to secure our religion, laws, and liberties." They accomplished this in the memorable document known as "THE DECLARATION OF RIGHTS." On the 13th of February the two houses of the convention went in a body to Whitehall. The Princess of Orange, who had arrived from Holland on the previous day, sat with her husband under a canopy in the Banqueting House. Halifax, the speaker of the Lords, addressed their highnesses, and said that both houses had issued a declaration, which was then read by the clerk of the House of Lords:

"Whereas the late King James, by the assistance of divers evil counsellors, judges, and ministers employed by him, did endeavor to subvert and extirpate the Protestant religion, and the laws and liberties of this kingdom: By assuming and exercising a power of dispensing with, and suspending of laws, and the execution of laws, without consent of parliament: By committing and prosecuting divers worthy prelates, for humbly petitioning to be excused from concurring to the said assumed power: By issuing and causing to be executed, a commissioner under the great seal, for erecting a court called 'the Court of Commissione for Ecclesiastical Causes: By levying money for and to the use of the crown, by pretence of prerogative, for other time, and in other manner, than the same was granted by parliament: By raising and keeping a standing army within this kingdom in time of peace, without consent of parliament; and quartering soldiers contrary to law: By causing divers good subjects, being Protestants, to be disarmed, at the same time when papists were both armed and employed contrary to law: By violating the freedom of election of members to serve in parliament: By prosecutions in the Court of King's Bench for matters and causes recognizable only in parliament; and by divers other arbitrary and illegal courses. And whereas of late years, partial, corrupt, and unqualified persons have been returned and served on juries in trials, and particularly divers juries in trials for high treason, which were not freeholders; and excessive bail hath been required of persons committed in criminal cases, to elude the benefit of the laws made for the liberty of the subjects; and excessive fines have been imposed, and illegal and cruel punishments inflicted; and several grants and promises made of fines and forfeitures, before any conviction or judgment against the persons upon whom the same were to be levied: All which are utterly and directly contrary to the known laws, and statutes and freedom of this realm. And whereas the said late King James II. having abdicated the government, and the throne being thereby vacant, his highness the Prince of Orange (whom it hath pleased Almighty God to make the glorious instrument of delivering this kingdom from popery and arbitrary power) did (by the advice of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and divers principal persons of the Commons) cause letters to be written to the Lords spiritual and temporal, being Protestants, and other letters to the several counties, cities, universities, boroughs, and cinque-ports, for the choosing of such persons to represent them as were of right to be sent to parliament, to meet and sit at Westminster upon the 22d day of January in this year, 1688 [1689], in order to such an establishment, as that their religion, laws, and liberties, might not again be in danger of being subverted: Upon which letters, elections having been accordingly made; and thereupon the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, pursuant to their several letters and elections, being now assembled in a full and free representative of this nation, taking into their most serious consideration the best means for attaining the end aforesaid, do in the first place (as their ancestors in like case have usually done) for vindicating and asserting their ancient rights and liberties, declare: That the pretended power of suspending the laws, or the execution of laws, by royal authority, without consent of parliament, is illegal: That the pretended power of dispensing with laws, or the execution of laws, by royal authority, as it hath been assumed and exercised of late, is illegal: That the commission for erecting the late Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes, and all other commissions and courts of the like nature, are illegal and pernicious: That levying money for or to the use of the crown, by pretence of prerogative, without grant of parliament, for longer time, or in any other manner than the same is or shall be granted, is illegal: That it is the right of the subjects to petition the king, and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal: That the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of parliament, is against law: That the subjects, which are Prot-

estants, may have arms for their defence suitable to their condition, and as allowed by law: That elections of members of parliament ought to be free: That the freedom of speech, and debates, or proceedings in parliament, ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of parliament: That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted: That jurors ought to be duly empanelled and returned; and jurors, which pass upon men in trials of high treason, ought to be freeholders: That all grants, and promises of fines, and forfeitures of particular persons, before conviction, are illegal and void: And that for redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the laws, parliaments ought to be held frequently. And they do claim, demand, and insist, upon all and singular the premises, as their undoubted rights and liberties; and no declarations, judgments, doings or proceedings, to the prejudice of the people in any of the said premises, ought in any wise to be drawn hereafter into consequence or example. To which demand of their rights they are particularly encouraged by the declaration of his highness the Prince of Orange, as being the only means for obtaining a full redress and remedy therein. Having therefore an entire confidence that his said highness, the Prince of Orange will perfect the deliverance so far advanced by him, and will still preserve them from the violation of their rights, which they have here asserted, and from all other attempts upon their religion, rights, and liberties; the said Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, assembled at Westminster, do resolve, That William and Mary, Prince and Princess of Orange, be, and be declared king and queen of England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, to hold the crown and royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions, to them, the said prince and princess, during their lives, and the life of the survivor of them; and that the sole and full exercise of the royal power be only in, and executed by the said Prince of Orange, in the names of the said prince and princess, during their joint lives; and after their deceases the said crown and royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions to be to the heirs of the body of the said princess; and for default of such issue to the Princess Anne of Denmark, and the heirs of her body; and for default of such issue, to the heirs of the body of the said Prince of Orange. And the said Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons do pray the said Prince and Princess of Orange to accept the same accordingly: And that the oaths hereafter mentioned be taken by all persons of whom the oaths of allegiance and supremacy might be required by law, instead of them; and that the said oaths of allegiance and supremacy be abrogated: 'I, A. B., do sincerely promise and swear, that I will be faithful, and bear true allegiance to their majesties, King William and Queen Mary. So help me God. I, A. B., do swear That I do from my heart abhor, detest, and abjure, as impious and heretical, this damnable doctrine and position, That princes excommunicated or deprived by the pope, or any authority of the see of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other whatsoever. And I do declare, that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical, or spiritual, within this realm. So help me God.'"

When the reading of the declaration was concluded, Lord Halifax, in the name of all the estates of the realm, requested the prince and princess to accept the crown. "We thankfully accept," said William, "what you have offered us." A few words of assurance from those undemonstrative lips, that the laws should be the rule of his life, that he would endeavor to promote the kingdom's welfare, and that he would constantly seek the advice of the two Houses of Parliament, concluded this memorable transfer of the crown. Amid the shouts of the people, the Prince and Princess of Orange were proclaimed King and Queen of England. The revolution was accomplished.

The revolution of 1688 is the commencement of a new era in English history. It was not a great popular victory over an absolute king or an intolerant priesthood. Such a victory had been achieved by the Long Parliament; but the change from a monarchy to a commonwealth, from episcopacy to Puritanism, was too extreme and too sudden to be permanent. The reaction brought back the evil theories of Strafford and Laud; but the time was past when any successful attempt could be made to carry them out to their extreme consequences. The time was also past when resistance to oppression and corruption would contemplate the overthrow of the crown and mitre. The opposition to the measures of the two successors of Charles the First was narrowed by limits which did not circumscribe the contest with their father. When the insane passion of James the Second, to thrust an obnoxious religion upon the nation, was to be carried through by his own illegal assumption of power—when chartered privileges were violated, when justice was corrupted at its fountain head—the desire to substitute some other form of government in the place of the ancient monarchy was gone. The republican enthusiasm of Vane and Ludlow had given place to the safe constitutionalism of Halifax and Somers. When the Church of England was roused by its own danger into a contest with the absolute king, whose right-divine to unlimited obedience it had so strenuously maintained, the nonconformists did not reproach the Church for its inconsistency, or make common cause with its enemies, in the hope of its downfall. The zealotry of Peters and the fanaticism of Venner had been succeeded by the moderation of Howe and the peace-making of Penn. Hence in the revolution of 1688 there was scarcely a manifestation that the leaders of the movement contemplated any violent change in the institutions of the country. It was by no means clear that the most influential among them contemplated the removal of their obnoxious sovereign. They sought to curb his illegal proceedings, through the power of a foreign prince, whose interest in the welfare of the kingdom gave a semblance of legality to his invasion, and whose sagacity and courage were the pledges that his attempt would not miscarry for the want of the necessary qualities to carry it through. From the same cause that had rendered the resistance to the government a policy rather than an impulse, the support which the government still retained was a calculation rather than a feeling. That loyalty was gone, which regarded the king as the supreme arbiter of a nation's destiny, to be served without any limitation, and to be obeyed without any doubt. With the roundheads of the civil war, resistance to this irresponsible power was a principle. With the cavaliers, the defence of all royal power was a sentiment. Charles the Second destroyed the sentiment when it became incompatible with respect for the possessor of the crown. James the Second completed its destruction when he cast off those allies who had attempted to found implicit obedience upon the divine command. From the inevitable changes of national feeling in the past half century, whose lessons of experience had been so harsh and yet so salutary, it resulted that the revolution of 1688 was not a great emotional change, in which the evil might be feared as much as the good—a convulsion which should overthrow many right things which ought to be preserved as well as the bad things which ought to be swept away. That convulsion had taken place in the previous generation. It was scarcely necessary now to do more than preserve what had been won; to restore what had then been destroyed; and to render any future attempts impossible to bring back the period of misrule that preceded the great catastrophe of the monarchy. But to accomplish this amount of good effectually and securely, it was the first condition of success that the monarchy should be preserved. The great difficulty of effecting this preservation, and yet changing the occupier of the throne, is the natural explanation of the inconsistency of the theory upon which James was set aside. The practical necessity overrode the abstract incongruity. There was to be sovereignty; but the legitimate sovereign was cast out and the heir passed by. And yet the elective principle was not absolutely maintained. But at the same time the right divine, upon which the claim to absolute power had been built, was rejected; the compact between king and people was recognized. There was still the monarchy, with all its ancient dignity and possessions, but the title rested no longer upon slavish theories. The title of William and Mary was irrevocably associated with the Declaration of Rights. When, on the thirteenth of February, William, Prince of Orange, said to the Peers and Commons who tendered him the crown in conjunction with his wife, "We thankfully accept what you have offered us," their recognition of the gift also recognized the conditions of the gift—that the rights and liberties of the people, and the legal prerogatives of the sovereign, were thenceforth to be inseparable.

The broad foundation upon which the rights and liberties of the people were to be restored, kept up, extended if necessary, was that of a free parliament—freely elected, free in its proceedings, without whose consent no taxes could be levied, and no standing army maintained—a parliament frequently meeting, "for redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the laws." Upon parliamentary representation was the revolution based. It is for this reason, especially, that the revolution may be considered the commencement of a new era. The parliament was thus to be a great integral part of the constitution, without which no act of government could have a real vitality. During the whole unhappy time of the Stuarts, their great struggle had been to govern

without parliaments. During the civil war and the earlier years of the commonwealth, the attempt of the legislative power to govern without the monarchical was found to be full of danger and insecurity. The sagacity of Cromwell saw that a monarchy, or "something like a monarchy," in conjunction with a parliament, was best adapted to the whole structure of the English laws, and best suited to the character of the English people. What Cromwell in vain aimed at was accomplished without difficulty, by a prince who much resembled him in some of the great qualities that belong to a ruler of men. In 1689 the constitution was established through the principle of resistance, not upon any new theories, but upon fundamental laws, many of which were of an older date than that of the oldest oak which stood upon English ground. For this reason it has never again been necessary to call in the principle of resistance. A time would come when the government of England, being so essentially a parliamentary government, the struggles of parties would have more regard to the possession of power than to the interests of the nation. But it was the essential consequence of these very strifes of party that, whatever the influence of oligarchs or demagogues, a controlling public opinion was constantly growing and strengthening. The power that distinguished the century following the revolution from all other centuries, was the power of the press, and especially the power of journalism. Rude and incomplete as were its first efforts against, and often for, corrupt and unpatriotic administrations, it gradually rendered public opinion so active and concentrated that statesmen could no longer affect to despise its admonitions. The press ceased to be controlled by a licenser. It ceased to be awed by the fear of state prosecutions, when its security rested upon the verdict of twelve men. The tampering with juries was one of the most crying evils of the period which preceded the revolution. The doctrine which had been so often violated was solemnly asserted in 1689, that "Jurors ought to be duly empanelled and returned." Chiefly through the influence of public opinion, kept in vigorous order by the press—and let it always be borne in mind that the press was essentially controversial, and always will be so—extreme opinions became less and less. In the same degree the union of classes became closer. The representatives of the old great families approached the commonalty, not as a "rabble," but as fellow-citizens. The commonalty looked upon the aristocracy, not as a hateful caste of oppressors, but as their natural leaders. The revolution of 1688 has been despised by some as an aristocratic revolution. Happy for us that it was not born of that "violent and unextinguishable hatred of inequality," that fierce desire "to raze to their foundations all that remained of the institutions of the Middle Ages;" * which, chiefly, have made the revolutions of another great nation so unstable.

CHAPTER CXVIII.

View of the national industry from the revolution of 1688 to the accession of the House of Brunswick—Population—The south-western counties—The woollen manufacture—Clothing trade of the West—Domestic character of the manufacture—Foreign trade—Bristol—Watering-places of the coast—Travelling for pleasure—Inland watering-places—Bath—Arsenal of Plymouth—Iron manufactures—Forest of Dean—South Wales—Tin mines of Cornwall—Copper mines—Welsh coal fields—Varieties of employment in the West of England.

We are entering upon that period of our national progress in which England is very slowly developing itself into a manufacturing and commercial country. The great features of that progress, and its accompanying changes in the character of the population, must ever be borne in mind when we attempt to trace the political history of the eighteenth century. This gradual development of her resources is not a mere accident in England's career. It constitutes the most important feature of her advancing political condition. It requires to be thoroughly understood, if we would rightly understand the circumstances which have given us our present place among the nations. We propose to offer a picture, derived indeed from scattered and imperfect materials, but with some approximation to exactness, of the industry, and the consequent condition and character of the people, during the period from the revolution of 1688 to the accession of the House of Brunswick. Some of our authorities extend through the reign of George I.* But there were few changes of invention or discovery to mark a new epoch of industry as immediately following the close of the reign of Anne. It was the period before steam-engines and navigable canals—the period before the cotton trade—the period before scientific husbandry in its humblest form. It was the period when the infant industry of England was thought to be only secure under the system of protection, carried to the utmost amount of actual prohibition of foreign manufactures, or of repression by high duties. It was a period of nearly stationary population. It was a period of old staple production that was thought all-sufficing for national prosperity, and of timid experiment in new fields of enterprise that were regarded as dangerous and delusive. Such notions went before the coming era of marvellous extension of productive power; and they long contended against the political philosophy and the scientific knowledge that determined that extension. Let us endeavor to trace what England was under its accustomed industrial habits—patient, persevering, slow England—during the quarter of a century that succeeded the revolution. To our minds this is a period of extreme interest. It is the period of transition from the plough to the loom; from the spinning-wheel to the factory; from the age of tools to the age of machinery. Employments are intermingled. The shuttle is plied in the valleys where the fleece is sheared; the iron is smelted on the hills where the timber is felled for charcoal. Ships of small burden carry the products of one locality to another, up the estuaries and tributary rivers; and when navigation is impeded by sands and rocks, pack-horses bear the cargo into the interior. The people of one district know very little of another district. Each district has something to exchange with its neighbor could they be brought into communication; but impracticable roads and unnavigable streams keep them separate. Every county has its peculiar dialect, the traces of which philologists eagerly hunt after. The sports of the West are not the same as those of the South—the superstitions of the North have a different character from those of the East. Yet, with all these material causes of isolation, England has one heart. She is made compact by her Protestantism, by her general laws, by her system of local government, by historical memory. Her people, in their island home, intensely feel their nationality. But on this island home, which has a greater sea-board than any other European country, there is a constant incentive to an adventurous race to go forth to the most distant shores—to trade, to colonize, to make all the choice productions of the world their own by exchange—to be the sea-kings, as were their Saxon forefathers. To comprehend what England has done in a century and a half we must carefully look back upon the point from which she started in this wondrous race.

One of the earliest proceedings of the first parliament of William and Mary was to grant an extraordinary aid of £68,820 per month, for six months, payable in certain proportions by the several counties.† Shortly following this grant was an enactment "for the taking away the revenue arising from hearth-money." This tax is described as "not only a great oppression to the poorer sort, but a badge of slavery upon the whole people, exposing every man's house to be entered into and searched at pleasure." ‡ But this tax of hearth-money was in one respect a national advantage. It formed the basis of all reasonable calculations of the amount of the population of England and Wales, toward the close of the seventeenth century, and for many years afterward. Gregory King took the number of houses returned by the hearth-money collectors as determining his estimate that the population was about five millions and a half; a calculation very nearly borne out by statistical researches in our own days. Other accounts take the population of this period at a higher rate. From a table printed in 1693 it appeared that there were 1,175,951 houses.§ Upon the authority of this table, allowing six persons to each house, the population was subsequently calculated at 7,055,706.‖ In the "Magna Britannia," which commenced to be published in 1720, the number of houses in each county is

* De Tocqueville.

* Such as Defoe's "Tour," which was commenced in 1722.
† 1 Gul. & Mar., c. 3. ‡ Ibid., c. 10.
§ "Parliamentary History," vol. v., Appendix No. 10.
‖ Chamberlayne's "Present State," 1748.

given; and in many cases the equivalent number of the population is also given, though upon a varying scale.* The result is not very materially different from the estimates of Gregory King; and if the houses, in number about 1,200,000, were averaged to give five persons for each house, they would show a population of six millions, at the period to which our present inquiry extends. The use we propose to make of these returns of houses, and of the assessment for aid,† is to endeavor to form some estimate of the comparative population, industry, and wealth of each of the great divisions of the country; with occasional glances at the striking contrasts in our own times presented by some large industrial districts.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the West of England was the seat of the greatest commercial and manufacturing industry of the kingdom. The five south-western counties of Wilts, Dorset, Devon, Cornwall, Somerset, then contained the largest number of houses, and consequently the largest population, as compared with any other of our present eleven registration divisions. This district was also assessed in 1689 at a higher rate than any other. It was to pay £10,850 per month in aid, while the north-western district of Cheshire and Lancashire was only to pay £1753. It contained 175,403 houses, while Cheshire and Lancashire only contained 64,256. The population of the south-western counties was (at the rate of five persons for a house) 877,015, while the north-western district was 321,280. At the census of 1801 the south-western district contained a population only increased by about one fourth during a hundred years; while the north-western was three times as numerous as at the beginning of the century. The contrast will be more striking if we look at the fact that, in 1851, the population of Cheshire and Lancashire nearly doubled that of the five south-western counties, which counties, a century and a half earlier, contained three times as many inhabitants as the north-western. If we add Gloucestershire to the other five counties we shall find that these six chief counties of the West at the beginning of the eighteenth century contained 202,167 houses, and therefore above a million ten thousand inhabitants. At the same period Cheshire, Lancashire, Yorkshire, Durham, and Northumberland only contained 209,132 houses, and therefore these great Northern counties only exceeded the West in population by about thirty-five thousand souls. In 1851 these five Northern counties contained five millions of inhabitants, being an excess above the six Western counties of two million seven hundred thousand.

In the first year of the new dynasty an act was passed "for the better preventing the exportation of wool, and encouraging the woollen manufacture of this kingdom."‡ The great object of commercial legislation for two centuries was to encourage the woollen manufacture. The one mode of accomplishing this was to prevent the exportation of wool, and to prohibit the importation of textile articles from every other country, not excepting Scotland and Ireland. Wool was justly held to be "eminently the foundation of England's riches."§ To let wool go away unwrought, or even in the shape of yarn, was to lessen or destroy this source of wealth. But the richer Dutch, especially, could give a better price for the wool than the English clothiers; and, said the first political economist of that time, "they that can give the best price for a commodity shall never fail to have it, by one means or other, notwithstanding the opposition of any laws by sea or land; of such force, subtilty, and violence is the general course of trade."‖ Under the statute of the first year of William and Mary, commissioners were appointed to prevent by forcible means the exportation of wool. They employed a sloop and boats for the search of vessels. They had an army of riding-officers and superiors in the wool-growing counties and adjacent ports. The contests between these riding-officers and the carriers of wool were frequent and sometimes deadly; and the aggregate number of packs rescued from the officers was greater than the number seized. The service was most inefficient and dangerous in the North.¶ The landed interest and the manufacturing interest were for years at issue upon the question of the exportation of wool. The manufacturers desired a monopoly. The landlords and cultivators advocated a perfectly open trade, and proclaimed the most liberal principles of commercial freedom. Such is the varying course of opinion which follows the varying interests of industrial operations. The economical writers of the end of the seventeenth century, who estimated the whole annual income of England at forty-three millions, and the rental at ten millions, reckoned the annual value of wool at two millions, and the annual value of the woollen manufacture at eight millions. That manufacture was chiefly in the western counties, as it had been from the time of Edward VI. In that reign, though Coventry and Worcester produced "white cloths" and "colored cloths;" though the "colored long cloths" of Suffolk, Norfolk, and Essex were worthy of mention, as well as "Northern cloths" and "Welsh friezes;" Wiltshire, Gloucestershire, Somersetshire, Devonshire, were especially famous for their "whites" and "reds," their "azures" and "blues." "Devonshire kerseys," and "broadcloths called Tauntons and Bridgewaters," were the objects of minute regulation. "Manchester, Lancashire, and Cheshire cottons" (a fabric so called, in which cotton is held to have had no place) and "Manchester rugs and friezes" form a small object of that legislative vigilance which was to insure "the true making of cloth within this realm," and to prevent the "many subtil sleights and untruths" which were imputed to greedy clothiers.* A hundred and fifty years later the West was still the great cloth-making district; and to this cause may be chiefly attributed its comparative superiority in wealth and population.

In the days before steam-power, and the application of chemical science to manufactures, natural advantages wholly determined the localization of trades. The same principle must always prevail to a great extent in the most advanced stage of manufacturing industry. The clothing trade of the West was created by the adaptation of the district to sheep pasturage. On the grassy downs and wide plains of Wiltshire innumerable flocks of sheep had yielded the fleece before the time when Stonehenge and Abury were mysterious ruins. The fleeces of the long-wooled sheep of the Cotswold Hills were famous in the fifteenth century; and Camden describes the substantial cotes with which this hill-district was covered, to shelter the flocks from the winter storm or the keen winds of the lambing season. The Mendip Hills supported a short-wooled breed, whose wool was as fine as that of Spain, which entered so largely into our woollen manufacture. The supply of wool was thus at hand for the clothiers who dwelt in the valley of the Lower Avon. The waters of that river, with its many branches, were especially fitted for fulling and dressing and dyeing cloth. The finest cloths were here fabricated. Frome, Bradford, Trowbridge, Devizes, with many adjacent towns then of great importance, were the seats of this "prodigy of a trade."† Frome had added ten thousand to its population in thirty years, and was considered to have more inhabitants than Bath or Salisbury.‡ The clothing towns were surrounded with their tributary villages and hamlets, in which the work of spinning was performed by women and children. To the cottages where the hum of the wheel was ceaselessly heard, the clothiers of the towns sent their pack-horses laden with wool, and brought back the spun yarn ready for the weaver's loom. The operative weaver was also in many cases a domestic worker. In the fulling and dyeing processes was combined labor alone necessary. The forgotten poem of John Dyer, "The Fleece"—which Johnson disdained on account of "the meanness naturally adhering and the irreverence habitually annexed to trade and manufactures"—gives us many accurate as well as pleasing pictures of the weaving labors of the valleys of the Avon, the Air, and the Stroud. The young man, entering upon his career of industry, sets up his own loom; he stores his soft yarn; he strains the warp along his garden walk, or by the highway side; he drives the thready shuttle from morn to eve; he takes the web to the fulling-mill near some clear-sliding river, where tumbling waters turn enormous wheels and hammers; the wet web is often steeped, and often dragged by sinewy arms to the river's grassy bank; it is hung on rugged tenters to brighten in the fervid sun; the clothier's shears and the burler's thistle skim the surface; and lastly, the snowy web

* The principle of assigning five persons to a house is sometimes observed; sometimes six persons; and sometimes a medium between the two.

† The assessment was doubled in 1693, but the proportions were the same.

‡ 1 Gul. & Mar., c. 32.

§ Sir Josiah Child.

‖ Ibid.

¶ Returns given in Smith's "Memoirs of Wool," vol. ii. p. 166.

* 5 & 6 Edward VI., c. 6.

† Defoe's "Tour," vol. ii. p. 35, ed. 1738.

‡ Ibid., p. 34.

is steeped in boiling vats, where woad or fustic, logwood or cochineal, give their hues to the purple of the prince, the scarlet of the warrior, and the black of the priest.* There can be no greater contrast than that of the woollen trade of the West a century and a half ago, with a cloth-factory of the North in our own times; where, with the gigantic aid of steam, wool from every quarter of the habitable globe is carded, spun, woven by the power-loom, fulled, sheared, and dyed, in buildings, one of which would turn out more cloth than a dozen old clothing-towns, with their tributary villages. The contrast between the semi-pastoral state of the great staple of England, and its factory perfection, is equally remarkable as regards the moral condition of the people. The old loom is passing away; and so is the weaver of Kidderminster, who had his book before him as he threw the shuttle, and had "time enough to read or talk of holy things." †

The Gloucestershire clothiers of Stroud and the neighborhood were especially famous for their fine cloths of scarlet and other gaudy hues, to which the purity of their streams was held as much to contribute as the skill of the dyer. It was the fineness and brilliancy of the English broadcloths which gave them a value beyond their own silks and brocades to the Persian and the Turk, "even for their habits of ceremony." It was their intrinsic goodness—to preserve which so many statutory regulations had been prescribed for centuries—which recommended them to Spaniards and Portuguese, to Venetians and Italians, to the Greeks of the Levant, and even to the Moors of Africa.‡ But this foreign trade was greatly straitened by circumstances and opinions. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the trade with France was gone. In 1674 a jealousy of that trade was the paramount idea of the commercial legislator; for England sent France only about eighty thousand pounds' worth of woollen manufactures, and imported ten times that value of linen and silk manufactures, besides wine, brandy, paper, and many toys and luxuries. The difference, in the economical language of that day was called the "balance gained by the French from us yearly." § When, after the accession of William and Mary, the nation was at war with Louis XIV., all trade and commerce with France was prohibited; and it was declared that it had been found by long experience that the importation of the commodities of France "hath much exhausted the treasure of this nation, lessened the value of the native commodities and manufactures thereof, and greatly impoverished the English artificers and handicrafts." ‖ The same proposition was repeated in the same terms in 1704.¶ To compensate for the loss of the French trade, the North American colonies and the West Indies had become important customers for our woollen manufactures. The ports of Bristol and of North Devon thus continued to prosper; Liverpool was growing into importance; but many of the smaller ports of the Channel were ruined. The towns of Weymouth and Lyme, that drove a flourishing trade with France before the Revolution of 1688, fell into decay. Lyme once sent large cargoes of woollen goods to Brittany,** and its "cobb" was busy with little vessels laden with imports of French wines and linens. In 1709, the cobb-dues were under fourteen pounds, and the houses were fast falling into decay. Ships were employed in foreign trade of a larger tonnage than was fitted for small ports. Great towns alone became the seats of external commerce.††

Such a port was Bristol at the commencement of the eighteenth century—the famous port of the West—the only port that could pretend to enter into competition with London, and to trade with an entire independence of the capital.‡‡ The Bristol shopkeepers were also merchants—"wholesale men"—and they conducted an inland trade through all the Western counties by means of carriers, and extended their traffic through the midland districts, even to the Trent. Roger North had observed that at Bristol all the dealers were engaged in adventures by sea—"A poor shopkeeper that sells candles will have a bale of stockings, or a piece of stuff, for Nevis or Virginia."§§ There was too much truth in his notice of one portion of the Bristol commerce—"rather than fail, they trade in men." The planters with whom the Bristol traders corresponded wanted labor, and in exchange for rum, and sugar, and tobacco, men were sent—wretched outcasts who had been kidnapped, or "small rogues" who were threatened by the justices with the extreme penalties of the law, and were instructed to pray for transportation "before any indictment was found against them." * Bristol had this dishonor in the days of Charles II., as it was the last to cling to the dishonor of the slave trade in the days of George III. The Bristol traders, moreover, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, had to bear a reproach, which even the noble charities of one of their great merchants, and their old reputation for hospitality, which earned them the title of "the courteous Bristolians," † could not outweigh. Defoe, in general no illiberal judge, complained of the inconveniences of Bristol—its narrow streets, its narrow river, and "also another narrow—that is, the minds of the generality of its people." He recommends them to travel to London—"from the second great trading town to the first; and they will see examples worth their imitating, as well for princely spirit as for upright and generous dealings."‡ At that period Bristol was cursed with a very exclusive prosperity; and its uneducated freemen, among whom strangers were jealously forbidden to settle, indulged, when their adventures were prosperous, in that vulgar display which is the general accompaniment of sudden riches.§ It was also cursed with an exclusive municipal government. From this great port of the Severn, Sebastian Cabot, "a Bristol man born," went forth in 1497 to set his foot upon Newfoundland. Two centuries later Bristol was the great emporium for American produce, and Dampier, with other bold buccaneers, sailed from the Avon to come back rich with Spanish prizes. A century and a half later the Great Western steamed down between the narrow rocks of St. Vincent, on her first voyage to New York, caring little for tides and adverse winds, for she had a self-contained power which took away the uncertainty of maritime communication, and made time and space of small amount in commercial calculations. The difference between the Bristol of Cabot and the Bristol of Dampier is not greater than the difference between the Bristol of William III., whose statue was worthily raised in Queen Square by her citizens, and the Bristol of Queen Victoria. The Avon is now far too narrow for the mighty vessels, crowded among the diminutive, that steam to her quays from South Wales and Ireland, from Africa and America. But the old commerce of wool and woollen manufactures, of which Bristol was the seat, is gone. The North has carried away the woollen manufacture from the West, to a very considerable extent. South Wales has far more productive industry than the making of flannels. The hearth-money returns of Bristol show little above five thousand houses, which would give a population not much exceeding twenty-five thousand. Defoe says, "Bristol is supposed to have a hundred thousand inhabitants within the city, and within three miles of its circumference." This is a material increase in less than forty years. A later writer observes that "Bristol, the second city in England, next to London has made the largest improvements since the revolution, of any one place in the kingdom, unless Manchester shall be thought an exception to this." ‖ The great woollen manufacture extended itself in the eighteenth century still further west. At Taunton Defoe found eleven hundred looms at work for the weaving of common stuffs; and he was told that there was not a child in the town of above five years old who could not earn its own bread. At Honiton he first saw the serge manufacture of Devonshire, which occupied the whole county. At Exeter, a city then full of trade and manufacture, he looked with admiration upon the serge market, where the people assured him that serges to the value of a hundred thousand pounds were sometimes sold in one week. The port of Topsham was then one of the most considerable among the smaller ports of England; and the woollen manufactures of Devonshire were thence largely exported to Holland, to Portugal and Spain, to Italy. The commerce of the Exe is now comparatively small. Devonshire has still its scattered woollen manufactures,

* See Dyer's "Fleece," book iii.
† See *ante*, p. 510.
‡ "Atlas Maritimus," 1727.
§ "Parliamentary History," vol. iv., Appendix, No. xi.
‖ 1 Gul. & Mar., c. 33. ¶ 3 & 4 Anne, c. 12.
** "British Merchant," 1713.
†† Roberts' "Southern Counties," p. 540.
‡‡ Defoe's "Tour," vol. ii. p. 249.
§§ "Life of Lord Guilford," vol. i. p. 250.

* "Life of Lord Guilford," vol. i. p. 250, and vol. ii. p. 24.
† Fuller's "Worthies." ‡ "Tour," vol. ii. p. 250.
§ Defoe perhaps wrote under the influence of some personal slight. He sought a refuge in Bristol when under pecuniary difficulties; and was there pointed at as "the Sunday gentleman."
‖ Smith's "Memoirs of Wool," 1747. Vol. i. p. 263.

which give employ to fifteen hundred males and two thousand five hundred females; and five hundred males and eight thousand five hundred females are now connected with the production of gloves and lace. But new populations have been created by circumstances of which the Devonians of a century and a half ago had no conception. It was for modern times to behold all the bays of the south-western coast, where the myrtle is unharmed by the winter gales, transformed into flourishing towns, where a few fishermen once earned a precarious livelihood. The rush to the coast for sea-bathing and sea-air was a fashion unknown in the middle of the last century. Still less was it the fashion to locate the invalid under the shelter of hills and promontories, where the south-west breeze might give its soft but invigorating freshness to those who were held to have been perishing in the crowded city. Torquay was then a name for a few huts. Even more rare was the fashion of travelling for pleasure through scenes which we now call beautiful, but which our forefathers held to be horrible wastes. In the days of almost impassable roads, and when wheel conveyances were not common, the hills of Devonshire and Derbyshire, the mountains of Wales and Westmoreland, were left to their primitive occupants, unsought by the tourist, and hated by the business traveller. No one sailed down the Wye and the Dart for pleasure; the Dove and the Wharf were known in their inaccessible beauties only to the solitary angler. When the companion of Charles Cotton rides with him near Ashbourn, the Essex man exclaims, "Bless me, what mountains are here!" and when told that the hills bred and fed good beef and mutton, ejaculates, "They had need of all those commodities to make amends for the ill landscape." * To the eyes of Defoe, Westmoreland was a country eminent only for being the wildest, most barren, and frightful of any that he had passed over in England, or even in Wales itself. He talks of the terrible aspect of the hills, and laments that all the pleasant part of England was at an end.† Gray was the first who looked at Windermere and Borrowdale, at Skiddaw and Saddleback, with the eye of the poet. Whateley was the first who described the Wye; and Gray, who followed him, is in raptures with its "succession of nameless wonders." ‡ Such a change in the tastes of the present and the past century may be accounted for without imputing to our predecessors an indifference to the beauties of nature. Travelling was to them weary work. The most populous districts, with the least execrable roads, were to them the most attractive. The only inns were in the great thoroughfares. The chance hospitality of a cottage on a mountain-side was not to their tastes. Long after the middle of the eighteenth century good roads were the exception. Turnpikes had done something to amend the evil. But up to 1770, when Arthur Young wrote, the roads of the north, and especially of Lancashire, were mostly execrable; so that, speaking of the turnpike road from Preston to Wigan, this shrewd observer says, "Let me most seriously caution all travellers who may accidentally purpose to travel this terrible country, to avoid it as they would the devil." § The love of the picturesque was not sufficient to bear the ordinary tourist through such difficulties.

In the West was the most celebrated watering-place of England. From the earliest times the hot springs of Bath had been the resort of the invalid. The city at the beginning of the eighteenth century was a small cluster of narrow streets, where the houses, although built of stone, were mean and ill-furnished. Yet it had long been the resort of the rich health-seekers and the rich pleasure-seekers. It was proverbial also for its beggars. Fuller, noticing the proverb, says that many repair to Bath from all parts of the land, "the poor for alms, the pained for ease." The beggars came, like fowl to the barn-door, where there was "the general confluence of gentry." Wood, the architect, changed Bath from a crowded nest of dirty lodgings into a city of palaces. But after these improvements were begun, Defoe compared "the close city of Bath" to a foul prison; and laments that physicians, by not giving equal praise to the hot springs of Matlock and Buxton, had not encouraged the building there of "noble and convenient bathing places, and instead of a house or two, a city raised for the entertainment of company." ‖ The passion for drinking mineral waters and for bathing in medicinal springs sent the fashionable world, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, to a similar round of idleness and dissipation, of card-playing and dancing, at the crowded cottages of Tunbridge Wells and the fishing-hovels of Scarborough. The virtues of "the Spa-waters" of the great sea-bathing place of the North were known in the days of Elizabeth. Those who walked from the town over the sands, to the mineral spring which issued from the cliff, never thought of a swim in the sea. There was then no gathering on the coast, east or west, north or south, to inhale the breeze or to float in the brine. The sea was as much dreaded by inland dwellers as the mountains were hateful to the inhabitants of the plains.

When the Prince of Orange landed at Brixham, the probability was that the governor of Plymouth would have opposed the descent of a Dutch army upon the western coast. The island of St. Nicholas had been fortified in the time of Elizabeth. The citadel had been built by Charles II. But at the end of the seventeenth century Plymouth was not a great naval station. No fleets of men-of-war anchored in the Hamoaze; no docks and victualling-yards gave employment to two thousand five hundred workmen. William III. imparted the first impulse to the creation of the great arsenal which was to rival Portsmouth, by building two docks, which were begun in 1691. But Plymouth, the noble estuary of the Tamar and the Plym, had long been the most considerable port for merchandise of South Devon, as Bideford on the Torridge, and Barnstaple on the Taw, had chiefly absorbed the commerce of North Devon. The Plymouth of the end of the seventeenth century and the Plymouth of the middle of the nineteenth century are as essentially different as the war-ships of each period. The perils of the Eddystone rock, "whereon many a good ship hath been split." * were not averted by the warning light which has securely burned there since the days of Smeaton. A lighthouse was commenced to be built on the Eddystone in 1696. In three years it was finished, and the dangers of the approach to the Sound were greatly lessened. The mighty storm of 1703, almost unequalled in its destructive violence, swept the first lighthouse away. There had been signals for help from the doomed fabric when the tempest began on the 24th of November. On the morning of the 26th the people of Plymouth looked out upon the stormy sea with their perspective glasses, and behold, the lighthouse was gone. Its engineer, Winstanley, perished with it. Another lighthouse, formed like the first, of wood upon a stone foundation, was commenced in 1706. It was destroyed by fire in 1755. The force of the south-western gales always made the anchorage of Plymouth harbor somewhat unsafe, till Telford's breakwater, one of the triumphs of modern engineering, rendered the port as eminent for its safety as it is unequalled for picturesque beauty.

The ship-building of Plymouth Dock, of Portsmouth, and of the other naval stations, leads us to look at one of the most extraordinary contrasts between the end of the seventeenth century and the middle of the nineteenth. What mighty efforts of invention and energy between England depending upon foreign countries for iron, and England supplying the whole world with iron; England without iron to hold together its wooden "walls," and England building iron ships; using iron as the great material of the grandest as well as of the humblest purposes of constructive art; covering the whole island with iron roads for vehicles drawn by iron engines; connecting opposite hills by iron viaducts, and carrying iron bridges over the narrowest river and the broadest estuary—the England of every tool and every machine produced from iron, and the England with scarcely iron enough to make its ploughshares. In such considerations of the grandeur of art there is the poetical element, as deep if not so vivid as in the contemplation of the grandeur of nature. To connect poetry with manufacture, according to Dr. Johnson, "is to couple the serpent with the fowl." Whateley, in a celebrated passage, described the smoky cloud of an iron forge on the Wye as adding to the grandeur of the scene at the New Weir. This was simply the picturesque of poetry. But what images of the past, the present, and the future are connected with an incident of the iron manufacture on the same river. The first mass was performed in "the Cistercian house of the Blessed Mary of Tintern," in 1287. Now, five hundred and seventy years afterward, the majestic ruins of the con-

* "Complete Angler," Part ii.
† "Tour," vol. iii. p. 18.
‡ "Works," vol. iv. 1836.
§ "Six Months Tour in the North of England," vol. iv. p. 580.
‖ "Tour," vol. iii. p. 43.

* Teonge's "Diary," p. 25.

ventual church are the admiration of every visitor. To our minds the impressiveness of this noble monument of the piety of the days of Edward I. is enhanced by the solemn thought of the vast social changes of six centuries—changes never more strikingly manifested than in the fact that, within a few hundred yards of the Abbey, the best wire was manufactured for the Atlantic telegraph.

In the seventeenth century the forest of Dean was the principal seat of the iron manufacture. It had been an iron-making district from the time of the Romans. The cinders from the old Roman furnaces still lie like pebbles on the sea-shore on the left bank of the Wye, and deep cavities from which the iron-stone has been dug attest the labors of the industrious race whose coins are found in the same pits.* The work of smelting iron, which the Romans only half performed with imperfect mechanical aids, was carried through, though still imperfectly, by the miners of fourteen hundred years later. The woods of the forest of Dean were burned for charcoal, in a country of pit-coal, and the best "sow-iron" was made from the half-smelted Roman cinders. This sow-iron was sent by the Severn into Worcestershire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, and Cheshire, and there made into bar-iron. The forges of Stourbridge, Dudley, Wolverhampton, Walsall, and Birmingham were chiefly kept at work by the fine iron from this western country. "The forest of Dean," says Yaranton, "is, as to the iron, to be compared to the sheep's back as to the woollen; nothing being of more advantage to England than these two are."† Nevertheless, there were a few iron works in Staffordshire and Warwickshire, in Worcestershire and Shropshire, where iron of an inferior quality, "a short soft iron, commonly called cold-shore iron," was produced: it was chiefly used in the nail manufacture.‡ An act of 1668 recites that the wood and timber of the crown in the forest of Dean had become totally destroyed. § The manufacture of iron was unpopular. Many said, "It were well if there were no iron-works in England, and it was better when no iron was made in England: the iron-works destroy all the woods, and foreign iron from Spain will do better and last longer."‖ Drayton makes the trees of the Weald of Sussex utter their lament for "these iron times." Iron-works had been nearly driven from Kent and Surrey by statutes of Elizabeth and James I. The iron railings round St. Paul's churchyard were almost the last produce of Southern iron-works. Plant woods to burn for charcoal, was the advice of those who believed that home-made iron was a necessity. A man wiser than others in his generation, Edward Lord Dudley, obtained in 1619 a patent for smelting iron-ore by pit-coal. He would probably have bestowed immense riches upon his country had not his iron-works been destroyed in an outbreak of that popular ignorance which has too often interrupted the course of scientific improvement. The notion of smelting the iron-ore by coal was not fairly tried till after 1740, at which time the annual produce of iron in the whole country was only about seventeen thousand tons. What a contrast is the conveyance of iron from the mouth of the Wye in those days, and from the mouth of the Taff in our day. The furnaces of South Wales produce as much pig-iron in one week as all the furnaces of England produced in the whole year of 1740. The seventeen thousand tons smelted by charcoal in that year are only the hundred and fortieth part of all the iron produced in the United Kingdom in 1851, and only the two hundredth part of the produce of 1857. The iron of 1851, compared with the population, was estimated at a hundred and sixty-eight pounds (1½ cwt.) per head. The iron of 1740 gave less than seven pounds per head. The iron-workers of Merthyr-Tydvil are greater now in number than the whole population of Glamorganshire at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

The western extremity of England was the most ancient seat of her mining riches. The Romans worked the tin-mines of Cornwall, as they worked the lead-mines of Derbyshire. The sea-coast is full of the traces of the earliest mining industry. At a comparatively modern period, the reign of John, the Jews were the chief workers of the tin-mines. In the middle of the eighteenth century the produce of these mines was about sixteen hundred tons; and no great increase was observable for another half century. That quantity is about a seventh of the present annual produce. The tin that was used to make the pewter dishes of the rich in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is now chiefly employed to produce the tinned iron plates that form the cooking utensils of the mansion and the cottage, and the tea-pots of Britannia-metal and queen's-metal that are the luxuries of the mechanic's household. The first tin-plate manufactory was established in Monmouthshire in 1730. We now export tin-plates to the value, annually, of a million and a half sterling. The mines of Cornwall created the Stannary towns, of which Truro was the chief, for the stamping of tin, and the assessment of its "coinage" as the revenue of the dukes of Cornwall. But the county, in the time of William III., was full of decayed boroughs, which successive governments have reckoned among the best foundations of public security. Of the five hundred and thirteen representatives of England and Wales, Cornwall, with a population of a hundred and twenty-six thousand, sent forty-four members to parliament. It contained about a fiftieth part of the whole population, and it had a voice in the legislature as potent as if it contained a twelfth of all the inhabitants of the kingdom. This inequality did not contribute to the prosperity of the district. It was poor, and it was venal. The adventurers from Bristol who, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, thought that copper-ore might be found in Cornwall, and Newcomen, the engineer, who, in 1713, employed the first steam-engine to drain a tin-mine near Helstone, conferred more substantial benefits upon Cornwall than all the privileges that kings and ministers had ever bestowed upon the duchy. The Bristol traders set up mills in their city for the production of brass-ware, and to this use was the first copper-ore applied. Sixty years afterward the copper produced from the ore of Cornwall was only about three thousand tons. In another century it had quadrupled in amount and value. The copper-mines have brought about a commercial marriage between Cornwall and South Wales. The ore of the country which has no coal is conveyed across the Bristol Channel to the country which has coal in abundance. The works for smelting copper upon the Neath and the Tawe are as remarkable as the iron-works of the Taff. They are the more remarkable from the fact that the copper-ore of the Cornish mines now forms only a portion of the quantity smelted. The ship that has borne the copper of Australia ten thousand miles now enters the port of Swansea in company with the small vessel that has only dared the roll of the Atlantic as she sailed beneath the bold cliffs from the Land's End to Hartland Point.

One great element of the mineral wealth of South Wales, whose existence is assumed in this brief notice of her iron-works and her copper-works, is to be found in her coal-fields. The other coal districts of the West, those of Bristol and the Mendip Hills, are small in comparison with the vast range that extends from the mouth of the Severn through the whole coast of Wales bordering on the Bristol Channel. The South Welsh coal-field covers a workable area of six hundred thousand acres. At the beginning of the eighteenth century this vast mineral wealth was scarcely worked. There was an export trade of coal from Swansea to Somersetshire, Devonshire, Cornwall, and Ireland; and there was the same trade from Neath.* But no adequate machinery was employed in the mines, and the works were carried on very little below the surface, in pits which could be easily drained by hand-labor. The demands of London for the "sea-coal fire" very nearly made the Newcastle trade of importance. But Wales had no share of this large supply; and the peculiar value of its coal was not felt till the age of steam-engines had arrived.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the industry of the West of England probably exhibited a greater variety of employments than any other district. The people were miners, fishers, cultivators, orchardists, shepherds, weavers, sailors. The Cornish tinners had been engaged in the same unvarying occupation, from times that make other branches of the manufacturing industry of England look as the mere growth of modern necessities. Their peculiar language has died out; but there is the remnant of an old system of co-operative industry in the "tributer" system of their mining labor, which assigns each man a reward different from the ordinary system of wages.† Such arrangements especially belong to an early age of society, before capital had organized industry by its all-controlling power. The Cornish fisheries are conducted upon the same princi-

* See *ante*, vol. i. p. 12.
‡ Ibid.
‖ "England's Improvement," p. 56.
† "England's Improvement," p. 58.
§ 19 & 20 Car. II. c. 8.

* Defoe's "Tour," vol. ii. p. 283.
† See Babbage's "Economy of Machinery," etc., p. 177.

ple, which has probably prevailed from very remote times, when the shoals of pilchards came into the western bays, and have never ceased to come, although Fuller thought they were "varying more westward, to Ireland."* The same system of co-operation prevailed in one of the industries of Somersetshire—the cheese-making of Cheddar—for which Fuller has the characteristic name of "join-dairies." In this village under the ridge of the Mendip, the whole population were cow-keepers. They all united in manuring the common upon which their cows fed. Every cow-keeper brought his milk daily to a common-room, where the quantity was measured and recorded. The making of a great cheese went duly forward; and when the milk of a poor man who kept but one cow was sufficient for one cheese, he received his cheese. The rich owner of many cows had his return earlier, but the poor man was sure of his just share.† In the rural economy of the West there was nothing peculiar but the apple-growth. It was especially the "cider-land."‡ The Christmas festivities were not complete unless the old sacrifices to Pomona were kept up in sprinkling cider upon the apple-trees.§ The superstition is gone; but the apple-orchards of the West have increased in fruitfulness as they have increased in number. The payment by the farmer of a portion of his laborers' wages in cider is perhaps also a relic of an ancient system, which appears in our day to have become an evil.‖ Other distinguishing characteristics of this district have passed away. "The Western English"—the dialect of which the genuine characteristics are to be found in Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle ¶—has left no very marked traces. The Somersetshire school-boy would no longer translate, as Defoe heard, the words of the Canticles, "I have put off my coat; how shall I put it on?" into "Chow a doff'd my coot; how shall I donn't?"** The old tourist found the "jouring" dialect prevail when he had come "that length from London." Rapid and easy communication have nearly swept away all such peculiarities, and have made the Southern English absorb the Western, the Mercian, the Anglian, and the Northumbrian.

CHAPTER CXIX.

The West Midland and North Midland counties—Birmingham—Hardware—The potteries—Glass—Nottingham—Stockings—Lace—Derby—Silk—Lead mines—Lincolnshire—Salt—Soda—Soap—Lancashire before the cotton era—Manchester—Liverpool—Linen trade—Yorkshire—The clothing villages—Leeds—Sheffield—Hull—The Greenland trade—Newcastle—Cumberland and Westmoreland—Scotland—Agricultural counties—Norwich—South-eastern coasts—Cinque-ports—Brighton—Dover—Portsmouth—Southampton.

THE progress of manufactures in districts favorable to their pursuit is decidedly marked by the rapid increase of population. The extension and improvement of cultivation are not ordinarily followed by any such proportionate increase of the numbers of the people. Thus, of the West Midland counties, Herefordshire, Shropshire, Worcestershire, did not add more than one fourth to their population throughout the eighteenth century. Warwickshire and Staffordshire, which before the end of that period had become great seats of the iron and hardware trade, and of the trade in earthenware, had doubled their population. In the same manner, though not in the same degree, of the North Midland counties, Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, which had grown up into large hosiery districts, added half to their numbers during that century. Of Lincolnshire, in the same period, the population was nearly stationary.

Bishop Berkeley, in 1737, by way of example to the Irish of the rapid turning of money asks, "Whether the small town of Birmingham alone doth not, upon an average, circulate every week, one way or other, to the value of fifty thousand pounds?"†† The iron-ware of Birmingham was in repute long before the beginning of the eighteenth century. In the time of Henry VIII. Leland wrote that "a great part of the town is maintained by smiths, who have their iron and sea-coal out of Staffordshire." The people of Birmingham were then makers of knives, of bridle-bits, of nails. In the reign of Charles II. they still manufactured scarcely anything more than iron tools and husbandry implements. Their forges were open to the public streets, by the side of the rough shop where the spade and the bag of nails were exposed for sale. Under the encouragement given by William III. Birmingham began in his reign to make firearms. But how insufficient at that period was the home production of iron articles we may judge from the table of duties on imports,* in which we have iron pots, backs for chimneys, frying-pans, anvils. The vast surface of the great coal and iron field around Birmingham was then scarcely penetrated. The blaze of the furnaces that now lights up the country for miles was then a very feeble illumination from the few works where iron was smelted by wood. The anvils of Wolverhampton, Dudley, Walsall, Bilston, Wednesbury, were then employed in the humblest work of iron manufacture. Birmingham, before the middle of the eighteenth century, had attempted no manufactures in brass; and the greater part of that wonderful variety of industry which has given Berkeley's "small town" a population of a quarter of a million of souls was quite unattempted. The great prosperity of Birmingham belongs even to a much later period than that in which Burke called it "the toy-shop of Europe." It was always employed at work more important than toy-making. It supplied England and its settlements with many articles of convenience and utility before it became famous through the world for those manifold products of ingenuity and taste which no nation can rival. Every house that was newly built in England during the eighteenth century gave a stimulus to the activity of Birmingham to provide its locks and bolts. Every acre of ground that was cleared for building in the American plantations made a similar demand upon the labor of the iron-working district. The Sheffield axe hewed down the woods. The Birmingham spade trenched the ground, and the thorns crackled under the Birmingham caldron. Slowly but certainly did the exports increase of those articles which we imported at the beginning of this eighteenth century, until, in 1856, the exports of hardware alone amounted to three millions seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling.

In that district of North Staffordshire now known as The Potteries—a district of many towns, extending, with few intervals, for eight miles—there was a manufacture of common cooking-ware at one of these towns, Burslem, at the beginning of the eighteenth century. It had been discovered that the brown-ware could be glazed with salt instead of with pulverized lead-ore; and thus Burslem, in 1700, had twenty-two glazing ovens. This district abounded in clays fit for earthenware; but the art of producing the finer sorts was wholly neglected. These clays were prepared and dried in the sun; and from these "sun-kiln potteries" was turned out a coarse porous ware, which was called "butter-ware," from its property of keeping butter cool. Burslem was marked in maps as the "Butter Pottery." About the time of the revolution superior clays were introduced, and an improved ware was manufactured in small quantities. Nevertheless the coarse white ware of Holland, known as Delft, was a luxury for the rich. The wooden trencher was the plate of the cottager and the small tradesman. Any approach to a home manufacture of porcelain was far distant. The East India Company imported ornamented ware known as China, for which the introduction of tea created a demand. The middle of the eighteenth century was passed before Josiah Wedgewood brought his science and taste to the manufacture of earthenware, and finally produced specimens as admirable for their beauty of design as for their general utility. It is impossible to overrate the blessing to the great body of the people of cheap and good crockery. This is indeed a higher national advantage, even, than the amount of industry, and of high artistical skill, called into activity by our present manufacture of earthenware, which employs thirty-six thousand persons, and of which the exports amount to nearly a million and a half sterling.

The manufacture of glass was one of those industries to which William III. was solicited to give encouragement. The government, in the unwise spirit that has not altogether died out with reference to other manufactures, had thought fit to subject glass to an excise

* "Worthies," vol. i. p. 206. † Defoe's "Tour" vol. ii. p. 30.
‡ J. Philips' "Cider," book ii.
§ "For more or less fruits they will bring
As you do give them wassailing."—Herrick, "Hesperides."
‖ "Journal of the Bath and West of England Society," vol. vi. p. 136.
¶ *Quarterly Review*, vol. lv. p. 386. ** "Tour," vol. i. p. 319.
†† "The Querist"—Works, vol. ii. p. 273, ed. 1843.

* 2 Gul. & Mar. Sess. 2, c. 4.

The duties were partially repealed, and they were wholly removed before the end of the seventeenth century. By a statute of 1698 they are declared to be very vexatious and troublesome, and of small advantage to the crown; would lessen the duties on coals much more than the duty on glass would yield, and would endanger the loss of the manufacture to the kingdom."* In 1746 duties on glass were reimposed, and for another century the profitable employment of capital and labor in this admirable manufacture was repressed. A wise statesman abolished the duties, and we look upon the results with wonder and admiration. The manufacture, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and during its first half, was principally confined to green glass and the commonest window-glass. Defoe says, "There were, when I was there, no less than fifteen glass-houses in Bristol, which is more than are in the city of London."† The glass-houses of London had nothing of the character of factories about them. They were scattered in obscure districts amid a wretched population. Colonel Jack, the hero of one of those fictions of Defoe which have all the truth of real life, says, "As for lodging, we lay in the summer-time about the watch-houses, and on bulkheads and shop-doors, where we were known; and in winter we got into the ash-holes and nealing-arches, in the glass-house called Dallow's Glass-house, in Rosemary Lane, or at another glass-house in Ratcliff Highway."

Leicestershire had the reputation of producing the largest sheep and horses in England. The graziers, in some places, were so rich that they had become gentlemen.‡ But Leicestershire was also a manufacturing county. The long wool of the Leicester sheep gave rise to the worsted-stocking trade. In the town of Leicester, and in other neighboring towns, the weaving of stockings by frames had become the general employment. "One would scarce think it possible," says the tourist of the early part of the eighteenth century, "that so small an article of trade could employ such multitudes of people as it does."§ The wonder, no doubt, proceeded from the fact that the great body of the people did not wear stockings; and hence stocking-weaving was "so small an article of trade." At Nottingham and Derby Defoe saw the same industry affording general employment for labor in combination with machinery. The stocking-room of William Lea was invented in 1589. In 1670 there were only six hundred and sixty looms in the kingdom, and these were chiefly employed upon silk stockings. At the close of the reign of Queen Anne there were nine thousand looms. In the early part of the reign of Queen Victoria the stocking-looms of Leicestershire, Derbyshire, and Nottinghamshire were computed at forty-three thousand. In the northern counties stockings long continued to be made by hand. At Richmond there was "a market for woollen and yarn stockings, which they make very coarse and ordinary, and sell accordingly. Here you see great and small a-knitting."‖ It was the same in Westmoreland. Machinery more effective than the stocking-frame is now extensively employed in the production of hosiery.

Nottingham is at present the great seat of the lace trade—of the lace produced by that wonder of mechanical ingenuity the bobbin-net-frame, invented in 1809. But at the beginning of the eighteenth century the Western and Southern counties were the great seats of the bone-lace manufacture—of that lace which "the free maids who weave their thread with bones" had been fabricating in the days of Elizabeth and James I. In the reign of William III. the importation of foreign bone-lace was prohibited. The Flemings, who had been accustomed to send us their rich point-lace, refused in consequence to take our woollen cloth; and then the prohibition was removed, "by being the occasion that our woollen manufactures are prohibited to be imported into Flanders." Bone-lace making was not exclusively a feminine industry. There is a charming passage in Berkeley's "Word to the Wise," in which he exhibits the domestic industry of England, as a reproof to the Irish laborers, "who close the day with a game on greasy cards, or lying stretched before the fire." "In England, when the labor of the field is over, it is usual for men to betake themselves to some other labor of a different kind. In the northern parts of that industrious land, the inhabitants meet, a jolly crew, at one another's houses, where they merrily and frugally pass the long and dark winter evenings; several families, by the same light and the same fire, working at their different manufactures of wool, flax, or hemp; company meanwhile mutually cheering and provoking to labor. In certain other parts you may see, on a summer's evening, the common laborers sitting along the streets of a town or village, each at his own door, with a cushion before him, making bone-lace, and earning more in an evening's pastime than an Irish family would in a whole day."* Alas, for the bone-lace makers. Their industry was almost extinguished by the inexorable machine of 1809. But a change of fashion is bringing their labor again into repute. The endowment in 1626 of a free school at Great Marlow, to teach twenty-four girls to knit, spin, and make bone-lace, had become a provision for the continuance of obsolete arts and unprofitable labor. The revival of the prettiest of these arts is one of the many proofs that while machinery does its proper work for the great bulk of comforts and luxuries, there are elegancies and niceties of hand-labor which machines cannot wholly supersede.

Lombe's famous silk-mill at Derby, completed in 1717, was not the first attempt to supersede the foreign thrown, or spun silk, by the conversion of the raw silk into what was called organzine. The silk-mill at Derby, "afterward much improved by Sir Thomas Lombe, was first erected by one Soracole, a man expert in making mill-work, especially for raising water to supply towns for family use."† The almost exclusive use of woollen cloth had been trenched upon before the end of the reign of Charles II., by the silks of France.‡ In 1699, it was bitterly complained of, that "the unreasonable and indiscreet preference of India manufactures, especially that of India silks and stuffs, hath almost wholly overthrown, and unhinged, this profitable and necessary trade of silk-throwing and weaving."§ The clamor was so great against Indian silks and printed cottons that after the 29th of September, 1701, the wearing all wrought silks, of the manufacture of Persia, China, or East India, and all calicoes, painted, dyed, or stained therein, was absolutely prohibited.‖ If we may believe the advocates of prohibition, this statute had the effect of repeopling Spitalfields, "that looked before like a deserted place."¶ The weavers went blithely to work; and an ingenious experiment was tried to furnish them with silk spun by machinery. Yet the wearers of silk would not be satisfied with the home manufacture. The mercer tried to palm off the wares of Spitalfields at French goods illicitly imported.** Bishop Berkeley, with the large view of a philosopher, saw the reason of this preference; and, when the clandestine importation went on, to a great exent, in spite of all custom-house vigilance, asks "whether France and Flanders could have drawn so much money from England, for figured silks, lace, and tapestry, if they had not had academies for design?" We should have remained till this day inferior in design, and in every other quality of the silk manufacture, had not a great statesman, who was denounced as "a hard-hearted political economist," made a partial beginning of that system of free trade which has raised this particular manufacture, as it has raised so many others, to an eminence which utterly disregards every danger of foreign competition. The country which in 1825 was to be ruined by the importation of foreign silks now exports silk of native manufacture, to an extent little short of two millions value in one year.

The lead-mines of the High Peak, in Derbyshire, were worked in the period of which we write, without much mechanical aid. The miner descended into the pit by a narrow square opening called a groove, in the angles of which groove pieces of wood were inserted. He ascended with his load of ore in the same rude fashion. "We saw," says Defoe, "the poor wretch working and heaving himself up gradually, as we thought with difficulty. . . . He was clothed all in leather; had a cap of the same without brims; and some tools in a little basket which he drew up with him. . . . Besides his basket of tools he brought up with him about three quarters of a hundred weight of ore." This poor man, who could not express himself intelligibly, signified through an interpreter that he was at work sixty fathoms deep; but that there were five other men of his party, two of whom were eleven fathoms deeper, and the other three

* 10 Gul. III. c. 24.
‡ Ibid., vol. ii. p. 332.
‖ Ibid., vol. iii. p. 115.
† "Tour," vol. ii. p. 251.
§ Ibid.

* Works, vol. ii. p. 227.
† Defoe, "Tour," vol. iii. p. 33.
‡ Smith on Wool, vol. i. p. 259.
§ Ibid., vol. ii. p. 44.
‖ 11 & 12 Gul. III. c. 10.
¶ Smith, vol. ii. p. 191.
** "English Tradesman," vol. ii. p. 199.

fifteen fathoms deeper. These had an easier labor, for they had a way out at the side of a hill. Such was mining in days before the steam-engine. The lead-mines have always been worked with the expectation of obtaining silver, for the extraction of which modern chemistry has afforded facilities. In 1699 one impediment to such experiments was removed. By a statute of Henry IV. the "multiplying" gold and silver was made felony. This law, directed against the alchemists, made the attempt to extract gold and silver by refining metals a high penal offence; and men of "study, industry, and learning," who in metallurgy had "arrived to great skill and perfection, dare not exercise their said skill." The act of Henry IV. was therefore repealed.* Such are the mistakes of legislation, when it fancies that matters wholly belonging to its own time will have a perpetual endurance. Our statute-book is full of such examples of blind lawgiving; and the remedy seldom comes till the evil has become insupportable.

Lincolnshire is now universally acknowledged to be the most fertile county in England. At the beginning of the eighteenth century it numbered 40,590 houses, and a consequent population of about two hundred and three thousand. In 1801 it contained a population only of about two hundred and eight thousand. In 1851 its numbers reached four hundred and seven thousand. This is the most remarkable example of the increase of a purely agricultural population, by the application, upon the largest scale, of the resources of mechanical and chemical science. Defoe looked upon the fen-country—the "often-drowned country," whose very ditches were navigable, and whose inhabitants went from town to town in boats. Here he heard the hoarse voice of the bittern. Here he saw the decoys for wild-fowl, which were taken in incredible quantities for the London market. The bittern no longer shakes "the sounding marsh;" the decoys are swept away to yield a better supply of beef and mutton. The drainage of the Fens was in progress when Defoe wrote; and there were large outlays of capital upon this great undertaking. But, "notwithstanding all that hands could do, or art contrive, yet sometimes the waters do still prevail, the banks break, and whole levels are overflowed together."† The work which the Romans began; which the skilful monks of the middle age continued; which spirited adventurers undertook in the time of Charles I., but were interrupted by the rapacity of his unwise government, and the subsequent troubled times; which was set on foot again in 1668; and which was an especial subject of legislation in 1697—has steadily gone forward. The time may arrive when the Great Level of the Fens may become as wholly firm land as the remains of ancient roads and trees below the surface show it once to have been. The contrast between the great corn-bearing and grazing country of our own times and of the period of the revolution is sufficiently impressive, although some land has yet to be reclaimed from the dominion of the waters.

The brine springs of Cheshire and of Worcestershire had been producing salt from time immemorial. On all parts of the coast sea-water had been evaporated for salt, from days probably coeval with the earliest labor of the fisherman. In 1670 the first bed of rock salt was discovered at Nantwich, in Cheshire. Defoe mentions that after this discovery of rock-salt the salt of the brine springs was not so much in request. At the beginning of the eighteenth century England was known to possess an unlimited supply of the material of salt; yet the manufacture was so imperfect that the only salt fit for the tables of the opulent was imported. There was no gabelle, as in France, to prevent the free consumption of salt; but the nauseous taste and the deleterious effects of our common salt necessarily limited its use. Then came the long era of injudicious taxation. A duty was imposed upon salt in the reign of William III., and in a century it was increased to twelve times the value of the article taxed. But this was not enough for the grasp of self-defeating fiscal rapacity. The duty was raised at last to fifteen shillings a bushel, or forty times the value of the article taxed. In 1823 the salt duties were wholly abolished. Then this necessary of life was to be used without stint; and salt was also to become one of the most important materials of chemical manufacture. It is curious to trace the changes in industry produced by the magic of relief from taxation. The abolition of the duty on salt produced the manufacture of soda. The cheapness of soda, and its certain and unlimited supply, wholly altered the manufacture of soap. The alkali which was obtained on every shore of England and Scotland, by burning the seaweed to produce kelp, now comes from the chemical works of Newcastle and Glasgow, at a price which renders the labor of the meanest peasant, who earned the scantiest pittance by collecting the weed, far too costly for the purpose of commerce. Every farmer, in the middle of the last century, endeavored to prevent any clause being inserted in his lease to regulate his cutting of underwood. He wanted not the underwood for his own hearth. He wanted to burn the wood to make ashes for the soap-boiler. In Suffolk, the soap boilers' men were always travelling the round of the hamlets. They visited every house with light quartering carts, to collect the wood-ashes. There were scarcely any roads impracticable to these vehicles.* The misery of a country with bad salt and dear soap—both evils chiefly produced by misdirected taxation—can scarcely be overestimated. The contrast of these matters of the present and the past is astounding. The annual consumption of salt by every individual of the population of Great Britain was estimated at twenty-two pounds in 1839.† Upon a population of twenty-one millions, this would give a consumption of four hundred and sixty-two million pounds, or eight million two hundred and fifty thousand bushels. In addition we now export thirty million bushels of salt. Soap duties are now also abolished. The first excise of a penny per pound was imposed in the reign of Anne. The duties on soap went on increasing till they were utterly repealed in the reign of Victoria. The consumption of soap in 1851 was four times as great as that of 1801.

If the fire-nymphs, and water-nymphs, and earth-nymphs of Darwin had been endued with the spirit of prophecy—if his "nymph Gossypia,"‡ especially had looked back upon the past, and predicted of the future—the population of Lancashire, when Darwin wrote in 1790, would have incredulously listened to facts such as these, whether told in sonorous verse or simple prose: You numbered two hundred thousand souls at the beginning of the eighteenth century; you will number two million souls in the middle of the nineteenth century. The vegetable fibre of which you scarcely knew the use when the first ship entered the first dock of Liverpool, in the year 1700, and when Liverpool and Manchester had no water communication, shall be brought from North America, from Brazil, from Egypt, and from India, in quantities that will annually reach a thousand millions of pounds. This cotton wool shall be worked by machines which in their elaborate contrivances shall make the "spinning-jenny" of Arkwright appear a feeble substitute for fingers. Enormous factories for converting the wool into yarn, and for weaving the yarn into cloth by mechanical power shall rise up in barren districts, where the human foot now scarcely treads; and villages, each with a few hundred souls scattered around its parish church, shall become enormous towns, with their thousands of inhabitants. The products of this industry shall furnish twenty millions of our own nation with fabrics of wondrous cheapness, and of beauty far surpassing the painted calicoes of the East, which were so jealously prohibited about a century ago. Foreign nations shall purchase these cotton manufactures to the annual amount in money value of nearly forty million pounds. This manufacture shall give direct employ to half a million of people in the factories, and to a hundred thousand engineers and machinists in connection with these mills. All these wonderful results shall be accomplished by almost incredible skill and perseverance, during a period not longer than the ordinary term of human life. But the most marvellous expansion of this industry, and of all other industries, shall take place in the generation succeeding you; and at the termination of the first half of the nineteenth century three persons shall subsist on this soil of Lancashire where one subsisted at its commencement; and ten shall subsist where one subsisted a hundred years earlier.

To look at the condition of Lancashire before the cotton era is to look at the Hercules in his cradle. But we must endeavor to continue the sketch which we have attempted of other districts about the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Manchester, in the early part of the reign of Charles II., was reck-

* 1 Gul. & Mar., c. 30. † "Tour," vol. ii. pp. 341–344.

* Cullum's Hawsted, p. 250.
† M'Culloch, "Statistics of British Empire," vol. i. p. 592.
‡ A name derived from Gossypium, the cotton-plant.

oned to contain six thousand people.* Fifty years later its population was estimated at fifty thousand; but this estimate included "the suburb, or village, on the other side of the bridge."† There were no very precise data for this estimate, beyond the manifest increase of buildings and of trade: the increase of inhabitants having demanded a new church, that of St. Anne. "If this calculation be just, as I believe it really is," writes Defoe, "you have here an open village, which is greater and more populous than most cities in England: neither York, Lincoln, Chester, Salisbury, Winchester, Worcester, Gloucester, no, nor Norwich itself, can come up to it."‡ The social condition of Manchester, at the end of the seventeenth century, was very primitive. Its manufactures of fustian, girth web, ticking, tapes, were carried on by small masters, who had apprentices residing in their houses. These lads were employed in the servile offices of turning the warping-mills, and carrying packages from place to place. The master and his young men breakfasted together upon "water-pottage, boiled thick," and a bowl of milk stood upon the table, into which all dipped their spoons.§ In 1702 there was the portentous entry in a tradesman's household-book, of a sum expended for tea and sugar. In the reign of George I. it was held that "the luxury of the age will be the ruin of the nation;" and one of the proofs of this degeneracy was that "the wholesome breakfast of water-gruel and milk-pottage is changed for coffee and tea."‖ The present mill-owners of Manchester, each with his enormous transactions, represented by hundreds of thousands of pounds in a year, furnish a remarkable contrast to "those travelling tradesmen whom we call Manchester men." To every town the fustians and "small things called Manchester ware" were borne by horse-packs; "the Manchester men being, saving their wealth, a kind of pedlers who carry their goods themselves to the country shopkeepers everywhere."¶ The perils of their land journeys were not trifling: "The horse is driven away by some sudden flood, or falls down in the water and spoils the goods."** Manchester had few rival neighbors in its trade of fustians and dimities, in which a little hand-spun cotton was used. Towns such as Bolton, to which "the cotton manufacture had reached," did not presume to compete with Manchester's warping-mills, and Manchester's looms, "which work twenty-four laces at a time," as is recorded with wondering commendation. At Bury the cotton manufacture was ended, and the woollen manufacture of coarse sorts begun. At Preston the tourist had "come beyond the trading part of the country." This gay town, known as Proud Preston, was full of attorneys, proctors, and notaries.†† Between the trading towns there was very imperfect communication; and until the Mersey, the Irwell, and the Weaver were made navigable, land-carriage to and from Liverpool was an important addition to the cost of exported and imported goods.

The traveller entering Lancashire from the western point of the county would be ferried over the Mersey to Liverpool. Instead of steamers and magnificent landing-places adjusting themselves to the rise or fall of the tide, the traveller in the reign of Anne, having reached the flat shore in the ferry, was carried "on the shoulders of some Lancashire clown, who comes knee-deep to the boat's side to truss you up."‡‡ Liverpool, at the date of the revolution, had no proper harbor and no quay. The trading-ships lay in the offing, and their cargoes were borne to them or from them in boats. In 1700 Liverpool had built a dock—now known as the Old Dock. "The like of this dock was not to be seen in any place of England, London excepted."§§ From the beginning of the eighteenth century the rapid progress of Liverpool may be dated. In 1709 it had eighty-four ships and nine hundred sailors. Its customs soon became next in amount to those of Bristol, which was only exceeded by London. Its warehouses were filled with tobacco and sugar from the plantations. Thus Liverpool went on increasing, for a century and a half, until in 1851 it numbered three hundred and seventy-five thousand inhabitants; and the British and foreign vessels entering the port exceeded four thousand in one year. When the detestable slave trade was abolished the ruin of Liverpool was predicted. It had been engaged in that traffic from the beginning of the eighteenth century, and it strove to rival Bristol in the extent of the iniquity. Yet we must not forget that in this matter the heart of trading England was long hardened. The merchants of Lyme, in 1700, petitioned parliament against the apprehended monopoly of the African company, and prayed "to be allowed to trade to the plantations, and kidnap on the coast of Africa."*

Warrington, while Manchester was making its dimities, was the seat of a considerable linen trade. The table-linen called huckaback was extensively made in the neighborhood of this place. But every discouragement was given to the English linen manufacture. It was maintained that Divine Providence had appointed the especial employment of manufacturing England, and that the first acceptable sacrifice to his omnipotency was that of the flock. Ireland might grow flax and make linen, as some compensation for the injustice that had been committed toward her in absolutely prohibiting the importation of her cattle.† But let England attempt no other manufacture than the woollen manufacture, which had been for ages the support of the nation.‡ The same dread of permitting any wear for the living or the dead but that of woollen made the flock-masters and clothiers frantic, when printed cottons, of English production, had become not only fashionable but common in 1719. Drapers' wives, and even maid-servants and children, it is alleged, wore calicoes or printed linen, attracted by their lightness, cheapness, and gayety of color. The example of the gentry had corrupted the common people; and so the manufacture of light woollen stuffs would be ruined.§ The result of this clamor was an act of 1721, to preserve and encourage the woollen and silk manufactures, by prohibiting the use and wear of all printed, painted, stained, or dyed calicoes, in apparel, household stuff, or furniture.‖ Of course such legislation was nugatory; but here is the evidence, among many other proofs, of the supreme ignorance and folly of law-makers, who, from the earliest days of the loom and the plough in England, have struggled to "regiment" all industry—to encourage or to prohibit—to determine what wages laborers should be paid, and what should be the profit of capitalists—to crush rising industries by taxation—to compel the people to eat dear food for the supposed benefit of the landowner—and, finally, to find out that the nation was never so universally prosperous as when its industry was wholly left to the care of itself, under the guidance of God's natural laws.

Yorkshire had a population at the beginning of the eighteenth century of five hundred and thirty thousand. The great woollen manufacture, chiefly of the stuffs known as Yorkshire kerseys, had raised five centres of this manufacture, which were known as clothing-towns—Bradford, Huddersfield, Wakefield, Halifax, Leeds. The inhabitants of these five towns are now equal to a fifth of the whole population of Yorkshire. They were, a hundred and fifty years ago, small places, but full of busy and enterprising dealers. It is noted as a remarkable proof of the importance of the commerce of this district that a cross-post had been established to connect the West of England with the North, which post began at Plymouth and ended at Hull.¶ Defoe followed the course of this post-road from Liverpool to Bury, and thence to Halifax. There are few things in the books of the modern tourist that can compare with his lifelike picture of this country, then in some parts almost inaccessible, but now covered with a web of railways, more complicated than in any other portion of the island. It was the end of August. The snow, even then lying on the hills, appeared alarming. At Rochdale the travellers were offered a guide; but they apprehended no danger, and went on, satisfied with a description of the landmarks. They ascended Blackstone Edge amid a snow-storm, but the way down was a very frightful one. In the valley they had to cross a brook knee-deep. Again they had to mount a hill, and again to cross a stream; and in a journey of eight miles they repeated this labor eight times, much to their discontent. The tourist records not the picturesque beauties of these Yorkshire valleys; but he has given us a charming sketch of their industry. As he approached nearer to Halifax the houses were closer together, in every bottom and on every hill-side. After the third hill was passed, the country became one continued village,

* Macaulay, "History," vol. i.
† Defoe, "Tour," vol. iii. p. 174.
‡ Ibid.
§ Aikin.
‖ "Augusta Triumphans."
¶ "Complete Tradesman," vol. i.
** Ibid., vol. ii.
†† "Tour," vol. iii. p. 180–83.
‡‡ Ibid., p. 164.
§§ Ibid., p. 168.

* Roberts' "Southern Counties," p. 467.
† 18 Car. II. c. 2.
‡ Tract of 1671—Smith on Wool, vol. i. p. 384.
§ Ibid., vol. ii. p. 195.
‖ 7 Geo. I. c. 7.
¶ Defoe, "Tour," vol. iii. p. 72.

though every way mountainous; and as the day cleared up, he could see at every house a tenter, and on almost every tenter a piece of white cloth sparkling in the sun. Every house on the hill-side had its little rill, conveyed in gutters from the springs above; and on the heights there was coal, so that the great necessaries of the manufacture were close at hand. In every house the women were carding and spinning. The men were some at the loom, some at the dyeing-vat. Not an idle person was to be seen. The corn of this region, and of other parts of the great clothing district, was supplied from the East Riding, and from Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire. In the autumn the markets for black cattle were prodigiously thronged, for the clothiers then bought as many oxen as would serve their families for the whole year, salted and hung up in the smoke to dry. One product of Yorkshire was abundant among them—"The store of good ale which flows plentifully in the most mountainous part of this country." The domestic system of the cloth-making villages of Yorkshire has not been wholly driven out by the factory system; but it is very different from the time when the clothier kept "his one horse to fetch home his wool and his provisions from the market, to carry his yarn to the spinners, his manufacture to the fulling-mill, and, when finished, to the market to be sold." *

If the inhabitants of the clothing villages are now essentially different in their mode of life, how much more striking is the difference between the Leeds of Queen Anne and the Leeds that assembled a quarter of a million of people to greet Queen Victoria in 1858. The great cloth-market of Leeds was, in the seventeenth century, kept upon the bridge over the Aire. As the market increased it was removed to the High Street. From the bridge to the market-house tressels were placed in the street, and a temporary counter was formed. The clothiers came in from the country, few bringing more than one piece of cloth; and, after the refreshment of a pot of ale, a bowl of porridge, and a trencher of beef, regularly provided for two-pence by the public-house keepers, they were at their tressels by six o'clock in summer and by seven in winter. Each clothier placed his cloth lengthwise upon the counter—"a mercantile regiment drawn up in line." The factors come, examine the cloth, and conclude a bargain in a whisper. In a short time the clothiers begin to move, each bearing his piece of cloth to the buyer's house. In an hour the business is over, and the market is left to the shoemakers, hardware-men, and other retailers. Such was the cloth-market also at Halifax and Bradford, before the days of the cloth hall of Leeds, which was built in 1711.† The linen manufacture of Yorkshire did not then exist. There was no flax-factory to give employment to a thousand spinners under one roof, attending upon the movements of innumerable steam-driven wheels and spindles. Yet in the small industry of the West Riding in the eighteenth century we see the germ of its gigantic operations in the nineteenth; and we are by no means sure that in the twentieth century the mighty industry of our own day may not be looked upon as an imperfect development of the resources of English wealth and energy.

Sheffield had been famous for its cutlery from the time of Edward III. At the end of the seventeenth century it had machinery which had lent no aid to the fabrication of the whittle which Chaucer's Miller of Trumpington wore in his hose. Sheffield had one mill for turning grindstones. The "grinders" of Sheffield are now of themselves a large population. It was boasted that around Sheffield were six iron-furnaces, supplied by its neighboring woods. How many wood-furnaces would now be required for the production of its steel, and for the almost innumerable products of this great metropolis of steel, giving employment to a population of a hundred and fifty thousand?

Hull was an exceedingly prosperous port at the beginning of the eighteenth century, although it had no dock till 1788. Its commerce on the northern shore of the Humber included shipments to London, to Holland, and to the Baltic, of the woollens of the West Riding, the hardwares of Sheffield, and the lead of Derbyshire. Its imports were of iron, copper, flax, and linen. But the exports of corn from Hull exceeded those of any other port. One trade, however, was lost to Hull at this period. An act of 1692 recites that "the trade to Greenland and the Greenland seas, in the fishing for whales there, hath been heretofore a very beneficial trade to this kingdom;" and the preamble concludes by saying that "the said trade is now quite decayed and lost." The company then established had little success, and the whale fishery was not resumed till 1750. England had little need of oil during the first half of the eighteenth century; for London and all other towns were lighted chiefly by lanterns and link-boys. When light could no longer be dispensed with, the parliament granted a heavy bounty to all ships engaged in the whale fishery; and many ships were sent out "as much certainly in the view of catching the bounty as of catching the whales." * The whales, however, shifted their course; and the Greenland fishery came nearly to an end, in spite of the act "for the regaining, encouraging, and settling the Greenland trade." †

The tourist whom we have followed in his observant course says that from Durham to Newcastle the mountains of coal, lying at the mouth of numerous pits, gave a view of the unexhausted store which supplies not only London but all the south part of England. The people of London, he remarks, when they see the prodigious fleets of ships which come constantly in with coal for that increasing city, wonder whence they come, and "that they do not bring the whole country away." The quantity of sea-borne coal brought to London in 1856 was above three million tons, or ten times the amount required about the end of the seventeenth century. But the foreign export of coal from the northern pits is now enormous; and large quantities are borne by railway and canal. It has been calculated that if three million five hundred thousand tons of coals were raised annually, it would require a period of seventeen hundred years to exhaust the coal-pits of Durham and Northumberland. The colliers of the Thames will not speedily "bring the whole country away." The wondrous coal-trade, and the other industries of the towns of Newcastle, Tynemouth, Gateshead, South Shields, and Sunderland, have raised up a population of nearly two hundred and fifty thousand, being considerably in excess of the entire population of Northumberland and Durham in the early part of the eighteenth century. But we must not forget that the vast expansion of mining and manufacturing industry which we have recorded in this our general view, may be dated, in great part, from a private bill of the tenth year of the reign of William III., entitled "An act for the encouragement of a new invention of Thomas Savery, for raising water, and occasioning motion in all sorts of mill-work, by the impellant force of fire." Nor must we overlook the fact that in the time of Charles II. Roger North describes the admiration of his brother at the ingenuity of the coal-workers of Newcastle, whose "manner of carriage was, by laying rails of timber, from the colliery down to the river, exactly straight and parallel; and bulky carts are made with four rowlets fitting these rails; whereby the carriage is so easy that one horse will draw four or five chaldron of coals, and is an immense benefit to the coal-merchant." ‡

The population of Cumberland and of Westmoreland was, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, by far the smallest of any English county. The two counties did not contain more than twenty-one thousand houses, and a hundred and six thousand inhabitants. They had increased by one half in 1801; which number was again increased by another half in 1851. They did not contribute much more than Rutland to the Aid of 1689. The Fells of Westmoreland were held to be almost impassable. Kirkby-Lonsdale and Kirkby-Stephen, Appleby and Kendal, were considered pleasant manufacturing towns; but all the rest of the district was proclaimed to be wild, barren, and horrible. Penrith was said to be a handsome market-town, and of good trade. The people made woollen cloth, as they had made from the old times when the outlaws of Sherwood were clothed in Kendal green. Pack-horses travelled about the villages with cloth; and the pedlar continued to be the principal merchant, as he was up to the days of "The Excursion." Whitehaven was a port for shipping coals, chiefly to Ireland. The copper-mines of the Derwent Fells, which had been wrought in search of gold, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, had been abandoned. The black-lead mine of Borrowdale had also been worked at that period: it continued to be worked in the days when pencils were in small demand; and it still yields its

* Defoe, "Tour," pp. 73–84.
† Thoresby's "Leeds," and Defoe's "Tour."

* M'Culloch, "Statistics," vol. i. p. 609 (ed. 1839).
† 4 Gul. & Mar., c. 17. ‡ "Life of Lord Guilford."

rare and valuable produce, but in quantities unequal to the demand of our own times. After the union the castles and great houses of the border went most of them to ruin. Carlisle had its cathedral, its castle, and its walls; but it was a small city of old buildings; and its population of twenty-six thousand had to be created after a century was past. There was one remarkable industry of this remote district. The salmon taken in the Derwent were carried fresh to London, by horses which travelled day and night without intermission. They travelled faster than the post, and the extraordinary price of the luxury—from half a crown to four shillings a pound—repaid the cost of carriage.* Railways serve London with salmon at a cheaper rate.

The industry of Scotland before the union, in 1707, was so limited in its character that this is scarcely the period to attempt any comparison between its productive and commercial power previous to that fortunate consummation, and its present condition of agricultural and manufacturing excellence. The two countries when under separate legislatures offered a wretched example of mutual prohibitions, under which the smaller country was by far the greater sufferer. Scotland would not admit the English woollen cloth. England would not permit a Scotch trade with her colonies. These miserable rivalries came to an end. A Glasgow vessel of sixty tons first crossed the Atlantic in 1718; and from that period Scotland steadily went forward in a noble career of generous emulation with her sister kingdom. Her progress was for many years slow. Capital was not rapidly accumulated after generations of clan hostility. The hordes of beggars, that Fletcher of Saltoun would have sold to slavery in 1698, could not be wholly removed by the absorption of profitable labor in a few years. The violent religious and political hostilities of six reigns could not wholly subside when George I. came to the throne. But the parochial school establishment of Scotland, which dates its efficiency from 1696, was to gradually produce the certain effects of general education upon a keen and energetic race. The mode of living among the peasantry of Scotland might be mean, as compared with the diet of the peasantry of England; but the agency was at work which would raise the condition of every laborer in Scotland to a level with his compeers beyond the border. A humble lot in life was not incompatible with mental cultivation. Allan Ramsay, in the reign of Anne, was a worker in the lead-mines of the Earl of Hopeton. Robert Burns, even in 1781, subsisted upon oatmeal when a flax-dresser. But if Johnson, with his usual prejudices, chose to describe oats as a grain eaten by horses in England and by men in Scotland, the time was fast approaching when the national food would cease to be associated with national poverty; when agriculture, improved beyond all example, should fill the land with unprecedented fertility; when the mineral wealth of Scotland should be worked with the same diligence as the cultivation of the soil; when the commerce of the Clyde should approach that of the Thames and the Mersey, and its iron steamships should go forth to every sea; when cotton-factories, and print-works should emulate the gigantic mills of Lancashire; when, in a word, there should be no distinctions of enterprise or wealth, and national jealousies should only put on the form of harmless local opinions, that belong to the past of romance rather than to the past of history.

In the purely agricultural counties of England the changes, even of a whole century, are not so remarkable as to demand from us any attempt to point out such extraordinary contrasts as we have heretofore dwelt upon. The great seats of tillage were the south-eastern, the south midland, and the eastern districts. The slow increase of population is the index of their progressive condition. Surrey, Kent, Sussex, Hants, and Berks, had an aggregate population at the beginning of the eighteenth century of about seven hundred thousand; at the end of that century they were a little above ten hundred and fifty thousand. Herts, Bucks, Oxon, Northampton, Huntingdon, Bedford, and Cambridge, had, at the beginning of the same period, about five hundred and eighty-two thousand inhabitants; at its termination they had only about six hundred and forty thousand. The eastern counties had, during the same hundred years, only increased from five hundred and eighty-two thousand people to seven hundred and fifteen thousand. But it must be remarked that the aggregate population of these fifteen counties had increased from about two millions and a half, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, to about four millions and a half at its end. The whole of the eighteenth century had been a period of very tardy improvement in cultivation. The first fifty years of the nineteenth had been a period of extraordinary development of agricultural resources.

In the reign of Anne the quantity of land under cultivation in England and Wales was very little more than in the reign of James I. One solitary inclosure act was passed in the reign of Charles II. There were two inclosure acts passed in the reign of Anne. Field-turnips were cultivated in King William's time; but their cultivation was not encouraged till the time of George II. The cultivation of clover was advocated by Andrew Yaranton before the revolution; but the peculiar value of green crops was little understood. The alternate system of husbandry—the growth of turnips or clover after a corn crop—was recommended in the middle of the seventeenth century. But the old system of fallows, by which half of the cultivated land always lay idle, was steadily adhered to. The horse-hoeing husbandry of Jethro Tull was considered only as a costly experiment which had ruined its originator. The value of manure was little understood by the improvident farmer; and even the system of folding sheep upon ploughed lands is mentioned as "a new method of husbandry."* Improvement in the breeds of cattle was not attempted till the middle of the eighteenth century. In 1710 Davenant estimated the average net weight of the cattle sold at Smithfield at 370 lbs. Their average net weight in 1800 was 800 lbs. The sheep of 1710 weighed 28 lbs. The sheep of 1800 weighed 80 lbs. Without the alternate husbandry neither the ox nor the sheep could be supported through the winter, or adequately fattened at any time, except in low meadows and marshes.

The comparatively large population of London and Westminster, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, had a marked influence upon the agricultural industry of the South Eastern, South Midland, and Eastern Districts. A large quantity of corn was necessary for the consumption of the populous city, and much corn was grown within the districts most convenient for carriage. In 1696 it was estimated by Gregory King that the annual growth of wheat, oats, barley, rye, and beans in the whole kingdom, amounted to ten million quarters, of which growth wheat was only one fifth. The greater portion of the wheat went to the large towns. The rural population lived upon rye-bread, and barley-bread, and oat-cake. The eastern counties of Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk, and the counties of Kent, Hampshire, and Sussex had ready water communication with London by the Thames, below-bridge. Surrey, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, and Oxfordshire, had the same facilities by the Thames above-bridge. We may trace the incessant industry necessary to keep up the land and water communication with the capital, displaying itself in districts somewhat remote from the seaports and main roads. With every natural advantage the communication was laborious and costly; and its cost added very considerably to the price of grain and meat to the consumer. Some of the corn-trade of the port of London gradually resolved itself into the meal-trade. Farnham was the greatest provincial corn-market in England, particularly for wheat, until the farmers of Sussex and Chichester ground their wheat, and sent the meal to London by sea.† This trade was increased when the Wey was made navigable from Guildford, and thence to the Thames. By this navigation of the Wey, timber was brought by land carriage, for a distance of thirty miles, from the woody districts of Sussex and Hampshire.‡ The demand for timber to meet the increase of London was more profitable than its use in the iron-works of Sussex, which were still smelting iron-ore, and casting caldrons and chimney-backs, cannon and cannon-balls, in the reign of George II.§ In Essex we see the influence of the wants of London. There was little to be noticed at Chelmsford, but that it was a large thoroughfare town, full of inns, maintained by the multitude of carriers and passengers on their way to London with droves of cattle, and with provisions and manufactures.‖ Not the least remarkable of these supplies for the capital by the eastern parts, were the droves of turkeys, crowding the roads from Ipswich, and making their way over the heaths and commons, in almost in-

* Defoe, "Tour," vol. iii. p. 192.

* Defoe, "Tour," vol. i. p. 283. † Ibid., p. 214.
‡ Ibid., p. 217. § Ibid., p. 290. ‖ Ibid., p. 27.

credible quantities to the great devourer. From the farthest parts of Norfolk, and from the fen countries, droves of geese, sometimes a thousand or two thousand in a drove, were slowly moving on to their fate, from the beginning of August, feeding on the stubbles after harvest; and "thus they hold on to the end of October, when the roads begin to be too stiff and deep for their broad feet and short legs to march in."*

The weaving industry of Norwich was more important at this period than the industry of any other city or town of England. The villages round Norwich were wholly employed in spinning yarn for what was known as the stuff-weaving trade, which had been there pursued for four centuries. Every inhabitant of Norwich was working at his loom, his combing-shop, or his twisting-mill. The rich marshes watered by the Yare fed hundreds of black cattle from the Scotch hills; so that the thickly populated districts of the eastern parts of Norfolk were plentifully supplied with animal food. The fishery of Yarmouth not only furnished an enormous export of cured herrings, but gave all the towns and villages another cheap article of food. The whole country was full of business activity, whether in manufactures or in seafaring occupations; a curious evidence of that unremitting industry being, that pheasants were unmolested in the stubbles, which showed, says Defoe, "that the country had more tradesmen than gentlemen in it."

In the immediate neighborhood of Cambridge there were presented, in the autumn of every year, two remarkable spectacles, in striking contrast to each other. To Newmarket went William III. in 1695, with his staid court, as Charles II. had gone thither with his troops of dissipated followers. But Newmarket was still a scene of vice and folly, of frantic gaming and wild profaneness. The highest of the land were at Newmarket—"so eager, so busy, upon their wagers and bets, that they seemed just like so many horse-coursers in Smithfield; descending from their high dignity and quality to picking one another's pockets." So writes the sturdy moralist, who speaks of vice in no courtly fashion.† The other scene near Cambridge was Stourbridge Fair—the greatest fair in England. Thither came to a row of booths called Cheapside, every sort of retailer from London. Here were prodigious wholesale transactions accomplished in wool and woollen goods, brought from Lancashire and Yorkshire and the Western counties. But more extensive than any other traffic was that of hops. From this fair the whole country beyond Trent was supplied with hops, grown chiefly in Kent and Surrey, in addition to the supply of all the Midland counties. It is no small proof of the energy which overcame every natural difficulty of communication—bad roads—imperfect water-carriage—that a produce of considerable bulk should be brought from two distant counties to an inland common, thence to be distributed over the whole kingdom.

The two great ports of the eastern coast, Ipswich and Harwich, were not in a very flourishing condition after the revolution. Ipswich had lost its colliery trade and its cloth trade. Much of its ancient splendor had gone. More than a century was to pass before it was to take the lead in carrying forward those great changes of agricultural economy which were to mark the age of thrashing-machines, of sowing machines, and of the almost countless implements of scientific husbandry. Harwich was the packet-station for Holland. When the army of Marlborough was fighting, year after year, on the great battle-field of Europe, Harwich was the busiest of ports. Coaches went twice a week to carry London passengers from and to this famous place of embarkation and of landing. But when peace came, the Londoners set up passage-boats which went direct from the Thames; the coaches ran no more, and Harwich decayed. On the opposite south-eastern shore, Sheerness had been fortified; and the Medway bristled with lines of guns; so that the danger with which Chatham, the greatest naval arsenal, had been threatened in the time of Charles II., was held to be sufficiently guarded against. Margate was a small port, the inhabitants making no boast of its summer visits of shoals of shrimp-eating Londoners, but of the frequent landings there of William III. Ramsgate boasted only of the more antique honor which it claimed, that Julius Cæsar had there landed. The inhabitants of these little places long continued to be, as they were described by Camden, "amphibious creatures, and get their living both by sea and land. . . . The self-same hand that holds the plough steers the ship." The port of Sandwich had become choked with sand. Dover was prosperous as the principal packet-station for France. Folkestone was a mere village. The harbors of Rye and Winchelsea had been ruined by the inexorable changes of the coast-line. The sea had receded, and had left them desolate. Hastings was in little better condition. Winchelsea had still a trade remaining to it, that of electioneering venality; and so had Shoreham, Bramber, and Steyning. Brighthelmstone was "a poor fishing town, old built, and on the very edge of the sea," which had at the beginning of the century swept away many houses; so that the inhabitants had obtained a brief to beg money throughout England to raise embankments. These were estimated to cost eight thousand pounds; "which," says the tourist of those times, "if one were to look on the town would seem to be more than all the houses in it are worth." Portsmouth was in a prosperous condition through the French war, and was strongly fortified. Southampton was a port whose commerce had decayed; but it had a noble high-street and a spacious quay. As we advance to the western coast we find Purbeck prosperous in fitting out ships to carry paving-stone to London; and the quarries of Portland profitably worked, in furnishing the freestone with which the new cathedral of St. Paul's, and other public edifices of London, were being built.

* Defoe, "Tour," vol. i. p. 62.

† Ibid., p. 87.

CHAPTER CXX.

Gregory King's scheme of the income of the several families in England—Degrees of society—Town and country populations—London—Its population—Commerce—Trading companies—Banking—Unemployed capital—Projects for new companies—Lotteries—Tradesmen—Their character and habits—Extent of London—Progress of fashion westward—Street economy, and police—Robberies and outrages.

In 1688 "A Scheme of the Income and Expense of the several Families in England" was calculated by Gregory King. He gives the number of families in each degree, and the number of persons. Of course there can be no absolute dependence upon such a document; although other political arithmeticians gave it their approval. In 1851 the census of that year included a minute return of the infinitely varied occupations of the people. The census of 1841 exhibits a general classification, which is more available for some points of comparison with the "Scheme" of 1688. The changes in the component parts of society in about a century and a half are very strikingly brought out by this comparison.

I. The "Scheme," in the first place, gives us, of persons of independent means, 160 temporal lords, 800 baronets, 600 knights, 3000 esquires, 12,000 gentlemen. The income of an esquire is taken at £450, and that of a gentleman at £280. There were, moreover, 40,000 "freeholders of the better sort," whose incomes are taken at £91 each. There were also 120,000 freeholders of the lesser sort, each with an income of £55. These constituted the class of yeomen, and many, no doubt, farmed their own land. The census of 1841 shows upward of five hundred thousand persons returned as independent; but three fourths of these are females. The more minute return of 1851 shows a large number of annuitants, chiefly females. This class has been created by those facilities of investment in the government funds and other stock, which scarcely existed in 1688.

II. We have next, in the "Scheme," 10,000 persons in the civil service of the country—5000 being in the greater offices and places, and 5000 in the lesser. The class of placemen was very numerous at a period when places were openly sold, and were regarded as among the best of investments for persons who desired the happy lot of sinecurists. The civil offices of our time are filled by about 16,000 persons, of whom the greater number are among the hardest workers of the community. The offices now connected with local administration, and the servants of the dock-yards, are not included in this comparison.

III. The mercantile class in 1688 was estimated at 2000 eminent merchants and traders by sea, each with the modest income of £400; and 8000 lesser merchants, each with an income of £200. The shopkeepers and tradesmen were taken at 50,000, each with an income of £45. The artisans and handicraftsmen at 60,000, each earning £38 by the year. The adult males engaged in commerce, trade, and

manufacture, in 1841, exceeded two millions. The miners and other laborers were more than half a million.

IV. In 1688 there were, as we have mentioned, 160,000 freeholders. There were also 150,000 farmers, each with an income of £42 10s. We may conclude that the greater number of the small owners, as well as the renters of land, were engaged in agricultural occupations. The farmers and graziers in 1841 were 309,000. Gregory King's estimate gives 364,000 laboring people and out-servants, and 400,000 cottagers and paupers. At a period when there was necessarily a great mixture of occupations, it is impossible to say that these heads of families, amounting to more than three quarters of a million, were for the most part agriculturists. But we apprehend that a large portion were chiefly engaged in occupations of a rural character. In 1841 the number of agricultural laborers and gardeners amounted to about twelve hundred thousand.

V. The naval officers of 1688 were estimated at 5000; the common seamen at 50,000. The navy of the queen's and merchant service in 1841 was returned as comprising 220,000 men and boys. The officers of the army in 1688 were reckoned as 4000; the common soldiers as 35,000. In 1841 the army comprised 131,000 officers and men. In 1851 the numbers were largely increased.

VI. The clergy were estimated in 1688 to consist of 2000 "eminent clergymen," each with an income of £72; and of 8000 "lesser clergymen," each with an income of £50. In 1851 there were 18,587 ministers of the Established Church, 8521 Protestant dissenting ministers, and 1093 Roman Catholic priests. The "persons in liberal arts and sciences" in 1688 were reckoned as 15,000, each with an income of £60. In 1841 the legal profession comprised 17,454 persons; and the medical 22,187. Other educated persons following miscellaneous pursuits were 143,836, of whom 34,618 were females.

In looking at the amount of country and town population in Gregory King's estimate, we may take the number of persons to be as follows, in each of the preceding general divisions.

Country Population in 1688.

Belonging to families of rank	153,520
Clergy (estimated portion of the whole)	40,000
Freeholders	940,000
Farmers	750,000
Laborers and out-servants (half of the whole)	637,500
Cottagers, etc	1,300,000
Vagrants	30,000
	3,851,020

Town Population in 1688.

Belonging to families of persons in office	70,000
Merchants	64,000
Clergy (remaining portion of the whole)	12,000
Law	70,000
Liberal arts and sciences	75,000
Shopkeepers and tradesmen	255,000
Artisans	240,000
Army and navy	256,000
Laborers and out-servants (half of the whole)	637,500
	1,679,500

As nearly as we can judge from these imperfect data, the country population in 1688 comprised five sevenths of the entire number of the people; the town population comprised only two sevenths. In 1851 the town population slightly exceeded the population of the country; that of the towns being 8,990,809; that of villages and detached dwellings in the country being 8,936,800.

Of the town populations, that of London probably comprised one third of the aggregate number. Three years before the revolution the inhabitants of the metropolis were estimated by King at five hundred and thirty thousand. This was about one tenth of the whole population of the kingdom. Sir William Petty estimated the inhabitants of London at a million of persons. This calculation was founded upon very loose data; and still looser were the assertions derived from the increase of houses, that in the reign of George I. the city, with Southwark and Westminster, contained a million and a half of people. Under the precise enumeration of the census of 1801 London contained less than a million inhabitants. The entire population of England and Wales was then under nine millions. Compared with other large towns at the end of the seventeenth century, London was considered able to bear an assessment in aid that indicated her superiority in wealth as much as in population. In 1693 she was called upon to pay a monthly tax six times as great as the united assessments of Bristol, Norwich, Exeter, Worcester, Chester, and Gloucester. In 1702 there belonged to the port of London 560 vessels, averaging 151 tons each, giving an aggregate of 84,560 tons. The number of merchant vessels of all the ports of England was 3281, with an average of nearly 80 tons, and an aggregate of 261,222 tons. London thus engrossed about one third of the entire trade of the kingdom.

The commerce of the port of London, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, inconsiderable as it was when compared with the gigantic operations of our own time, must have been sufficiently imposing to the foreigner, and even to those who habitually looked upon it. The magnificent docks of the Thames belong to the present century; one small dock belonged to the earlier period of which we write. But the Pool was crowded in the reigns of William III. and Anne with colliers and coal-barges, waiting to deliver their cargoes at numerous private wharfs. Billingsgate, in 1699, was made a free market for the sale of fish; and the fishermen of little vessels that now came with every tide laden with mackerel and soles, with lobsters and oysters, were no longer compelled to sell exclusively to the fishmongers, but were free to supply the street-hawkers. At three o'clock in summer, and at five in winter, this famous market was opened. The disputes of fishers and costermongers produced that variety of our language which was once termed "Billingsgate;" but which is known by more general names since the great fish market has become refined. But more speculative commercial operations were going forward in the port of London than those connected with the supply of grain, or coal, or fish. During the quarter of a century from the accession of William and Mary to the death of Anne there had been only four years and a half of peace. To the ordinary sea risks, at a time when marine insurance was little resorted to, was added the risk of capture by a foreign enemy in distant seas, and not unfrequently in the Channel. Nevertheless—although during the eight years and a half of war in the reign of William the tonnage of English shipping declined by more than a half its previous amount—immediately after the peace of Ryswick, in 1697, the commerce of the country took a sudden spring; and although the war was renewed in 1702, it went on increasing during the reign of Anne. Two East India companies had been quarrelling for the twelve years succeeding the revolution; but at length their differences were composed; they established a common stock; and the old company, which was formed at the beginning of the seventeenth century, was incorporated into the new company at the beginning of the eighteenth. The anxiety of the merchants of London to overthrow the monopoly of the India trade, which was in the hands of a few individuals of enormous wealth, was at last successful. The silks and painted calicoes of India were prohibited; but the use of tea was spreading among the higher and middle ranks; and a new source of profitable commerce was opened by the change of habits in the people. Even while tea and coffee were taxed in their liquid state, and families sent to the coffee-house for a quart of the precious infusions, it was observed that excess in drinking, especially about London, was somewhat lessened through their use.* Immediately after the revolution tea and coffee were made subject to the customs' duties. The shops of London then retailed the new luxuries, but at a price which must have forbidden their general use. in 1710 Bohea is advertised at twelve, sixteen, twenty and twenty-four shillings per pound; the lowest green at twelve shillings.† Eighteen years afterward it is complained that "tea and wine are all we seem anxious for."‡ There was another change in the habits of the people produced by political causes operating upon the accustomed course of trade. The war with France was accompanied by a prohibition of French wines and brandy, of which the previous returns showed an annual consumption of twenty-two thousand tuns of wine and eleven thousand tuns of brandy. The Methuen treaty of 1703, under which the wines of Portugal were put upon the most favored footing, sent the wine consumers from claret to port, of which twenty thousand pipes were imported into London in 1721. The loss of brandy was supplied by the consumption of home-made spirits; and in a very few years "the distillers found out a way to hit the palate of the poor, by their new-fashioned compound water called Geneva."§

* Chamberlayne's "Present State," 1687, p. 41.
† Advertisement in "Tatler," No. 157, original edition.
‡ "Augusta Triumphans," by Defoe, p. 311.
§ "Complete Tradesman," vol. ii. p. 220.

Several of the old trading companies of London were at this period carrying on their adventures with success. The Russia Company, established in 1553, had certain privileges; but each member of the company traded on his own account. The Turkey Company was formed in 1579, and two hundred years later was denounced by Adam Smith as "a strict and oppressive monopoly." This was also what was called "a regulated company," or a monopoly for individual traders. The African Company, which began its operations in 1530, was, on the contrary, a joint-stock company; its constitution being such as that which the East India Company set forth as their own great claim to support, in which "noblemen, gentlemen, shopkeepers, widows, orphans, and all other subjects may be traders, and employ their capital in a joint-stock." The Hudson's Bay Company was chartered in 1670, for the purpose of opening a trade for furs and minerals. For nearly two centuries the trade in furs, conducted by this company and the North West Company, who were once rival but were at last united, was held to be the sole use to which a region some forty times larger than England could be applied. The minerals which Prince Rupert sent out a ship to search for, in the time of King Charles II., have been discovered in the time of Queen Victoria. The reign of the Hudson's Bay Company has suddenly passed away upon the discovery of gold. A new colony has been added to the British crown, in the same year which has also seen the transfer of the sovereignty of India from a joint-stock company to the imperial government. It is impossible to look upon such mighty changes without a conviction that events which may change the destinies of millions of Asiatics, and fill another American region of boundless swamps and forests with the greatest civilizing race of the European family, are among the most wonderful of the special providences of the Almighty.

The system of banking, which had been slowly growing up in London from the time of Charles II., when the goldsmiths kept the cash of the merchants, and large business transactions were arranged by the payment of bills, or what we now call checks, was not followed at all, or at least very imperfectly, in the country districts. Remittances to London, even of the taxes collected for the government, were made in specie. In 1692 the collectors of the tax-money of the North, carrying their precious burden on sixteen horses, were attacked in Hertfordshire, and the treasure being borne off, all the horses were killed by the robbers to prevent pursuit.* In the instructions of the "Complete Tradesman," at a much later period, we have this form of entry in the "Account of Petty Cash": "To the Exeter carriers, for carriage of money, 15*s.* 3*d.*" In 1694 the Bank of England was incorporated, and carried on its first operations, with fifty four cashiers and clerks, in the hall of the Grocers' Company. This great corporation commenced its functions under the most auspicious circumstances. Its subscribers anticipated the payment of a million two hundred thousand pounds of taxes voted by parliament, and the company was allowed eight per cent upon the money advanced, besides an annual sum of four thousand pounds for management. The system which was recommended by the East India Company, under which the unemployed capital of noblemen, gentlemen, shopkeepers, widows, and orphans, could be made profitable, was coming to be understood. But the facilities for the development of the system were extremely few. Capital was raising its inarticulate voice for employment; and there were projectors at hand to hold out the most tempting prospects of increase, without labor and without risk, to the persons of every degree, whose money was unprofitably locked up in the strong-box. The age of companies came very soon after the revolution. No scheme of fraud, no delusion of folly, was transparent enough to make its victims stay their headlong pursuit of imaginary wealth. The mania never stopped. Several years after the ruin which was produced by the infatuation of the South Sea scheme—of which we shall make mention in due course—the management of companies was thus spoken of: "We are so fond of companies, it is a wonder we have not our shoes blacked by one, and a set of directors made rich at the expense of our very blackguards."† The fluctuations, soon after the revolution, in the price of shares—not only of "new projects and schemes, promising mountains of gold," but of the established trading companies—were so excessive that the business of the Royal Exchange, in its stock-jobbing department, might be compared to the operations of a great gambling-house. Indeed, the spirit of gaming had taken possession of the people in the humblest as well as the highest transactions. In a statute of 1698 it is recited that many evil-disposed persons, for divers years last past, had set up mischievous and unlawful games called lotteries, in London and Westminster, and in other parts, and had fraudulently obtained great sums of money from unwary persons. The lotteries were therefore declared to be public nuisances. But the newspapers of 1710 are full of the most curious advertisements of lotteries called sales. Some tickets were as high as two guineas: many as low as sixpence.* Mrs. Lowe, the milliner, next door to the crown in Red Lion Street, has a sixpenny sale. Six houses in Limehouse, and £2499 in new fashionable plate, are to be disposed of by tickets, and the numbers are to be drawn by two parish boys, out of two wheels, at the Three Tun Tavern in Wood Street.† There is even a twopenny sale, at the pastry-cook's, at Porter's Block, near Smithfield.‡ But there are signs of the cheats coming to an end. The sale of goods for £7500, to be drawn on Wednesday last, is postponed for weighty reasons; but it will certainly be drawn at Stationers' Hall, for eminent counsel have given under their hands that this sale of goods is not within the act for suppressing of lotteries.§ The act was passed; and the "heavy plate" and "stitched petticoats" had to find an honester market. Utterly opposed in principle to the spirit of lotteries was the principle of insurance. There were two insurance offices against fire established before 1687—the Royal Exchange and the Friendly Society. The Amicable Society for insuring lives was chartered in 1706. But these most valuable institutions were imitated in a gambling spirit. Insurances upon births and marriages were opened, and became such covers for fraud that they were suppressed by statute in 1710.

The projectors of schemes for making all men suddenly rich—the managers of fraudulent insurances—the sellers of plate, jewellery, and mercery by lottery—all these, and many others who trafficked in human credulity, were exceptions to the general spirit of the English tradesman. In an age of somewhat loose morality among the higher classes, Burnet, writing in 1708, says, "As for the men of trade and business, they are, generally speaking, the best body in the nation; generous, sober, and charitable." He describes the inhabitants of cities as having "more knowledge, more zeal, and more charity, with a great deal more of devotion," than "the people in the country." Berkeley, who took a broader view of human affairs than the historian of his own time, points to "country gentlemen and farmers, and the better sort of tradesmen," as believers in the efficacy of virtue to make a nation happy, rather than as confiding in the power of wealth.‖ Burnet rather qualifies his praise of "the best body in the nation," by admitting that in the capital city "there may be too much of vanity, with too pompous an exterior."¶ Of this vanity and pompous exterior there is various evidence. It was the natural result of a prosperous social condition, in which there were very few industrious men who were not bettering their circumstances. It may seem somewhat strange at a period not very far beyond a time when the income of an eminent merchant was taken at four hundred pounds a year, and that of a lesser merchant at not more than two hundred, that we find indications of a pompous exterior which would necessarily be very costly. We can understand how Sir Josiah Child, who married his daughter to a duke's son, and gave her a portion of fifty thousand pounds, should have lived at a splendid mansion at Wanstead, and covered acres with his plantations. We do not wonder at the large expenditure of Sir Robert Clayton, who changed the barren hills of Marden, in Surrey, into a scene that "represented some foreign country, which would produce spontaneously pines, firs, cypress, yew, holly, and juniper."** But we cannot avoid thinking that the average mercantile income was underrated, when we know that the suburbs of London were full of country houses, to which merchants and retailers always repaired in the summer. Carshalton is described as crowded with fine houses of the citizens, some of which were built at profuse expense.†† Other

* Evelyn, "Diary," 20th November.
† "Augusta Triumphans."

* Advertisements in "Tatler," No. 239.
† Ibid., No. 240.
‡ Ibid., No. 245.
§ Ibid., No. 252.
‖ "Alciphron," Works, vol. i. p. 337.
¶ "Our Times," Conclusion, vol. ii. p. 203, Oxford ed.
** Evelyn, "Diary," July 13th, 1700.
†† Defoe, "Tour," i. 282.

parts of Surrey presented the same show of wealth, in such retreats of the traders, "who in their abundance make these gay excursions, and live thus deliciously all the summer, retiring within themselves in the winter, the better to lay up for the next summer's expense."* The frugality of the citizen's London dwelling, over his shop or over his warehouse, must not be too readily assumed. "It is with no small concern that I behold," says a correspondent of Mr. Bickerstaff, "in coffee-houses and public places, my brethren, the tradesmen of this city, put off the smooth, even, and ancient decorum of thriving citizens, for a fantastical dress and figure improper for their persons and characters."† The tradesmen and shopkeepers even aspired "to keep footmen as well as the gentlemen; witness the infinite number of blue liveries, which are so common now that they are called the tradesmen's liveries." Again: "Citizens and tradesmen's tables are now the emblems, not of plenty, but of luxury."‡ Three or four maid-servants were said to be kept in a house where two formerly were thought sufficient. Of course, there is the usual exaggeration in much of this complaint. One of the most certain indications of an improving state of the middle classes is the more luxurious nature of their diet; the wear of better clothing; the employ of more domestic servants; the furnishing their houses with articles of improved taste. It does not necessarily follow that convenience is more costly than discomfort, or refinement than coarseness. The satirist is not always to be relied upon who looks back to a past generation for his models of virtuous simplicity. What was denounced as vanity and extravagance in Anne's reign, might be held up as the most pattern frugality, to shame the universal love of display in our time.

The rebuilding of the city after the great fire was a work of marvellous energy, which offers an example, rarely paralleled, of public spirit. It was scarcely to be expected that there should have been no sacrifices to mere expediency; that a houseless population should have set about the work of reconstruction by raising up a city of wide streets instead of narrow alleys; and of regular architecture instead of the diversified adaptations to individual means and wants. Yet much was accomplished. Brick or stone houses replaced those of timber and plaster; and light and air were not excluded by the topmost story of every house almost touching its opposite neighbor. London was made more convenient, but infinitely less picturesque. In one respect the new city was not so airy as the old. Gardens behind many of the opulent traders' houses, and large side-yards were built over. The nobility had migrated from the east to the west, and their old mansions in Bishopsgate, and Houndsditch, and Barbican, with vast courts and offices, were covered with new squares. The fire of London gave habitations to a more numerous population; and it was asserted that when the city had been rebuilt, four thousand additional houses stood upon the area that was desolated by the fire. If the new shops and warehouses and dwellings had no great architectural pretensions, many public edifices had risen, which gave London a feature characteristic of its age. The churches which were destroyed had been mostly erected during the period when the old religion was in the ascendant. They were adapted to the ceremonials of Catholicism, and not for the accommodation of congregations to whom the sermon was the all-important part of public worship. It was fortunate that a man of real genius existed at the time of the fire, who had a higher notion of the functions of an architect than to produce copies of buildings belonging to a past age. It was fortunate that Sir Christopher Wren did not set about reproducing a Gothic St. Paul's, but after the labor of thirty-five years gave London the noblest Protestant temple of the world. It was fortunate that instead of repeating in his new parish churches the gabled roofs and lancet windows of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, he left us, in his fifty-one churches, built under every possible disadvantage, edifices of consummate beauty and variety in one great feature of their external appearance. He had to build these churches upon small areas, many behind the main streets. He made his very difficulties the main cause of his success. "Wren, with consummate judgment, put his strength into his steeples and campanili, which soar above the sordid and dingy mass of habitations, and, clustering like satellites round the majestic dome of the cathedral, impart to the general aspect of the city a picturesque grandeur scarcely rivalled by Rome itself."* The accomplished artist from whom we quote truly characterizes Wren as an inventor.

After the fire of London, as the nobility and the opulent gentry had gone westward for their dwellings, the course of retail trade took the same direction. In the latter years of Charles II. the mercers occupied Paternoster Row; the street was built for them; it was thronged with coaches in two rows; the neighboring streets were occupied by dependants upon the mercery trade, by the lacemen and fringe-sellers. Gradually the court came no longer to the city to buy its silks and velvets; and the mercers followed the court, and settled in Covent Garden.† Paternoster Row was deserted by the dealers in brocades, to be ultimately supplanted by the dealers in books, who, in like manner, deserted their old quarters in Little Britain. The "persons of quality" had begun to congregate a little north of Holborn. Great Ormond Street, with one side open to the fields, was a seat of fashion; and so was Bloomsbury Square. Spring Gardens, whose thickets were once the resort of gallants in laced ruffles and periwigs, and of ladies in masks, was now covered with gay houses. Covent Garden Square was the very centre of high life. Drury Lane had not quite lost the aristocratic perfume which belonged to Craven House and Clare House. The fashionable tenants of the side boxes of Drury Lane theatre, and of Lincoln's Inn Fields theatre, were not far removed from these two famous resorts of "the town," which was now corrupted by Farquhar and Congreve, in lessons of human conduct only made more dangerous by their wit. Soho Square and St. James's Square were built before the revolution. Golden Square was in fashion a quarter of a century later. The land of gentility was gradually stretching away still westward, in the direction of Piccadilly. But in 1708 Bolton Street was the most westerly street of London. Albemarle Street, to erect which Clarendon's proud mansion had been cleared away, was in an unfinished district of what are called "carcasses," at the end of the eighteenth century. Squares were growing up toward Tyburn Road, which did not acquire its genteel name of Oxford Road till it became the seat of a new bear-garden. The hangman's cart duly travelled to the ancient gallows long after this road of deep sloughs had been formed into a street. Changes marking the changes of society were going on. May Fair, "held in Brookfield Market-place, at the east corner of Hyde Park," dwindled away; and the brook which flowed from Tyburn was covered over by the houses of Brook Street. The May-pole in the Strand, which James, Duke of York, employed his sailors to hoist up at the restoration, to typify the downfall of Puritanism, was removed to Wanstead, to support "the largest telescope in the world." Puritanism lost its power of domination, and gradually slided into dissent. At the revolution there was a transient struggle, in which a little toleration was the only victory of the principle which had overthrown the monarchy. The new church in the Strand took the place of the old May-pole. Addison's Tory fox-hunter, seeing this church of St. Mary le Strand half-built, thought that dissent had triumphed, and that an old temple of the establishment was in process of demolition. He "was agreeably surprised to find that instead of pulling it down they were building it up, and that fifty more were raising in other parts of the town."‡

The street economy, as it may be called, and the police of the London of the beginning of the eighteenth century, have so often been described that we can merely glance at these subjects, which are the peculiar province of the essayist. It was a city, cleaner probably, and with more public conveniences than any other capital of Europe; but in what we should now deem a condition most unfavorable to health, comfort, and security. There were no foot-pavements as distinguished from the carriage-road. There were lines of posts in the chief streets, within which it was only safe to walk. The carmen in the principal road were fighting with the hackney-coach drivers. The chairmen drove the foot-passengers off the railed-in way; and the foot-passengers themselves struggled for the honor of the wall. Every square and open place was a deposit for rubbish and filth, gathering in heaps of abomination, to be very tardily removed by the dustman. The streets were resonant with the bawl-

* Defoe, "Tour," i. p. 239.
† "Tatler," No. 270.
‡ "Complete Tradesman."

* Mr. A. Poynter, in "Pictorial History of England," vol. iv. p. 742.
† "Complete Tradesman," vol. ii.
‡ "Freeholder," No. 47, June 1st, 1716.

ings of higglers and wandering merchants of every denomination. The pickpockets and ring-droppers had no preventive police to regulate the exercise of their profession. A crowd of vagabond boys were often pursuing their sports in the most crowded thoroughfares, of which sports foot-ball was the favorite. The apprentice in the merchant's counting-house enters in his petty cash-book—"For mending the back-shop sashes broken by the foot-ball, 2*s.* 6*d.*" * The Thames was the most convenient highway between the city and Westminster, with wherries employing four or five thousand watermen. The hackney-coaches, to the number of eight hundred, had not displaced them. But a more rugged set than the Thames watermen—more terrific to a timid squire from the country, or an ancient lady going down Blackfriars to take the air—it is impossible to conceive. Their shouts of "Next oars" and "Skullers," were appalling. No sooner was the boat on its way, up or down the stream, but every passenger in another boat was assailed with a volley of "water compliments," compared with which the "slang" of our politer day is soft as the oaths of Hotspur's wife.† It was at night that the real dangers of the street began. The watch was in the most lamentable state of imbecility. The Court of Common Council, in 1716, decreed that the streets should be lighted; but the few glass lamps only made "darkness visible." Robberies were common in every great thoroughfare. The very link-boy was a thief. The resorts of bullies and cut-throats, Whitefriars and the Savoy, the Mint and the Clink, were put down by act of parliament in 1697, as places of refuge for fraudulent debtors; and the great haunts of villainy no longer bade defiance to the officers of the law. But the drunken outrages of the night-prowlers, "The Mohawks," who had "an outrageous ambition of doing all possible hurt to their fellow-creatures," were denounced by the "Spectator," on the 12th of March, 1712; though on the 8th of April he says, some "are apt to think that these Mohawks are a kind of bull-beggars, first invented by prudent married men and masters of families, in order to deter their wives and daughters from taking the air at unseasonable hours." ‡ Swift was terrified about them; and a royal proclamation was issued, offering a reward of £100 for the detection of any person wounding or maiming one of her majesty's subjects. There was probably much exaggeration in these terrors. The historian of London deduces their origin from "fictitious stories artfully contrived to intimidate the people," and adds, "It does not appear that ever any person was detected of any of the said crimes." He made all inquiry in places where they were said to have been chiefly committed, and could never learn of any one person having received the least hurt.§ Nevertheless the deportment of some of the rich, "flown with insolence and wine," was one of the reasonable terrors of a street guarded by decrepit old men, and during an administration of justice which might be often bribed by wealth and awed by rank.

Comparative Table of the Number of Houses and Estimated Population at the Revolution, and of the Populations of 1801 *and* 1851; *with the Assessment for Aid in* 1689—*arranged in Registration Divisions.*

	Hearth-money. Return of Houses.	Population at 5 to a House.	Population, 1801.	Population, 1851.	Aid, 1689.
South-Western Counties.					
Wilts	27,093	135,465	183,820	254,221	£1,966
Dorset	21,940	109,700	114,452	184,207	1,344
Devon	56,310	281,550	340,308	567,093	3,229
Cornwall	25,374	126,870	192,281	355,558	1,540
Somerset	44,686	223,430	273,577	443,916	2,771
	175,403	877,015	1,104,438	1,805,000	10,850
West Midland Counties.					
Gloucestershire	26,764	133,820	250,723	458,805	1,808
Herefordshire	15,000	75,000	88,436	115,489	1,131
Shropshire	23,284	116,420	169,248	229,341	1,203
Worcestershire	20,634	103,170	146,441	276,926	1,053
Warwickshire	21,973	109,865	206,798	475,013	1,192
Staffordshire	23,747	118,735	242,693	608,716	852
	131,402	657,010	1,104,339	2,164,290	7,239
London Division.					
Middlesex and Westminster	69,139	500,680	958,000	2,362,000	3,040
London	30,997				4,291
South-Eastern.					
Surrey	34,218	171,090	268,233	683,082	1,597
Kent	39,242	196,210	308,667	615,766	3,326
Sussex	21,537	107,685	159,471	336,844	1,821
Hants	26,851	134,255	219,920	405,370	2,189
Berks	16,906	84,530	110,480	170,065	1,132
	138,754	693,770	1,066,771	2,211,127	10,065
North-Western.					
Cheshire	24,054	120,270	192,305	455,725	747
Lancashire	40,202	201,010	673,486	2,031,236	1,006
	64,256	321,280	865,791	2,486,961	1,753
York.	106,151	530,755	851,000	1,799,995	3,469
South Midland.					
Herts	16,569	82,845	97,303	167,298	1,345
Bucks	18,390	91,950	108,132	163,723	1,315
Oxon	19,007	95,035	111,977	170,439	1,135
Northampton	24,808	124,040	131,525	212,380	1,413
Huntingdon	8,217	41,085	37,568	64,183	653
Bedford	12,170	60,850	63,393	124,478	896
Cambridge	17,347	86,735	89,346	185,405	1,020
					349 Ely
	116,508	582,540	639,334	1,087,896	8,126
Eastern.					
Essex	34,819	174,095	227,682	369,318	3,098
Suffolk	34,422	172,110	214,401	337,215	3,298
Norfolk	47,180	235,900	273,479	442,714	3,378
	116,421	582,105	715,562	1,149,247	9,774
North Midland.					
Leicester	18,702	93,510	130,082	230,308	1,084
Rutland	3,263	16,315	16,300	22,983	240
Lincoln	40,590	202,950	208,625	407,222	2,575
Nottingham	17,554	87,770	140,350	270,427	873
Derbyshire	21,155	105,775	161,567	296,084	862
	101,264	506,320	656,924	1,227,024	5,634
Northern.					
Durham	15,984	79,920	149,384	390,997	323
Northumberland	22,741	113,705	168,078	303,568	372
Cumberland	14,825	74,125	117,230	195,492	168
Westmoreland	6,501	32,505	40,805	58,287	116
	60,051	300,255	475,497	948,344	979
Wales and Monmouth	53,983	269,915	601,000	1,005,721	2,939

* "Complete Tradesman," vol. ii.

† *Vide* (but you had better not) "Tom Brown's Works," vol. iii. p. 288, ed. 1730.

‡ Nos. 324 and 347.

§ "Maitland's London," i. 511.

CHAPTER CXXI.

Fixed position of the various classes—Difficulty of passing from one position to another—The rural population—The cottager—The agricultural laborer—Character of the agricultural laborer—The farmers and small freeholders—The gentlemen and esquires—Character of the country gentleman—His animosities—The nobility—The nobility and esquires in London—The clergy—Great social evils—Neglect—The press—Liberal arts and sciences.

In considering the proportions of the various degrees of society, as presented by the approximating "Scheme" of 1688 and the exact census of 1851, we must bear in mind that, a century and a half ago, the facilities possessed by the people of passing from one occupation to another occupation were very limited; and that the power of what we term rising in the world was equally restricted. In the locality in which a laborer was born he generally remained to the end of his life. The laws of settlement were attempted to be relaxed in 1697; for it was felt and avowed that paupers were created by the restraints which prevented them seeking employ where there was work to be done, and compelled them to starve upon the parochial pittance where there was no capital to support labor.* But the clumsy machinery for remedying the evil would not act; and this semi-slavery continued unmitigated till our own time. The barriers which prevented the artificer or the trader from passing out of his first condition into one more eligible were almost as onerous. The severe enforcement of the laws of apprenticeship kept a man forever in the particular pursuit for which he had served seven years of dreary education; and the devices of guilds and companies and city-

* 8 & 9 Gul. iii. c. 3.

freedoms created a practical monopoly which it was very difficult to overthrow. Some few men of great ability certainly overcame the impediments of birth and education, and rose to opulence and honors; but the rise of the commonalty was always regarded with extreme jealousy by the born great. The servile literature of the days before the revolution echoed this sentiment. It was sedulously inculcated, in the fashionable belief, that all the wealth of the community was derived from the expenditure of the higher classes; that the prodigality of the gentry was the sole cause "that cooks, vintners, innkeepers, and such mean fellows enrich themselves; and that not only these, but tailors, dancing-masters, and such trifling fellows, arrive to that riches and pride, as to ride in their coaches, keep their summer houses, to be served in plate, etc., an insolence insupportable in other well-governed nations."* Philosophers arose to tell the prodigal great that they were in the right course, for that private vices were public benefits; and so, in very charity to the providers of luxuries, the country squire became a rake upon town, and his estates went to ruin, and all his poor dependants felt the curse of his licentiousness. It was this extreme dependence of many of the peasantry upon the landowners that held them bound in more ignoble chains than those of the old feudality. They might receive a capricious patronage, but they could not demand a constant protection.

We may probably arrive at some view, however unsatisfactory, of the component parts and condition of the rural population, by a further analysis of Gregory King's scheme. We have assumed that the incomes of families of rank, independent of the incomes of those in "greater offices and places," are derived from their landed estates. This aggregate income is somewhat under six millions sterling. It is appropriated to sixteen thousand six hundred families, who altogether number about a hundred and fifty-four thousand persons, or between nine and ten in each family. This is an excess of five in each family above the usual rate of families, and it will show that eighty-three thousand servants and retainers are maintained in these great households. But there are also forty thousand "freeholders of the better sort," with an aggregate income of more than three millions and a half, who have each two in family beyond the average. This gives another eighty thousand dependants. The aggregate income of a hundred and twenty thousand "freeholders of the lesser sort" is about six millions and a half; and these maintain sixty thousand in their households beyond the usual proportion. There are thus two hundred and twenty thousand persons directly maintained by the expenditure of the independent classes—of the classes who are not dependent upon their industry for their support, or only partially so. These households, living upon a total revenue of sixteen millions and a half, comprise about eleven hundred thousand persons, or one fifth of the whole population. The income from the land is very nearly equal to the total income of the other accumulating classes—of the clergy, the lawyers, the physicians, the naval and military officers, the civil officers, the merchants, the men of science and arts, the traders, the artisans, and the farmers. These possess an aggregate revenue from their industry of eighteen millions, and maintain about sixteen hundred thousand persons. The independent classes, and their dependants, and the other accumulating classes, comprise one half of the population, each person deriving twelve pounds for his annual support. The remaining population of very nearly three millions have an income of nine million pounds, or three pounds for the annual support of each person.

The laboring people and out-servants have been supposed by us to belong, half to the town population and half to the country population. They are estimated to receive fifteen pounds for each family. But the income of each family of the cottagers and paupers is put as low as six pounds ten shillings, or one sixth of the income of the artisan. We would recommend this consideration to those who are in the habit of asserting that in such happy times as the beginning of the eighteenth century the English cottager was abundantly fed and clothed, comfortably housed, was well cared for by his betters—a contented man, who enjoyed a golden age that will never return.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the inclosed land of England was estimated at half the area of the kingdom. Since that time there have been inclosed ten thousand square miles of land, which a hundred and fifty years ago was heath, morass, and forest. This vast tract of land, which was capable of yielding something to spade cultivation, was the region in which Gregory King's "cottagers" gained their scanty livelihood. They were the "squatters" upon the edges of commons; and the farmer regarded them with as much suspicion as he regarded the "vagrants." The squire would toss them a penny when they opened a gate, or told him which way the fox was gone. The parson cared very little for them, for they were too ragged to appear in church. Undoubtedly the out-door agricultural laborer was in a better condition than this wretched class who were so much below him. His wages varied in different localities, from four shillings to six shillings a week, without food. The average was probably five shillings. This rate agrees with King's calculation, that fifteen pounds was the annual income for a laboring man's family. The mode in which we are accustomed to regard the difference in the value of money might lead us to the conclusion that the laborer had a better lot with five shillings a week than with ten shillings in the present day. He indeed bought many things cheaper than the laborer of our time, but there were many articles of necessity or comfort much dearer than now, or wholly out of his reach. In 1706 wheat was forty shillings a quarter. The difference is not great between the price of 1858. But the laborer of the eighteenth century never ate wheaten bread. Woollen clothing of every sort was far dearer then. Linen was almost beyond the reach of his wife and children. There were no cheap calicoes for their shirts; no smart prints equally cheap for their frocks. Tea and sugar, the comforts of the modern cottage, were wholly for the rich. Fresh meat was only eaten twice a week by half the working people; and never tasted at all by the other half. The salt to cure the flesh of his hog was very dear and frightfully unwholesome. His hovel, with "one chimney," was unglazed, and its thatched roof and battered walls offered the most miserable shelter. Furniture he had none, beyond a bench and a plank on tressels—an iron pot, and a brown basin or two. All the minor comforts of the poorest in our age were absolutely wanting. He was no partaker of the common advantages that have accrued during a century and a half to the humblest as well as to the highest. No commodity was made cheap to him by modern facilities of communication, which in that age would have been considered miraculous. He had the ague, and his children died of the small-pox without medical aid. The village practitioner, who might be called in at the last extremity, was an empiric, to whom the knowledge and sagacity of Sydenham were unknown, and who had no faith in the theories of Harvey. Less fortunate than the peasant of the nineteenth century, he had, in England, not the slightest chance of going out of his condition through education, or of making a humble lot more endurable by some small share of the scantily diffused stores of knowledge. His children were equally shut out from any broader view of life than that of their native hamlet; for charity schools, few and mean as they were, founded for the education of the poor, were only established in some favored towns. Yet the peasant of the reigns of William and Anne was not an unhappy or degraded being. He had not been humiliated by a century of pauperism. He was emphatically a man—ignorant, in our sense of ignorance; believing in witches and omens; fond of rough sports, his wrestling and his cudgel-playing, and of some cruel sports, his cock-fighting, and his bull-baiting. He was not unfrequently a poacher, without any great sense of criminality. But he had a salutary respect for the constable and the justice, and was under a willing submission to the law, as were most other Englishmen. On rare occasions he freely took his glass of strong ale—at the fair or the wake, the sheep-shearing or the harvest home; had his honest merriment on the village-green, and sometimes was asleep on the bench over which the arms of the parish squire creaked in the wind. But he was not an habitual drunkard. He had a clean smock frock for the day when he heard the bells tolling for church; and he felt, when listening to the same words, and joining in the same ritual as the lord of the manor heard or joined in, that he had some position in the human family. He was always a hard worker; and he moreover knew that without industry he should fall to a condition below that in which God had placed him. "A neighbor of mine made it his remark," writes Berkeley, "in a journey from London to Bristol, that all the laborers of whom he inquired the road constantly answered without looking up, or interrupting their work, except one,

* Chamberlayne, "Present State of England," 1687, p. 43.

who stood staring and leaning on his spade, and him he found to be an Irishman." *

The farmers and the smaller freeholders were, with the exception of their greater command over the necessaries and comforts of life, at no great elevation above the husbandman who worked for wages. They were almost equally shut out from any very extensive commerce with the general world. They attended markets and fairs, but there the price of grain and of stock was the principal object of their inquiries. The local rate was the sole guide of their dealings. They had no price-currents to enable them to sell, or to hold back, according to the averages of the kingdom; nor indeed had they the power, in their limited command of labor and in their utter want of machinery more effective than labor, to take advantage of a sudden rise in the price of food. Their bargains were hurried and improvident. The laws against forestalling prevented speculation in corn, and interfered with the natural foresight against coming seasons of scarcity. After the harvest the grain was sold as speedily as possible to provide capital for the labor of another season. The people consumed without stint for a time; and then came terrible scarcities, with miseries innumerable in their train. The cultivators, as we have indicated, were slow to receive any improvement; and in their pursuit, as in many commercial pursuits, it was held that labor-saving expedients were an injury to the poor. They worked with the same rough tools as their grandfathers had used; for the plough and the harrow were incompetent to prepare the soil for seed without being followed up by much manual industry. There was a rough hospitality in their households. The great kitchen served for all domestic uses. Their home-servants took their meals at the same board with themselves; the children crowded about the floor; the dogs and the poultry gathered up the bones and the crumbs. They were a sturdy race, full of the independence which they had inherited from the times which made them free of the old lords of the soil; with many prejudices which had an intimate alliance with virtues—a very difficult race for courtiers and preachers of divine right to manage; such a race as rallied round Hampden when he stood up against ship-money; such a race as Cromwell chose for his Ironsides; men who preserved their traditions in their hatred of popery, and of everything which approached popery and arbitrary power.

The forty thousand "freeholders of the better sort," whose incomes are reckoned at ninety-one pounds a year for each family, though entitled to some of the privileges of men of worship, were separated from the "gentlemen" and the "esquires" by barriers more difficult to pass than those of mere wealth. We have a precise description of the "yeoman of about a hundred pounds a year, an honest man." He may sport over his own lands without being informed against. "He is just within the game act and qualified to kill a hare or a pheasant." He often earns his dinner with his gun. "In short, he is a very sensible man; shoots flying, and has been several times foreman of the petty jury." † But there was an insurmountable obstacle to any approach to equality between even the richest yeoman and the most impoverished esquire. The genealogy of the esquire was at once his strength and his weakness. His family pride kept him from meannesses unworthy of a gentleman; but it did not always preserve him from excesses that would appear more properly to belong to the humble origin of the coarsest peasant. Too often he fancied that his rank exempted him from the ordinary restraints of decent society. Yet, in the dissipation of the higher classes, which inevitably followed a quarter of a century of profligacy that had almost destroyed the old English character, there was, we are inclined to believe, some struggle against the fashionable temptations to which the great wholly abandoned themselves in the court of Charles II. The family ties were too often worn loosely; but the belief in those happy times "ere one to one was cursedly confined," ‡ was not a general creed. The barbarous hospitality that induced "gentlemen to think it is one of the honors of their houses that none must go out of them sober," § was a little wearing away. One who looked at mankind from the philosophical as well as the religious point of view attributes to idleness and ignorance the sensual excesses of "the uneducated fine gentleman." The Englishman is held to be "the most unsuccessful rake in the world. He is at variance with himself. He is neither brute enough to enjoy his appetites, nor man enough to govern them." * Burnet boldly says of the gentry of his time, "They are for the most part the worst instructed, and the least knowing, of any of their rank I ever met with." They are ill-taught and ill-bred; haughty and insolent; they have no love for their country, or of public liberty; they desire to return to tyranny, provided they might be the under-tyrants. In their marriages they look only for fortune. This is an awful picture, though some of the shadows may be a little too dark. Burnet was a Whig. The majority of the country gentlemen, having set up a constitutional sovereign, were again howling for divine right, and manifesting their love for a Protestant Church by sighing for the old days of confiscation and imprisonment to sweep out nonconformity. The times are long past when a lover of his country's liberty had a right to be angry at this temper. We would rather look at it as a folly to be laughed at, as Addison looked at it. His Tory fox-hunter is the true representative of that class of "country gentlemen, who have always lived out of the way of being better informed." The fox-hunter was of opinion that there had been no good weather since the revolution; and that the weather was always fine in Charles II.'s reign. He loved his spaniel, because he had once worried a dissenting teacher. He chose an inn for his quarters because the landlord was the best Church of England man upon the road. England, he maintained, would be the happiest country in the world if we could live within ourselves, for trade would be the ruin of the nation. † The Toryism of Sir Roger de Coverley, whom all love, was never offensive. He maintained the landed interest as opposed to the moneyed. He would not bait at a Whig inn. When he saw the headless statue of an English king in Westminster Abbey, and was told that it had been stolen, "Some Whig, I warrant you," says Sir Roger. Burnet may denounce the gentry of his time as ignorant and irreligious. A far greater historian may describe the squires who were in Charles II.'s commissions of peace and lieutenancy—and they could not have changed much, in less than the term of one generation—as differing little "from a rustic miller or ale-house keeper of our time;" and paint their wives and daughters "in tastes and acquirements below a housekeeper or a still-room maid of the present day." ‡ The country gentleman's "unrefined sensuality;" his "language and pronunciation such as we should now expect to hear only from the most ignorant clowns;" his "oaths, coarse jests, and scurrilous terms of abuse;" his habitual intoxication "with strong beer;" his "bargains over a tankard with drovers and hop-merchants"—are given as characteristics of the country gentleman "of the time when the crown passed from Charles II. to his brother." But some sketches of the country gentleman, written in 1711—sketches which will endure as long as our language—may be set in merciful contrast to the highly-colored composition of our eloquent contemporary, "derived from sources too numerous to be recapitulated." With the Sir Roger de Coverley of Addison and Steele we live for a month at his house in the country, and see only sober and staid servants, and a chaplain, who was chosen for plain sense rather than learning, and as "a man that understood a little of backgammon." Will Wimble, an idle younger brother to a baronet, describes a "large cock-pheasant," and how he caught "the huge jack;" but we do not see him and the host laid under the table. The knight's knowledge is not extensive. He takes care to parade his acquaintance with Baker's Chronicle; and tells that there is fine reading in the casualties of Henry IV.'s reign. But he does not pretend to be what he is not, and he has a reverence for the intellectual qualities of his visitor from London. Nor is he ill-bred, haughty, and insolent, as Burnet describes the class. With true politeness he lets his guest rise or go to bed when he pleases; dine in his own chamber, or at the general table; sit still and say nothing without being called upon to be merry. He indeed is somewhat dictatorial and exclusive at church; and will suffer nobody to sleep in it besides himself; counts the congregation to see if any of his tenants are missing; and when John Mathews kicks his heels, calls out to him to mind what he is about, and not disturb the congregation. But he is compassionate even to the hare that he rescues from his hounds; and when he is

* "Works," vol. ii. p. 229. † "Spectator," No. 122.
‡ Dryden, "Absalom and Achitophel."
§ Burnet, "Own Time," vol. vi. p. 199.

* Berkeley, "Alciphron," Works, vol. i. p. 345.
† "Freeholder," No. 22. ‡ Macaulay, vol. i. chap. iii.

doubting whether he ought not, as a justice of the peace, to commit the gypsy as a vagrant, he ends by crossing her hand with a piece of money. This, it may be said, is the fancy-picture of the most gentle of the great English humorists. But all the life-like traits of past manners must be derived from similar sources. Those who describe their own age with the greatest bitterness of satire are not always the most trustworthy. The exceptional cases of gross vice and degrading ignorance in the gentry may be as often mistaken as characteristics of a class, as the ruffians and outcasts of a great city may be mistaken for specimens of the hard-working and ill-paid tenants of its hovels and garrets.

The most repulsive feature in the character of the English country gentleman of the time of William and Anne is his political and religious bigotry. He does not only avoid the company of his neighbor for the difference of opinion, but he positively hates him. This is not a quiescent humor, whose chief evil is to destroy good-fellowship. It takes the practical form of one continued struggle for political supremacy. The dominion of king without parliament he knows has passed away; the most devoted Tory has no serious hopes that it can be brought back again. If the nation were to call over the son of James II., he fancies that, although the young Stuart is a papist, there will be no interference with the national religion; and although the exiled family have been taught from their cradles to venerate a heaven-appointed despotism, that they will not be despots. Whig and Tory accept parliamentary government as an accomplished fact, and they will each see what they can make of it for their own advantage. Both parties had their strongholds in the boroughs that had representatives without population. If they could manage the country districts that were populous, they might wholly control the troublesome cities and towns. The machinery of both sides was unlimited bribery. The degradation of the briber was as great as that of the bribed. "This corruption has become a national crime, having infected the lowest as well as the highest among us," writes Berkeley in 1721. The base politics of that age drew from the high-minded churchman the following noble denunciation: "God grant the time be not near, when men shall say, 'this island was once inhabited by a religious, brave, sincere people, of plain, uncorrupt manners, respecting inbred worth rather than titles and appearances, assertors of liberty, lovers of their country, jealous of their own rights, and unwilling to infringe the rights of others; improvers of learning and useful arts, enemies to luxury, tender of other men's lives and prodigal of their own; inferior in nothing to the old Greeks or Romans, and superior to each of those people in the perfections of the other. Such were our ancestors during their rise and greatness; but they degenerated, grew servile flatterers of men in power, adopted epicurean notions, became venal, corrupt, injurious, which drew upon them the hatred of God and man, and occasioned their final ruin.'" *

The nobility—the "temporal lords"—were, as they always had been, a most important portion of the rural aristocracy. Some resided for considerable periods of the year in their mansions upon their great estates. Their aggregate income was very nearly equal to one half of the income of the whole body of the esquires. They were the lords-lieutenant of counties, and, as such, had the control of the militia force of the kingdom. They were not attended to county meetings by hundreds of gentry wearing their liveries, as in the feudal days; they could not call out to the field their thousands of vassals. But they nevertheless mainly swayed the course of political action, under the system which we call "constitutional." As born legislators their direct power was far greater than in the nineteenth century. In the eighteenth, they made far more overt attempts to determine the composition of the lower house. Yet, perhaps, all things considered, they were then, as a body, the most incapable of taking a large view of the destinies of their country, and of nourishing a deep sympathy with the condition of the people. But nevertheless they could not segregate themselves from the people. They could not repose in safety upon exclusive pretensions; and thus they headed the revolution, and imparted to it the somewhat aristocratic character which it has taken more than another century to repair. They made no attempt to proportion representation by the numbers of the represented, or by the amount they paid in taxation. They had no very clear insight into the changes which had been produced by the rise of the trading classes. They made no exertions to better the condition of the poorest. They did not train their children to discharge the high functions to which they were born. They had them taught dancing, fencing, and riding. It looks like a satire when Burnet recommends that the sons of the nobility should be instructed in geography and history. Nevertheless, he admits that in his time, four or five lords, by their knowledge, good judgment, and integrity, had raised the House of Peers to a pitch of reputation that seemed beyond expectation.*

The desire of the nobility and other landowners to congregate in London was not an unnatural one, and was in some degree absolutely necessary when the parliamentary system of government became the rule under which England was to live. The jealousy of commerce, and of the use of foreign commodities, made the patriot of the end of the seventeenth century mildly reprove the growing desire of the rich to gather round the seat of luxury and fashion; as the despot of the beginning of the century had attempted forcibly to restrain this desire. "Heretofore," writes the descendant of John Hampden, "the gentry and nobility of England lived altogether in the country, where they continually spent the product of the land. Now they all flock to London, where their way of living is quite different from that used heretofore; and they do not expend in proportion the third part of things of our product, to what they did when they lived among their neighbors." † We know, at the present day, that the chief evils of absenteeship are moral evils; that the landlord, who is a mere receiver of rents, without taking thought for the general welfare of the humbler classes upon his estates, does not do his duty in that state of life to which he has been called. "The yeomen and gentlemen of smaller estates," adds Mr. Hampden, "are now, generally speaking, the only constant residents in the country." But even the gentlemen of smaller estates were frequently craving for "a journey to London." The dramatists and essayists exhibit the figures which the boorish squire and his wife and daughters presented in the novel pleasures and temptations of the metropolis. The squire was too often in the tavern, where he was told the wits and the quality were ready to welcome the stranger. Here he drank punch, the favorite beverage, and found it stronger than his strongest October; or he played at hazard with sharpers, and went home penniless. His ladies resorted to the theatre, which was not a school of morality. They walked in the New Spring Gardens ‡ in their "hoop petticoats;" and thus "invested in whalebone" thought themselves "sufficiently secured against the approaches of an ill-bred fellow." § But the smart gentlemen who hovered about "this new-fashioned rotunda" could still whisper such words of compliment as ladies dare not now read in Wycherley and Congreve. "The Folly," a floating coffee-house, where ladies of very different degrees of respectability were entertained by the beaux of the reign of Anne, was another place of genteel resort, which the lower popular literature has described with sympathizing coarseness. To the country visitors of London the fashionable amusement of the masquerade was the most dangerous of pleasures. It was in vain that the preacher and the moralist denounced this as a contagion of the worst kind. The duchess and the courtesan equally frequented such an assemblage—the peer of parliament and the mercer's apprentice from Covent Garden. The mask made the licentious even more free than in their ordinary talk; and though an English lady could bear many course jokes and sly allusions without blushing, from the masquerade she would take back to her wondering friends such specimens of "polite conversation" as would corrupt the most secluded districts for half a century. These excursions of the gentry to London, however rare, at any rate spread the worst follies of the town. The neglect of the indigent at home—the neglect not of mere almsgiving but of kindly intercourse—was certainly one of the evil consequences of the habitual residence, and even of the occasional sojourn of the gentry in the metropolis.

The worldly estate of the great body of the clergy may in some degree account for the low estimate of their condition and character which has been taken at this period. Their political action we shall have to describe, in their senseless dislike of the great man who had

* Berkeley, "Works," vol. ii. p. 197.

* "Own Time," vol. vi. p. 207.

† Tract of 1692, in "State Tracts published during the reign of William III." ‡ Vauxhall. § "Spectator," No. 127, 1711.

saved the English Church from ruin, and their puerile hankerings after the dynasty that they had united to eject. The revenue of each of the twenty-six "spiritual lords" has been reckoned at about three times as much as that of an esquire. The income of "eminent clergymen" is estimated for each at little more than one fourth of that of a gentleman. The lesser clergyman ranks, in point of the annual means for the support of his family, as below the small freeholder, a little above the farmer, and not very much above the handicraftsman. These incomes being taken upon the average of ten thousand livings, would undoubtedly leave some of the clergy with a pittance not higher than that of the common seaman, and even of the out-door laborer. Can we wonder, therefore, that servility and coarseness were considered the characteristics of the class? They went from the grammar-school to the college upon an exhibition or a sizarship which had its own humiliations. If fortunate, they began their career as chaplains in noble or other privileged households, where it was a blessed fate if they were treated with as much respect as was bestowed upon the butler. When they obtained a benefice they had to perform the most menial labors to extract from it the means of subsistence. In this last stage, can we wonder that some might be found, instead of taking rank as gentlemen, drinking ale and smoking with the village cow-keeper? Perhaps it was not the worst society for them. But in spite of these familiar pictures of the addiction of the country parson to low company, and of his necessary connection with mean labors, may we not consider that there were many who felt an honest pride in ploughing their own field, and feeding their own hogs; whose wives were spinning the wool of their own sheep, and whose daughters were scouring their bricked kitchen, without mental degradation? Burnet, who was a severe censurer of his brethren, admits that the greatest part of them live without scandal; but in the very next sentence he says, "I have observed the clergy, in all the places throughout which I have travelled—Papists, Lutherans, Calvinists, and Dissenters: but of them all our clergy are much the most remiss in their labors in private, and the least severe in their lives."* In another place he speaks of the zeal of the Romish clergy, and of dissenters; "but I must own that the main body of our clergy has always appeared dead and lifeless to me, and instead of animating one another, they seem rather to lay one asleep."† The right reverend friend of William III. had sustained many mortifications from the restlessness of the great body of the country clergy; from their intolerance; from their extravagant notions of Church supremacy; from their narrow views of political affairs. The eminent divines of that day were great scholars and great reasoners. The whole course of human thought was tending to the actual rather than to the ideal. The philosophy of Locke may be traced in many a powerful religious argument which could confound the sceptic but could not rouse the indifferent. The divinity of that generation, and indeed of the next, was for the most part formal and unimpassioned. Methodism arose; and the most ignorant of the human race found nourishment and hope in words which came home to their bosoms and understandings. Tillotson reasoning to the benchers of Lincoln's Inn, and Whitefield moving the colliers of Bristol to tears, are contrasts of which the lessons were not speedily learned in the Church, but which when learned could not be easily forgotten.

The historian of his own time, to do him justice, saw what was chiefly wanting to make the clergy efficient for good. He exhorted them "to labor more," instead of cherishing extravagant notions of the authority of the Church. If to an exemplary course of life in their own persons "clergymen would add a little more labor—not only performing public offices, and preaching to the edification of the people, but watching over them, instructing them, exhorting, reproving, and comforting them, as occasion is given from house to house, making their calling the business of their whole life—they would soon find their own minds grow to be in a better temper, and their people would show more esteem and regard for them." We who have now the happiness to feel that the clergy are the great civilizers also know how slowly this sage advice was taken by them as a class.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, and long after, we see no struggle against great social evils, on the part of the clergy or the laity. Every attempt at social reform was left to the legislature, which was utterly indifferent to those manifestations of wretchedness and crime that ought to have been dealt with by the strong hand. Education, in any large sense, there was none. Disease committed its ravages, unchecked by any attempt to mitigate the evils of standing pools before the cottage door, and pestilent ditches in the towns. These were not peculiar evils of the last century; they continued long beyond that century, because they were the results of social ignorance. But there were evils so abhorrent to humanity that their endurance without the slightest endeavor to mitigate or remove them was an opprobrium of that age. The horrible state of the prisons was well known. The nosegay laid on the desk of the judge at every assize proclaimed that starvation and filth were sweeping away far more than perished by the executioner, terrible as that number was. The judge's chaplain ate the sheriff's dinner; and all was well unless a few jurymen took the jail-fever. The justices never entered the jails. The vicar heeded not the Saviour's reproach, "I was sick, and in prison, and ye visited me not." London and all other great towns were swarming with destitute children, who slept in ash-holes and at street-doors. They were left to starve, or to become thieves, and in due course be hanged. The Church, in 1701, established "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts." The worse than heathen at home were left to swell the festering mass of sin and sorrow, until the whole fabric of society was in peril from its outcasts, and no man's life or property was safe. The only evidence that was listened to of something wrong in the entire social economy was this: one fifth of the whole population were paupers. Locke attributed the rapid increase of the poor-rates to "the relaxation of discipline and the corruption of manners." Those who by their rank or their office were especially called to guide the ignorant, and to discourage the licentious, were certainly to be charged with some neglect of their great duties, if such were the causes of pauperism.

The evils of society, at the opening of the eighteenth century, were not laid bare by publicity, the one first step toward their remedy. There was only one popular writer who approached social questions with any practical knowledge joined to sound benevolence. He was Daniel Defoe. He looked for remedies, not in drivelling schemes for setting the poor to work under parochial superintendence, but he told the capitalist and the laborer how to raise their condition under the natural laws of demand and supply. His "Review" was the first periodical work that sought readers among the people. Addison and Steele saw that a popular literature was to be created; and from that time the lay preachers became effective. Newspapers multiplied. But even Addison could not see that they were capable of becoming great instruments of public good. It is remarkable that the man who did as much as any one to prove the efficiency of the press should have thus chosen to "hesitate dislike" against the humblest laborers in the same field. Perhaps he had a foresight of the power that was to grow out of small beginnings. "Of all the ways and means by which this political humor hath been propagated among the people of Great Britain, I cannot single out any so prevalent and universal as the late constant application of the press to the publishing of state matters. We hear of several that are newly erected in the country, and set apart for this particular use. For it seems the people of Exeter, Salisbury, and other large towns, are resolved to be as great politicians as the inhabitants of London and Westminster, and deal out such news of their own printing as is best suited to the genius of the market-people and the taste of the county. One cannot but be sorry for the sake of these places, that such a pernicious machine is erected among them."*

We have left for the conclusion of this general view of the chief aspects of England's social condition about the beginning of the last century, a very brief allusion to those "liberal arts and sciences" which were slowly, but very surely, to change the half-developed industry of the time of Anne to the marvellous proportions of the commercial era of the first sovereign lady who came after that queen. In the fifteen thousand engaged in these liberal pursuits in 1688 we must include the medical profession. The study of facts had succeeded to the theories and empirical remedies of the school before Harvey and Sydenham. Botany had been systematized by Ray; and the medical student had the opportunity of becoming familiar with

* "Own Time," vol. vi. p. 183. † Ibid., p. 129.

* "Freeholder," No. 53, June 22d, 1716.

plants in the "Physic Garden." The Royal Society was incorporated by charter in 1662, and commenced the publication of its transactions in 1665. This was a great step toward popularizing science; and if many of the papers which were read at the society's meetings appear now to be frivolous, they kept alive a spirit of investigation which in time produced results beyond the amusement of the small knot of virtuosi in the capital and in some of the chief towns. But many years before the end of the seventeenth century that great genius had arisen whose discoveries made the astonished philosopher of France figure Newton as "entirely disengaged from matter," and the enthusiastic poet of England exclaim, "God said let Newton be, and there was light." * In noticing the wondrous powers of intellect which called forth such tributes from contemporaries, and which succeeding generations have gratefully echoed, we desire chiefly to point out that the discoverer of the law of universal gravitation was equally fitted for the solution of a problem that might appear capable of being solved by minds of an inferior order. The great reform of the currency, one of the most difficult operations of the ministers of William III., was carried through under the advice of Newton, working at the same question of practical utility with Locke. It is only just to the statesmen of the seventeenth century to point out that, in several instances, they manifested their convictions of the direct value of philosophical research and discovery. From the foundation of the Royal Observatory at Greenwich, in 1676, may be dated the progress of scientific navigation. It would be impossible to calculate the amount of obligation which English commerce alone owes to the labors of the great men who have followed in the track of Galileo and Kepler, from the Newton and Halley of the age which we have now imperfectly glanced at to the Herschel and Airy of our own time.

A Scheme of the Income and Expense of the several Families in England, calculated for the Year 1688.

Number of Families.	Ranks, Degrees, Titles, and Qualifications.	Heads per Family.	Number of Persons.	Yearly Income per Family. £	s.	Yearly Income in General. £
160	Temporal Lords	40	6,400	3,200	0	512,000
26	Spiritual Lords	20	520	1,300	0	33,800
800	Baronets	16	12,800	880	0	704,000
600	Knights	13	7,800	650	0	390,000
3,000	Esquires	10	30,000	450	0	1,200,000
12,000	Gentlemen	8	96,000	280	0	2,880,000
5,000	Persons in greater offices and places	8	40,000	240	0	1,200,000
5,000	Persons in lesser offices and places	6	30,000	120	0	600,000
2,000	Eminent merchants and traders by sea	8	16,000	400	0	800,000
8,000	Lesser merchants and traders by sea	6	48,000	200	0	1,600,000
10,000	Persons in the law	7	70,000	154	0	1,540,000
2,000	Eminent clergymen	6	12,000	72	0	144,000
8,000	Lesser clergymen	5	40,000	50	0	400,000
40,000	Freeholders of the better sort	7	280,000	91	0	3,640,000
120,000	Freeholders of the lesser sort	5½	660,000	55	0	6,600,000
150,000	Farmers	5	750,000	42	10	6,375,000
15,000	Persons in liberal arts and sciences	5	75,000	60	0	900,000
50,000	Shopkeepers and tradesmen	4½	225,000	45	0	2,250,000
60,000	Artisans and handicraftsmen	4	240,000	38	0	2,280,000
5,000	Naval officers	4	20,000	80	0	400,000
4,000	Military officers	4	16,000	60	0	240,000
500,586		5⅓	2,675,520	68	18	34,488,800
50,000	Common seamen	3	150,000	20	0	1,000,000
364,000	Laboring people and out-servants	3½	1,275,000	15	0	5,460,000
400,000	Cottagers and paupers	3¾	1,300,000	6	10	2,000,000
35,000	Common soldiers	2	70,000	14	0	490,000
	Vagrants, as gypsies, thieves, beggars, etc.		30,000	10	10	60,000
1,349,586	Net totals	4⅓	5,500,520	32	5	43,498,800

NOTE.—Mr. Gregory King, the author of this Scheme, considers that the 21 classes whose families amount to 500,586 are accumulators, spending less than their income; and that the other classes require some support beyond their earnings—that they decrease the national capital.

There are some few discrepancies between the items and the totals in the above table, but they do not affect the conclusions to be derived from this "Scheme."

Of the indirect power of science to give its impulse to the commonest labors of man—to call forth new exercises of industry, to improve the processes already in existence, to furnish higher aims to manufactures and commerce, to bring remote regions within the range of maritime communication, to carry forward the heaven-ordained design of spreading the blessings of civilization over the earth—no one who looks at what England was a century and a half ago and what England is now can have the smallest doubt. But it must not be forgotten that our country was a soil adapted for the reception of this seed; that abstract science would have remained in a great degree unproductive for practical ends, except its powers had been developed among an energetic race living under a system of public liberty. Amid such a race the spark of knowledge does not glimmer in mere speculative thought, but becomes a fire, diffusing its warmth over an improving country. Governments may be slow in seeing this indissoluble connection between the discoveries of the philosopher and the province of the statesman. But if in a land of freedom they retard not the work which they can never more than feebly aid, and even if they attempt to retard it, mind will assert its own empire, and produce the results which constitute the essential differences between the age before the steam-engine and the age of the electric telegraph.

CHAPTER CXXII.

Resolution and conduct of the Prince of Orange set forth in the proclamation of William and Mary—Character of William—Aspirants for office—The king's ministers—The judges—Jealousy of William's Dutch friends—The convention declared to be a parliament—Oath of allegiance—Refused by some spiritual and lay peers—Nonjurors—A supply voted—The principle of appropriation established—Comprehension Bill—Reform of the Liturgy—The Test Act—The Toleration Act—High and Low Church—Mutiny at Ipswich—The first Mutiny Act—Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act—Bill of Indemnity postponed—The coronation oath—The coronation—War with France.

"WHEREAS it hath pleased Almighty God, in his great mercy to this kingdom, to vouchsafe us a merciful deliverance from popery and arbitrary power; and that our preservation is due, next under God, to the resolution and conduct of his highness the Prince of Orange." Such were the opening words of the proclamation, which, on the 13th of February, 1689, announced to the people of England that William and Mary were king and queen of these realms. The same "resolution and conduct" which had delivered England from the most imminent dangers had to support the man who was acknowledged as her deliverer amid perils and difficulties of which not the least were the treachery, the self-seeking, the ingratitude of the greater number of those who had called him to rule over them. For thirteen years this Dutch William almost stood alone as the representative of what was heroic in England. He is not a hero to look upon, according to the vulgar notion of the hero. "He had a thin and weak body. . . . He was always asthmatical, and the dregs of the small-pox falling on his lungs, he had a constant deep cough." * This prince had no power of subduing men to his will by rhetorical arts. He was a master of seven languages, speaking "Dutch, French, English, and German, equally well," as Burnet records. But his possession of this necessary accomplishment of a prince did not lead him to the ambition of employing words to conceal his thoughts. "He spoke little and very slowly, and most commonly with a disgusting dryness," † says Burnet. "He speaks well, and to the point," says one of the French negotiators of the peace of Ryswick. He came among courtiers who recollected the charm of the manners of Charles the Second—that fascinating gossip which always evaded "the point"—and in a few weeks they talked of "the morose temper of the Prince of Orange." ‡ Under this frigid demeanor superficial observers could comprehend nothing of the marvellous energy of this man of action; and they descanted upon "the slothful, sickly temper of the new king." § Though "he had a memory that amazed all about him," his great abilities were not generally recognized, for he had few of the showy qualities which pass for genius. Men of that time had not studied the science of

* It is a worthy occupation of a life which, in its closing years, is more elevated by science than excited by politics, for Lord Brougham to preside over the inauguration of a statue of Newton, at Grantham, on the 22d of September, 1858.

* Burnet, "Own Time," vol. iv. p. 547.
† Ibid.
‡ Evelyn, "Diary," January 29.
§ Ibid., March 29.

Lavater and Spurzheim, yet they had a notion that "foreheads villainous low" were symbols of imbecility; and when they looked upon the "large front" of this cautious, undemonstrative stranger, they might perchance have thought that there was something in him, and that there was meaning in the silent eloquence of his "bright and sparkling eyes." There was no vivacity in the man—"solemn and serious, seldom cheerful, and but with a few," says Burnet. Yet he managed to use his talents, such as they were, not for display but for service. In war he carried the hearts of all along with him by his fire and his daring. In negotiation he accomplished the most difficult objects by his perseverance, and, above all, by his truthfulness. Tallard, the ambassador from Louis XIV., writes to his master: "He is honorable in all he does; his conduct is sincere. . . . If he once enters into a treaty with your majesty, he will scrupulously adhere to it."* The same impartial observer bears testimony to his sagacity: "He is very quick-sighted, and has a correct judgment, and will soon perceive that we are trifling with him if we protract matters too much."† "Few men had stronger passions," according to Burnet; but "few men had the art of concealing and governing passion more than he had." He disarmed the hostility of factions by his seeming imperturbability. "The wishes of the king are checked," writes Tallard, "and it is only by his extreme patience, and by incessantly applying remedies to everything, that he succeeds in a part of what he desires."‡ And yet from the depths of this seemingly impassive nature breaks out the secret agony of his real sensitiveness, told only to his friend Heinsius: "Matters in parliament here are taking a turn which drives me mad."§ Such was the man who was called to rule over England in times when a statesman not to be treacherous, unpatriotic, corrupt, was a rare distinction. "He is generally hated by all the great men and the whole of the nobility," says the French ambassador, after William had been ten years on the throne.‖ But Tallard adds: "It is not the same with the people, who are very favorably inclined toward him, yet less so than at the beginning." What this prince had done for England, from the beginning to the end, to raise her in the scale of nations, to save her from foreign domination, to keep her safe from domestic tyranny, to uphold that liberty of conscience which is the basis of true Protestantism, to make constitutional government a reality in spite of the low ambition of ignorant factions—this the people of that generation could not wholly appreciate, however they might feel that it was good for them to be under a ruler who knew that he had a work to do in the world, and who did it.

"Innumerable were the crowds who solicited for and expected offices," says a bystander in 1689, who saw the progress of the game.¶ "The pasture was not large enough for the flock," writes an anonymous historian of the next generation.** In those days statesmen were justly open to the reproach of seeking high place out of the lust of gain, rather than for the gratification of an honorable ambition. The official salaries were extravagantly large. It was no part of the policy of the aristocratic movers in the settlement of 1689 to disturb the lavish bounties of the Stuarts to their obsequious servants. But the people felt these burdens. In 1690 Sir Charles Sedley, in a debate on the supply, said of William, "He is a brave and generous prince, but he is a young king, encompassed and hemmed in by a company of crafty old courtiers. To say no more, some have places of 3000*l.*, some of 6000*l.*, and others of 8600*l.* per annum."†† In the lower offices of the household and of the revenue the pay was disproportionately large, and the perquisites still larger. The coach and six horses of the comptroller of the customs was a deep offence to the country gentlemen.‡‡ We may readily imagine that in such a total change as that of 1689 there was a scramble for office, in which the real principles of public men were severely tested. The king—called to the succor of England by the united voice of men of all parties, and placed upon the throne with the partial approbation of many who were opposed to the principles of his most ardent supporters—ventured upon an experiment in government, which to us would be perfectly unintelligible if we were to judge of it by the practice of modern times. He desired to govern by a balance of parties; he sought to carry that desire into effect by choosing his ministers from parties whose principles were diametrically opposed each to the other. To comprehend why it was thought possible to twist such a rope of sand into a state-cable, we must bear in mind that, under the system which had passed away, of governing as much as possible without parliaments, an administration was merely composed of men who were thought qualified to serve the king in their respective offices, without any common agreement upon particular measures. An active king, such as Charles I. and James II., was in many respects his own administrator. William III. was willing to give the same personal superintendence to the conduct of that great policy, whose advancement had chiefly moved him to contend for the English throne. He would himself conduct the foreign relations of the country, for which duty, indeed, he was more fitted than any man. But his confidential advisers in domestic politics should be officers who had influence with the two great parties in the state, and with the subdivisions of the Whig and Tory factions. There was Halifax, who was known as the Trimmer—one who was selected to tender the crown to William and Mary, but who had taken no part in the first steps which deprived James of the crown. There was Danby, who had been impeached under Charles II. for his arbitrary and corrupt practices, and who had only given a modified support to the present change of government. There was Nottingham, whose nomination to office was a propitiation to the High Church party. There was Shrewsbury, who had borne a distinguished part in the battle which had resulted in the great victory of the Whigs. But the revolution was the triumph of Whig principles; and thus it was natural, in the hour of triumph, after some concessions to open adversaries or doubtful friends, that the Whigs should have the larger share of the spoils. The great seal was put in commission. The great office of lord high treasurer was not filled up, but commissioners of the treasury were appointed. In the same way the duties of lord high admiral were intrusted to a board. These arrangements for commissions were considered as politic devices "to gratify the more."* One signal benefit of the great change was manifested to the nation—there would be no attempt to suppress public opinion by the agency of corruption on the judgment-seat: "Nothing gave a more general satisfaction than the naming of the judges. The king ordered every privy counsellor to bring a list of twelve, and out of these twelve very learned and worthy judges were chosen."† Somers, to whose eloquence and sagacity the success of the revolution was so much indebted, was named solicitor-general.

In the spirit of that mean dislike of foreigners which characterizes the vulgar Englishman, a writer of our own day thus records one of the complaints against the arrangements of 1689: "Three of the king's Dutch followers, Bentinck, Auverquerque, and Zuylistein, were placed by him about his person—with a disdain, not of the prejudices, but of the feelings of the nation, which might have recalled to mind his Norman predecessor."‡ There were others about William's person who were among the most true-hearted of Englishmen. The Duke of Devonshire was lord steward; the Earl of Dorset was lord chamberlain; Sidney, the brother of the republican Algernon, was a gentleman of the bed-chamber. Yet William is held to have outraged the national feeling because he gave one place, not of political importance, but of necessary companionship, to Bentinck, the friend of his youth—the man who had nursed him in sickness, who had stood by him in battle; because he gave another to Auverquerque, who had saved his life by personal intrepidity in the field of St. Dennis, in 1678; and another to Zuylistein, whose father had earned a debt of gratitude from the savior of Holland, by perishing in his cause, when Luxemburg stormed his quarters in 1672. We doubt if the people—not the mere place-hunters—were so unreasonable as to expect that their deliverer, as they called him, should be isolated among strangers; should have wholly to make new friends; should cast aside all memories of old affections; should forget all the associations of that life of toil and danger which he had endured from his twenty-second year to this his thirty-ninth. They could not surely forget that William was Stadtholder of Holland as

* Grimblot, "Letters of William and Louis," vol. ii. p. 48 and 56.
† Ibid., p. 54. ‡ Ibid., vol. ii. p. 233. § Ibid., vol. i. p 355.
‖ Ibid., vol. i. p. 466. ¶ Evelyn, "Diary," February 21.
** Ralph, "History," vol. ii. p. 57—1746.
†† "Parliamentary History," vol. v. col. 502. ‡‡ Ibid., col. 630.

* Evelyn, "Diary," March 8. † Burnet, vol. iv. p. 7.
‡ Continuation of Mackintosh's "History," by William Wallace,

well as King of England; that the interests of both countries were the same; that the first magistrate of each of the two free states of Europe was embarked in a contest against the absolute monarch who aimed at universal dominion; that for the proper conduct of this great enterprise it were well that he should have some few faithful friends, to whom he could pour out his heart without dread of fickleness and faithlessness. Yet against such popular prejudices it is hard to contend. William must have felt that the mere circumstance of his being a foreigner was a serious impediment to his power of doing his duty efficiently; and thus, amid undeserved suspicions and causeless jealousies, he pined for that happier state from which he had been called; he felt the want of that admiration which surrounded him at the Hague; he intensely longed for the return of the tranquillity that he had thrown away when he quitted his quiet home at Loo.

King William opened the parliament on the 18th of February. He addressed the two houses in a very brief speech, composed of the plainest words: "I have lately told you how sensible I am of your kindness, and how much I value the confidence you have reposed in me. And I am come hither to assure you that I shall never do anything that may justly lessen your good opinion of me." The chief point of the speech was a recommendation "to consider of the most effectual ways of preventing the inconveniences which may arise by delays, and to judge what forms may be most proper to bring those things to pass for the good of the nation which I am confident are in all your minds, and which I, on my part, shall be always ready to promote." The possible delays to which the king alluded grew out of the agitation of the question whether the convention which had altered the succession could continue to sit as a parliament. The Lords immediately passed a bill "for removing and preventing all questions and disputes touching the assembly and sitting of this present parliament," in which it was declared that the convention which assembled on the 22d of January are the two houses of parliament, "as if they had been summoned according to the usual form." But in the Commons the question was debated with great violence, upon what were maintained as constitutional principles. There had been two months of excitement since James had quitted the kingdom; and the inevitable reaction of opinion made many eager to unsettle the settlement. Old Sergeant Maynard maintained that this was not a time to stand upon forms. "There is a great danger in sending out writs at this time, if you consider what a ferment the nation is in I think the clergy are out of their wits." The outrages that James had attempted upon the national religion were by many forgotten. The dread of popery was extinguished in the dread of dissent. This was the first move of a powerful faction when they agitated the question whether the convention were a parliament; thus to postpone the formal adhesion of the Church and the laity to the new sovereign, and to delay the grant of supplies, at a time of impending danger on every side. The state of the parliamentary constituencies—a state that remained unaltered for nearly a century and a half—presented a wide field for intrigue and corruption. The real opinion of the people upon such a vital question as that of uncompromising fealty to a new dynasty could not be fairly arrived at when Cornwall, with its twenty-five thousand householders, returned one third more members than Yorkshire with its hundred thousand; and when Sussex, another great seat of decayed boroughs, returned nearly four times as many members as Middlesex and London. In this question of the legality of the parliament the constituencies were not, however, called upon to decide. The bill was passed, and it was accompanied with a clause that no person should sit and vote in either house of parliament without taking the prescribed oath to be faithful and bear true allegiance to King William and Queen Mary, according to the form prescribed in the Declaration of Rights.* The 1st of March was the day after which no seat could be taken in parliament unless allegiance had thus been previously sworn. The Archbishop of Canterbury and seven other spiritual peers absented themselves, as well as various lay peers. In the Commons the absentees were not so proportionately numerous. The Jacobite party sustained a defeat: but the example of the prelates operated upon many of the inferior clergy when the time arrived in which they also were to declare in the most solemn manner their adherence to the new government. An oath, in place of the old oath of allegiance and supremacy, was to be taken by all lay persons holding offices, and by all in possession of any benefice or other ecclesiastical preferment. Those churchmen who did not take this oath on or before the 1st of August were to be suspended, and if at the end of six months they continued to refuse were to be deprived.* About four hundred refused the oath, and, losing their benefices, were, during three reigns, a constant source of irritation and alarm, under the name, familiarized to us by our lighter as well as graver literature, of nonjurors. Whatever opinions may be entertained of the wisdom of this resistance, we must, in this case, as in the previous cases of the Episcopalians ejected by the Long Parliament, and of the Puritans ejected after the restoration, respect the self-denial of those who suffered for conscience sake. Their devotion to the principle of hereditary right might be a weakness, but it was not a crime. The policy of their deprivation was very questionable. Those who took the oaths, and satisfied their principles by intriguing and preaching against the government *de facto*, were really more dangerous than the eminent divines, such as Ken, and Sherlock, and Leslie, who openly refused to support it by their declared allegiance. Violent and factious men might bring contempt on the name of nonjurors; but many of the less distinguished among them set about getting their bread by the honest exercise of their talents and learning. If some became fawning domestic chaplains to plotting Jacobite lords, others kept themselves above want by literary labors, however humble. John Blackbourn, the ejected incumbent of two livings, earned his bread as corrector of the press for William Bowyer.†

In this first session of the first parliament of the revolution, amid signal manifestations of a narrow and a factious spirit, we have abundant evidence of statesmanlike sagacity. The king looked upon many unsettled questions with a wider range of view than his own council or the grand council of the nation. He was confident in the justice and necessity of the objects for which he desired to have his hands strengthened. The parliament refused it's confidence. The king desired to carry out the fullest principles of religious liberty that were consistent with the public safety. The parliament thought that there was a very strict limit even for toleration. And yet out of these differences resulted much practical good. The king wished to have ample means for maintaining the Protestant ascendency in Ireland, for the pacification of Scotland, for giving efficiency to the confederacy against the ambition of the French. The Commons manifested a greater jealousy of intrusting the supplies to their deliverer than they had manifested toward their oppressor. There were immediate evil consequences. The Roman Catholic adherents of James devastated the Protestant settlements in Ireland; the standard of resistance was successfully reared in Scotland; Louis threatened England with invasion and was marching a great army upon Holland. But the benefits of the jealousy of the Commons are felt by us to this day. Those Whigs who carried their confidence in the intentions of William to an extreme were of opinion that the revenue which had been settled upon King James for life should revert to the sovereign who had taken his place. Some Tories who were adverse to the government, but were eager to secure power by a simulated confidence in the king, agreed in this view. The majority in parliament successfully resisted it. William had proposed to his council that the hearth-money or chimney-tax should be abolished. Sir Robert Howard told the house that the king said "It was much in his thoughts." Sir Robert added, "I could wish the house had heard his discourse in all this business; and in all his discourse from Exeter hither he expressed his inclination to do good to the people."‡ To abolish the hearth-money, an especial tax upon the poor, was a duty to which William was called by the earnest solicitations of the crowds who followed his march from Torbay to London. But he frankly said to parliament "as in this his majesty doth consider the case of the subject, so he doth not doubt but you will be careful of the support of the crown." The official biographer of James II. sneers at William's self-denial. "He wheedled them [the Commons] with a remission of chimney-money when he was well assured he should be no loser by his generosity, and that it

* 1 Gul. and Mar. c. 1.

* 1 Gul. and Mar. c. 8.

† Nichols' "Literary Anecdotes," vol. iii. p. 252.

‡ "Parliamentary History," vol. v. col. 153.

would be only like throwing water into a dry pump to make it suck better below, and cast it out with more abundance above." * This was not exactly the best mode of wheedling the rich country gentlemen, by removing a tax from the cottage to put it in some shape upon the mansion. Yet the Commons respected the motive of the king, and substituted less oppressive taxes. But they declined to grant the temporary revenue for the lives of the king and queen. The hereditary revenue they did not touch. Moreover they resolved that whatever sums they voted should be appropriated to particular services, according to estimates. This principle, partially adhered to in the time of Charles II., but wholly disregarded by the parliament of his successor, has from the time of the revolution been the great security of the nation against the wanton and corrupt expenditure of the crown. Parliament may make lavish votes, but there must be a distinct vote in every case for the service of a particular department. It is this which renders the legislative power so really supreme in England; it is this which renders it impossible that an executive can subsist except in concord with the representatives of the people. We therefore owe a debt of gratitude to the parliament of the revolution that they clung to a principle and established a practice which have never since been departed from. A temporary vote of credit is sometimes asked under extraordinary circumstances; but the constitutional right of appropriation, always secured in the express words of the grant of supply, is the general rule which no minister would dare to ask the representatives of the people to forego.

But if the parliament of William and Mary is to be commended for their jealousy of the king in the matter of revenue, we may doubt if they were equally wise in halting far short of his known wishes in the great questions of religious liberty and religious union. If the king's abstract sense of what was due to the consciences of men could have been carried out, we might have been saved from a century and a quarter of bitter animosities; and the Church of England might have been more secure and more influential than during the long period when the Test Act remained in force against Protestants, and Roman Catholics were not only ineligible to civil offices but had to undergo what we now justly regard as persecution. But in this, as in all other cases, no reform can be permanent which is premature. William desired such an alteration in the ritual and discipline of the Church, as had been vainly attempted from the time of James I., so as to satisfy the scruples of nonconformists who were honestly averse to separation. He advanced so far as to have what was called a Comprehension Bill introduced into the House of Lords by a zealous churchman, the Earl of Nottingham. It passed the Peers in a mutilated shape, was coldly received by the Commons, and dropped through upon a reference to convocation. That ecclesiastical parliament had transacted no real business since 1665, when they gave up the right of taxing themselves. They had now been summoned, as had been usual; but, contrary to use, important measures were to be submitted to them at a time of violent divisions among the clergy. A considerable number of eminent divines were disposed to such changes in the services of the Church as would conciliate the moderate Presbyterians and others who conscientiously objected to certain portions of the ritual. A commission was appointed to consider what changes were desirable. A report was drawn up by the moderate churchmen, such as Tillotson, and submitted to the convocation. The "rigid" or High-Church party had there prevailed; and their prolocutor, Dr. Jane, when presented to the Bishop of London, proclaimed the resolve of the majority, in the words of the barons of Henry III.: "Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari." The Comprehension Bill and the reform of the liturgy went to the ground together.

Another ruling desire of the king was that all Protestants should be eligible to employments. On the occasion of giving his assent to two bills, on the 16th of March, he said, "I am, with all the expedition I can, filling up the vacancies that are in offices and places of trust by this revolution. I know you are sensible there is a necessity of some law to settle the oaths to be taken by all persons to be admitted to such places. I recommend to your care to make a speedy provision for it; and as I doubt not you will sufficiently provide against papists, so I hope you will leave room for the admission of all Protestants that are willing and able to serve." William proposed this at the time when the question was under debate whether the clergy should be required to take the oaths. He proposed it without consulting his council, in the hope that the two violent parties would agree to a compromise—that the Whigs would not press the oath of allegiance upon the clergy; that the Tories would not press the sacramental test upon the dissenters. He was deceived in his expectations. The Test Act remained in force against nonconformists. The bill which deprived the nonjuring clergy of their benefices was carried.

The last and the least objectionable wish of the king was agreed to after long debate—that dissenters should not be molested in the celebration of their worship. The Toleration Act—"An act for exempting their majesties' Protestant subjects dissenting from the Church of England from the penalties of certain laws"—was a signal relief from a heavy burden, long borne by indignant sufferers. Judged by the opinions of our own day the Toleration Act was a very imperfect boon, requiring from dissenting ministers and teachers subscription to certain articles of faith, as contained in the thirty-nine articles of the Church, with the exception of the 34th, 35th, and 36th articles, and of those words of the 20th article which declared that the Church had power to decree rights or ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith. The Protestants who "scruple the baptizing of infants" were further exempted from subscribing part of the 27th article. The Quakers were exempted, upon a declaration of fidelity and a simple profession of their Christian belief. The Act of Toleration only relaxed the severe enactments of the two former reigns, under this and other conditions, without providing for their repeal. Yet eventually this famous statute was a measure of real relief, for its cumbrous and impracticable conditions gradually fell into disuse. We may judge of the satisfaction it gave to dissenters by the enthusiastic plaudits of Defoe, in calling upon his dissenting brethren, "annually to commemorate, by a standing law among themselves, that great day of their deliverance, when it pleased God to tread down persecution, oppression, church-tyranny, and state-tyranny, under the feet of the law, and to establish the liberty of their consciences, which they had so long prayed for, in a public and legal toleration." * The ministers of dissenting meeting-houses had thus no longer reason to dread informations under the Act of Uniformity and the Five Mile Acts. Their followers were discharged from all apprehension of penalties for attending conventicles, or for neglecting the worship of the Establishment, provided they took the oath of allegiance, and subscribed the declaration against popery prescribed by the statute of Charles II. The Protestant dissenters were relieved by act of parliament from those restraints which James II. attempted to remove by the dispensing power. The papists were specifically excluded from this relief; and thus the statutory indulgence was welcomed by Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, and Quakers, as much for what it denied to others as for what it gave to themselves. But inasmuch as it narrowed the area of state intolerance, it rendered a large proportion of the clergy more than ever intolerant toward those legally tolerated. The king was brought up as a Calvinist, and thus his tendencies toward religious freedom were always suspected as having for their end something adverse to the Anglican Church. Swift, writing in 1711, in the spirit of triumphant Toryism, says, "The revolution being wholly brought about by Church of England hands, they hoped one good consequence of it would be the relieving us from the encroachments of dissenters as well as those of papists." The hope was happily disappointed. The dissenters were no longer to be hunted by the constable and imprisoned by the justice of peace. "They," says Swift, "had just made a shift to save a tide and join with the Prince of Orange, when they found all was desperate with their protector King James; and observing a party then forming against the old principles in Church and State under the name of Whigs and Low Churchmen, they listed themselves of it, where they have ever since continued." † In a subsequent paper Swift affirms that the distinction of High and Low Church, "which came in some time after the revolution," was raised by the dissenters, "in order to break the church party by dividing the members into high and low; and the opinions raised that the high joined with the papists inclined the low to fall in with the dissenters." ‡ The unchristian hatreds of the revolution gave their color to the politics

* "Review," quoted in Wilson's "Defoe," vol. i. p. 181.

of two reigns. Since the accession of the house of Brunswick these polemics have been gradually diluted, so as to impart at last the faintest tinge to the real course of public policy. Very slowly has the hold of intolerance of all kinds been relaxed. But as past years have diminished the length and breadth of that debatable land, where deadly controversialists once fought *à l'outrance*, may we not hope that succeeding years will completely reduce the old battle-field to the dimensions of a pleasant tilting-ground, where blunt lances and daggers of lath shall leave no scars after a gentle and joyous passage-at-arms?

One of the most important securities for the liberties of England was accomplished at the revolution. In the declaration of rights it was maintained "That the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of parliament, is against law." An accidental occurrence gave a legislative shape to this doctrine, which from 1689 has been invariably adhered to. The English regiments which had served under James II. were not in a complacent humor toward his foreign successor. They looked with jealousy upon the Dutch guards that had attended William to Whitehall, and they took various occasions of manifesting their dislike to the new government. They prevented the people lighting bonfires at Cirencester when the king and queen were proclaimed. At Newbury and Abingdon they would not allow the town crier to say, "God bless King William and Queen Mary." "The old army is rather grown worse than mended," said a violent Whig. "I believe the black coats and the red coats to be the grievances of the nation."* This discontent took an alarming form. Under the treaty of Nimeguen, England promised succors to the States-General, in the event of France being at war with them. France had declared war. Troops in the service of England were ordered to embark for the continent. On the 15th of March it was announced in the House of Commons that Lord Dumbarton's regiment—composed chiefly of Scotchmen—had mustered at Ipswich, had seized the artillery, and had made proclamation of King James. The Commons immediately voted an address to the king, "to desire him to take effectual care to suppress the soldiers that are now in rebellion." The king quietly replied "that he had already appointed three regiments of dragoons, with orders to stop them and bring them to their duty." One of the most distinguished of the Dutch officers headed these troops. He came up with them near Sleaford, where, after a feeble show of resistance, they surrendered. They were marched up to London. They had been guilty of high treason, in levying war against the king, and a few were brought to trial at the county assizes for Suffolk. But no life was forfeited. The government acted with a judicious mercy; and this regiment, now the first of the line, served William faithfully in his hard campaigns. This occurrence produced the first Mutiny Bill. The preamble of the act sufficiently explains its necessity, and the caution with which the principle of a standing army, governed by martial law, was adopted: "Whereas the raising or keeping a standing army within this kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of parliament, is against law. And whereas it is judged necessary by their majesties and this present parliament, that during this time of danger several of the forces which are now on foot should be continued and others raised for the safety of the kingdom, for the common defence of the Protestant religion, and for the reducing of Ireland. And whereas no man may be forejudged of life or limb or subjected to any kind of punishment by martial law, or in any other manner than by the judgment of his peers and according to the known and established laws of this realm. Yet nevertheless it being requisite for retaining such forces as are or shall be raised during this exigence of affairs in their duty, an exact discipline be observed. And that soldiers who shall mutiny or stir up sedition, or shall desert their majesties' service be brought to a more exemplary and speedy punishment than the usual forms of law will allow."† The Mutiny Act was limited to a duration of six months. It was necessarily renewed again and again during the reign of William. A standing army became an integral part of the government of this country, whether during peace or during war. But parliament always held its effectual control over the executive, so as to prevent any abuse of military power, by never passing a mutiny bill for a longer term than a year. For one hundred and sixty-nine years the statute-book has continued to have its "act for punishing mutiny and desertion;" and in the act of the 21st of Victoria, as in the act of the 1st of William and Mary, it is still recited that the raising or keeping a standing army, unless it be with the consent of parliament, is against law; that a body of forces is necessary for the safety of the kingdom; that no man can be punished except by the laws of the realm; yet nevertheless, etc., etc. This act, now swollen to a hundred and seven clauses, is to continue in force for one year, at dates commencing and ending according to the distribution of the forces, whether in Great Britain or Ireland, or in the numerous stations in every region of the globe where the British flag now floats. Under the two constitutional principles, therefore, of an appropriation of the supply, and the passing of an annual mutiny bill, the power of the crown cannot be maintained without the co-ordinate power of parliament. The sovereign cannot raise an army or pay an army without the consent of parliament. The annual assembly of parliament is therefore absolutely essential to the conduct of the government; and if evil times should ever by possibility arise in which the crown and the parliament should be at issue, the maintenance of an army would be an act of pure despotism on the part of the executive power, only to be met by an equally unconstitutional assumption of executive power on the part of the legislature.

The position of the new government was necessarily a dangerous one. Triumphant as had been the first days of the revolution, it was inevitable, especially while there was a civil war in Ireland, and while Scotland was distracted by party strife, that plots should be formed in England for bringing back King James. William had notified to parliament that he had caused several persons to be apprehended, on credible information that they were conspiring against the government; and he asked for advice under the difficulty of his unwillingness to act against law on the one hand, or to suffer dangerous men to avail themselves of the privileges of the Habeas Corpus Act on the other hand. The Lords, in an excess of loyal devotion, recommended the king to take extraordinary care of the public safety, by securing all disaffected persons. The Commons, much more wisely, passed a bill for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act till the 17th of April. This act was twice renewed during the session.* If William thus thought it necessary to strengthen his hands against existing dangers, he desired, as all high-minded possessors of power in troublous times should desire, that in a great degree there should be oblivion for past political offences. The cruel chancellor Jeffries, the corrupt chief-justice Wright, other unjust judges and agents of despotism, were in confinement. Many who had been manifest enemies of public liberty dreaded that the day of retribution was at hand. "The hottest of the Whigs," according to Burnet, would not forward this honest design of the king. "They thought it best to keep many under the lash; they intended severe revenge for the blood that had been shed, and for the many unjust things that had been done in the end of King Charles's reign." They carried their opposition to the king by indirect means, rather than by sweeping exceptions to a general amnesty. "They proceeded so slowly in that matter that the bill could not be brought to ripeness during this session." The people admired the mildness of the king's temper. The factious politicians got up an imputation against him, that he desired "to make use of a set of prerogative men, as soon as he legally could."†

The terms of the coronation oath, which for many years in the memory of some living was a fatal stumbling-block in the great healing measure of Roman Catholic relief, were debated in the first parliament of William and Mary, as if the difficulty was foreseen that did arise under a very different condition of society. The ancient oath was declared to be "framed in doubtful words and expressions with relation to ancient laws and constitutions at this time unknown."‡ This part of the preamble of the act had especially reference to ecclesiastical laws. Those words of the new oath which were the subject of debate run thus: The archbishop or bishop is to ask the sovereign, "Will you to the utmost of your power maintain the laws of God, the free profession of the Gospel, and the Protestant reformed religion

* Howe, "Parliamentary History," vol. v. col. 137.
† 1 Gul. and Mar. c. 5.

* 1 Gul. and Mar. c. 2, c. 7, and c. 77.
† Burnet, "Own Time," vol. iv. p. 26. ‡ 1 Gul. & Mar. c. 6.

established by law?" And the sovereign promises so to do. It was moved "that the king in the oath swear to maintain the Protestant religion as it is or shall be established by law. Those who contended for the introduction of the words "shall be," among whom was Somers, were in a minority. They desired that no such construction should be put upon the words "is established by law," as should lead a conscientious ruler to imagine that he was to sanction no legislative change that might affect the existing condition of the Church. The historian of this period says: "Every person who has read these debates must be fully convinced that the statesmen who framed the coronation oath did not mean to bind the king in his legislative capacity." * It is indeed true that the apprehension that the words "established by law" would make the laws unalterable was felt as an absurdity by the soundest heads in that parliament. "Not able to alter laws as occasion requires!" indignantly exclaimed Sir Robert Cotton. They looked only to such alterations as might widen the limits of the Church by a liberal comprehension of Protestant dissenters. Sir George Treby seems, if we rightly understand his words, to have looked farther. "When we are dead and gone, all these debates will be in the air, and a greater scruple remain." † One greater scruple was that which harassed the mind of George III. Happily the question is set at rest by the common-sense of our own times.

The coronation of King William and Queen Mary took place on the 11th of April, according to the ancient ceremonials. The Archbishop of Canterbury was absent. The Bishop of London supplied his place. Burnet, now Bishop of Salisbury, preached, "with great applause," says Evelyn. The members of the lower house had especial places of honor; they were feasted in the exchequer chamber, and had each a gold coronation medal. The honest citizens rang their bells and made their bonfires. The Jacobites circulated their doggerel against "the dainty fine king;" and the Dutch guards who kept the ground were abused as foreign mercenaries. The House of Commons, two days after the coronation, went up with a congratulatory address to the king and queen. But eleven days later the house presented an address of far greater import—declaring that they would support the crown in a war against the French king. The seconder of the address maintained "that it is of absolute necessity to declare war against the most Christian Turk, who ravages all Christendom, and makes war more barbarously than the Turks themselves." To Louis was attributed, in the address, "the present invasion of the kingdom of Ireland, and supporting your majesty's rebellious subjects there." William, in his answer, said, "I look upon the war to be so much already declared by France against England that it is not so properly an act of choice as an inevitable necessity, in our defence." The spirit of the king leaped up at this hearty support of the Commons in the great contest for which he had been long preparing. He is reported to have exclaimed to one of his intimates, "This is the first day of my reign!"

CHAPTER CXXIII.

King James lands at Kinsale—Schemes of Tyrconnel—Condition of the Protestants in Ireland—James enters Dublin—Siege of Londonderry—The siege raised—The revolution in Scotland—The Highlanders—Dundee—Battle of Killiecrankie—Death of Dundee.

"WONDERFUL uncertainty where King James was, whether in France or Ireland," writes Evelyn on the 29th of March. James had landed at the port of Kinsale on the 12th of March. There was no uncertainty when, on the 22d, the House of Commons had voted a supply for six months "toward the reducing of Ireland," and a member of the government had said, "The French king has carried King James into Ireland." What then passed in parliament was very imperfectly known to the public. The debates, in the state in which they have come down to us, were merely the brief notes of members for their private use. Even the votes were unpublished. There was a great debate on a motion for printing the votes, on the 9th of March. From this debate it appeared that members were in the habit of communicating the results of their proceedings to the constituencies. "It will only save the gentlemen the trouble of writing to their corporations," said Sir Thomas Lee. "You are told," says Sir Henry Capel, "of the roll of the 9th of Henry IV.—that nothing is to be taken notice of in parliament but what you communicate to the king. At that time there were no coffee-houses and no printing. If you could keep your votes out of coffee-houses, and suppress the licentiousness of printing," you might oppose printing your votes, "otherwise you make secrets here of what all the world knows." There were men who had the sagacity to see that concealment only produced the propagation of falsehood. "I would not have L'Estrange and Nevil Payne," says Mr. Arnold, "write false news beyond sea. I desire the truth to be known, and am for printing the votes." * The house decided against the printing. The majority thought that the clerks of the house, who were suspected of sending the votes to coffee-houses, should be prevented from thus committing "a great crime," and that it was for the honor of the house not to print them. We can thus understand Mr. Evelyn's uncertainty in a world of contradictory rumors. In the midst of the popular ignorance of facts there was one consolation. They could freely abuse their rulers. "The new king being much blamed for neglecting Ireland, now liked to be ruined by the Lord Tyrconnel and his Popish party, too strong for the Protestants," writes Evelyn, in the hour of his uncertainty. The new king was betrayed, as he was doomed to be on many future occasions. The Prince of Orange, under the advice of Irish noblemen and gentlemen, had during the interregnum opened a negotiation with Tyrconnel. Richard Hamilton, the brother of that wit of the court of Charles II. who wrote the most profligate memoirs in the purest French, had come from Ireland to fight for King James against the Prince of Orange, but was chosen to return to Ireland to arrange with Tyrconnel to preserve Ireland for King William. The son of Sir William Temple gave a pledge that Hamilton would be faithful. Hamilton went to Tyrconnel and plotted with him how the Protestants could be best crushed, and James seated in Ireland as its papist king. The too sensitive young Temple, when he found that his friend had abused his confidence, drowned himself. "He was so deeply oppressed with grief that he plunged himself out of a boat into the Thames, laden with weights to sink him." † The schemes of Tyrconnel succeeded. He persuaded Lord Mountjoy to set out on a mission to James at St. Germain's, to represent to him "the moral impossibility of holding out against the power of England." He sent with him another envoy, Chief Baron Rice, "to give a quite different account to the king." Mountjoy was put into the Bastille. Tyrconnel had a clear course for his operations. "Accordingly this lord's back was no sooner turned but he began by degrees to pull off the mask. He caused all the Protestants in Dublin to surrender their arms; he began to augment the standing forces; and with as much prudence as dexterity soon put the kingdom in a tolerable state of defence." Such is the explanation of the alleged neglect, not given by a partisan of King William, but by the compiler of the life of James II. from his own memoirs. ‡

James had quitted France with this remarkable wish of the great monarch at their parting—"the best thing I can desire for you is never to see you back again." The munificent favors of Louis—his generous as well as politic honors to a fallen brother—the adulation of courtiers, who looked upon a king, however powerless, as a demi-god—these were to be exchanged for a doubtful struggle for a divided kingdom. Yet if James could maintain a position in Ireland, he might recover England. "If King James would quit his priests," said Danby, "he might still retrieve his affairs." § His prospects in Ireland were far from desperate; they were in many particulars encouraging. The Protestants who, from the time of the plantation of Ulster in the time of James I., had been gradually changing a wild and profitless country into a flourishing seat of trade and manufactures, had recovered the effects of the massacre of 1641. Cromwell had replaced them in security by the terror of his strong arm. They were again the dominant power; the native Irish were again a

* Macaulay, vol. iii. p. 117.

† "Parliamentary History," vol. v. col. 210.

* L'Estrange was the censor of the press under Charles II. and editor of the *Public Intelligencer*. Nevil Payne was an agent of James in Scotland, who was in correspondence with the English Jacobites.

† Alexander Cunningham, "History of Great Britain," vol. i. p. 126.

‡ "Life of James II.," vol. ii. p. 320.

§ Beresby's "Memoirs," p. 325.

subjected race. James II., out of no sense of equal justice to save the aboriginal people from the tyranny of the smaller number, had determined to depress the colonizers and subject them to the less regulated tyranny of that hatred of their race and their religion which animated the Celtic population. In two years Ireland, under the rule of Tyrconnel, was a kingdom in which the civil and military strength was almost wholly in the hands of Papists. The Protestant militia had been disarmed early in the reign of James. Tyrconnel's soldiers seized upon all arms in the possession of Protestant householders, who were alone qualified by law to carry weapons. James entered Ireland when all those likely to oppose him were thought to be naked and defenceless.

Before the revolution was completed in England the inhabitants of Enniskillen and Londonderry had received such warnings from the attitude of the Irish government, and the temper of the native population around them, that they prepared to defend themselves against the same sort of attack which Londonderry had successfully resisted in 1641. Enniskillen repelled the attempt to quarter popish soldiers in their little town. Londonderry secured its gates against the entrance of a similar force. Mountjoy, who was afterward betrayed into the mission to James, was well received at Londonderry, and left a Protestant garrison for their protection, under one of his officers, Lieutenant-Colonel Lundy. Before William and Mary had received the crown the whole Catholic population around the Protestants was preparing for rapine and revenge. The sovereigns of the revolution were, however, proclaimed by the stanch citizens of Londonderry and the small colony of Enniskillen, and they abided the issue without shrinking. The men of Londonderry relied upon Lundy, as governor, who had sent his adhesion to England, and had received from William and Mary a formal appointment to his command. Upon Hamilton, Tyrconnel had bestowed the reward of his treachery, by placing him at the head of a body of troops to bring the Protestants of Ulster to submission. These troops desolated the country, and the wretched inhabitants fled before them to Enniskillen and to Londonderry. The city, which had been founded by Englishmen upon the site of the old ruined city of Derry granted by James I. to the corporation of London, had become the chief refuge for many thousands, in addition to its usual inhabitants. Among those who had fled hither for succor was the rector of a neighboring parish, George Walker, whose name will always live in honored remembrance.

The king of the Roman Catholics entered Dublin on the 24th of March. Devoted soldiers lined the streets; the houses were hung with tapestry; his horse trod upon flowers and green leaves. He was met at the castle gate by the procession of the host, and he fell on his knees in adoration. Dispatches received from Hamilton, now a lieutenant-general, showed that there was work to do beyond that of pageants and congratulations. The king himself at length determined to go among the troops to encourage them, taking with him the French officers that had accompanied him to Ireland.* His march into Ulster commenced on the 13th of April. He travelled through a wasted country from which the inhabitants had fled, taking with them their movable goods. The position of James and his followers was disagreeable enough. It was determined to return to Dublin, and so they went back to Charlemont. But, says the Memoir, "the king received by an express a letter from the Duke of Berwick, in the name of all the general officers, as their opinion that, in case his majesty would return to the army, and but show himself before Derry, it would infallibly surrender."† James again changed his mind, and, setting out toward the obstinate city the next morning, overtook the French general Rosen within two miles of the place where his mere presence was to compel submission. The trumpeter sent by the king with a summons found the inhabitants "in very great disorder, having turned out their Governor Lundy, upon suspicion."‡ The cause of this unexpected reception was the presence of "one Walker, a minister." He was opposed to Lundy, who thought the place untenable, and counselled the townsmen to make conditions; "but the fierce minister of the gospel, being of the true Cromwellian or Cameronian stamp, inspired them with bolder resolutions."§ James finally left Hamilton and the French generals to work their will upon the besieged, and upon the people who had not the shelter of the beleaguered city, and he went back to Dublin to meet a parliament called for the 7th of May. We must finish this story of heroic bravery and more heroic fortitude, although the events which we shall thus attempt briefly to relate will detain us from other events of importance for more than three months of this busy year of 1689.

Lough Foyle, the inlet of the sea which flows between the counties of Derry and Donegal, extends from its narrow entrance at Magilligan Point for about sixteen miles, when it meets the river Foyle at Culmore. The river is navigable for ships of heavy burden to Londonderry, built by the colonists on the left bank. This city in 1689 was contained within the walls, and it rose by a gentle ascent from the base to the summit of a hill, on the highest point of which was its cathedral. The streets were regularly laid out, in lines running to four gates, from a square in the centre, in which the Town House and the Guard House were placed. The gradual ascent of the city thus exposed it to the fire of an enemy. The small bastions were insufficient for the defence of the curtain against a vigorous assault, and there was no moat nor counterscarp. A ferry crossed the Foyle from the east gate, and the north gate opened upon a quay. On the east bank of the Foyle were woods and groves, with sites of villages destroyed by the marauding soldiery. On the west bank, close to the strand, was a large orchard, which became a place of ambush. At the entrance of the Foyle was the strong fort of Culmore, with a smaller fort on the opposite bank. About two miles below the city were two forts—Charles Fort on the west bank, Grange Fort on the east.*

Lundy, the treacherous or perhaps panic-stricken governor, had persuaded Cunningham, the colonel who commanded two English regiments sent to assist in the defence of the place, to put his troops on board ship and sail away. The indignation of the English parliament was extreme when these troops returned home. Lundy's intention to surrender being manifest, the citizens, under the advice of their reverend champion, and of a more regular soldier, superseded the governor, and he was glad to escape in disguise. The battle now commenced in earnest. The Reverend George Walker and Major Baker were appointed governors during the siege. They mustered seven thousand and twenty soldiers, dividing them into regiments, under eight colonels. In the town there were about thirty thousand souls, but they were reduced to a less burdensome number by ten thousand accepting an offer of the besieging commander to restore them to their dwellings. There were, according to Lundy's estimation, only provisions for ten days. The number of cannon possessed by the besieged was only twenty. With such resources a protracted defence of Londonderry might well appear impossible. On the 20th of April the city was invested, and the bombardment was begun. A strong force was planted at Pennyburn Mill, to cut off the road from Culmore to the city, that fort then being in the hands of the Protestants. It was afterward lost. On the 21st the garrison made a sortie, and routed this force with considerable slaughter. Maumont, one of the French generals, fell by a musket-ball in this desperate sally. The bombardment went on with demi-culverins and mortars. No impression was made during nine days upon the determination to hold out; and on the 29th King James retraced his steps to Dublin, in considerable ill-humor. He gave vent to that petulance which had so often alienated his friends, by exclaiming, "If my army had been English they would have brought me the town, stone by stone, by this time."

The siege went on, amid bombardments and sorties, for six weeks, with little change. Hamilton was the commander of James's forces, in consequence of the death of Maumont; and another French officer, Persignan, who might have assisted Hamilton's inexperience, was mortally wounded in a sortie of the sixth of May. The garrison of Londonderry and the inhabitants were gradually perishing from fatigue and insufficient food. But they bravely repelled an assault, in which four hundred of the assailants fell. Of the relief which had been promised from England there were no tidings. This solitary city had to bear, as it would appear, the whole brunt of the great contest for the fate of three kingdoms. Large bodies of troops held the country on every side, keeping in awe the trembling and starving population, that could give no succor. No friendly ship

* "Life of James II.," vol. ii. p. 330; Own Memoirs.
† Ibid., p. 332. ‡ Ibid., p. 333. § Ibid., p. 334.

* Plan in Harris's "Life of William III.," p. 193.

could sail up the river without receiving the fire from hostile forts at its mouth and on its banks. No messenger could safely pass by land or by water to tell of the need there was for relief. The banks of the Foyle were lined with musketeers. The roads on the east and on the west were blocked by masses of troops. Across the narrow part of the river, from Charles Fort to Grange Fort, the enemy stretched a great boom of fir timber, joined by iron chains, and fastened on either shore by cables of a foot thick. On the 15th of June the anxious lookers-out from the high places of the city descried a fleet of thirty sail in the Lough. The English flag floated in the great estuary, but the deliverers came no nigher for weeks. Signals were given and answered; but the ships lay at anchor, as if to drive hope to despair. Provisions were now dealt out in quantities scarcely sufficient to sustain life, and fever and dysentery seized upon their hundreds of victims. Gunpowder was still left; but the cannon-balls were shot away, and the resolute men cast lead round brick-bats and fired the rough missiles upon the besiegers. At the end of June, Baker, one of the heroic governors, died. Hamilton had been superseded in his command by Rosen, when it was known in Dublin that an English fleet was in Lough Foyle. The prolonged resistance of two months by a city not fortified upon scientific principles was too humiliating for the Frenchman, who was reported to have dragooned the Protestants of Languedoc; and Rosen, who was invested with powers as "marshal-general of all his majesty's forces," issued a savage proclamation, declaring that unless the place were surrendered by the first of July he would collect all the Protestants from the neighboring districts, and drive them under the walls of the city to starve with those within the walls. This was not a vain threat. For thirty miles round the remnant of the population—the old man incapable of bearing arms, and the young wife with an infant at her breast—the children who lingered about their desolate homes, and the cripple who could fly nowhere for shelter—were driven in flocks toward the city where their friends were well-nigh perishing. Some dropped on the road; some were mercifully knocked on the head. A famished troop came thus beneath the walls of Londonderry, where they lay starving for three days. The besieged immediately erected a gallows within view of their enemies, and sent a message to their headquarters that priests might come in to prepare the prisoners within the city for death, for they would hang every man if their friends were not immediately dismissed. The threat had its effect, and the famished crowd wended back their way to their solitary villages. It is but justice to James to state that he expressed his displeasure at this proceeding, and wrote to Rosen: "It is positively our will that you do not put your project in execution as far as it regards the men, women, and children of whom you speak; but, on the contrary, that you send them back to their habitations without any injury to their persons."

Meanwhile the siege went on. Batteries were brought closer and closer to the city, and the firing was continued by day and night. At last a communication was effected with the fleet in the Lough. Major-General Kirk, the evil instrument of cruelty in the expedition against Monmouth, was now in the confidence of the new government. He it was who had come to the assistance of the besieged with men, arms, and provisions. He sent word by a little boy, who carried a letter in his garter—or in his button—that he found it impossible to get up the river; that he expected six thousand more men from England; and that then he would attack the besiegers by land. A doubtful hope. Famine was now doing its terrible work. The well-known substitutes for ordinary food, of horse-flesh and dog's-flesh, of rats, of hides, were fast failing. On the evening of the 30th of July Walker preached in the cathedral, exhorting his hearers still to persevere, for that God would at last deliver them from their difficulties. An hour after the sermon the lookers-out descried a movement in the Lough. Three vessels are sailing to the mouth of the Foyle. There are two merchantmen and a frigate. They are fired upon by the Culmore Fort and the New Fort. They return the fire. They are in the river. They are within a mile of the boom. They heed not the shots of the musketeers nor the guns of the Charles Fort and Grange Fort. And now the foremost of the merchant vessels is known by her build. She is the Mountjoy of Derry. She dashes at the boom. She breaks it, but she is driven ashore by the rebound. They are boarding. No. The frigate comes up and fires a broadside. The Mountjoy rights again. The three ships pass the boom safely. They are coming to the quay. We are saved. That night the four thousand three hundred of the garrison who, out of seven thousand four hundred, were left alive, feasted upon something better than the nine lean horses and a pint of meal for each man, that were left. Of the abundance that was landed at the quay amid the shouts of the brave defenders of Londonderry, there was enough to make every heart glad of that heroic population, who thus fought and who suffered for a great principle. Bonfires are lighted. Bells are rung. The fire of the besiegers is the next day continued. But at nightfall a smoke arises from their camp, as if from the huts which had given them shelter for three months. Another night of watchfulness for the besieged; and as the sun of the 1st of August glimmers over the waters of Lough Foyle, it is seen that Rosen, with his half-disciplined soldiers and his Rapparees, had marched away on the road to Strabane. Eight thousand of the besiegers had perished in this memorable struggle.*

At the period when Londonderry was saved the men of Enniskillen took the field, and won the decisive battle of Newton Butler. On the 29th of July, the day before the great boom of the Foyle was broken, two English colonels, Wolseley and Berry, who had been sent by Kirk with a supply of arms and ammunition, sailed up Lough Erne to the isle of Enniskillen with their welcome cargo, and landed amid the shouts of the people. Their arrival was very timely. A large force was advancing against Enniskillen under the command of Macarthy, Viscount Mountcashel. Wolseley and Berry went forth with three thousand men to meet the five thousand who were thus coming with a confidence of success; for the Duke of Berwick was to attack Enniskillen from another quarter. The hostile forces were in presence of each other on the 30th. The larger number began to retreat: the smaller followed. Macarthy's dragoons at last turned to face the bold yeomanry, who were advancing with the determination of men whose dearest interests were at issue in this deadly strife. The Celtic army was routed amid terrible butchery. As the besiegers of Londonderry halted on the 1st of August at Strabane they heard the news of this defeat. They became wholly disorganized, abandoning their stores and their sick and wounded. James was already out of heart. The king's intelligence from England assured him of a speedy invasion from thence. The length of the siege of Derry, the badness of the weather, the frequent sallies, the unwholesomeness of the place of encampment, "had in a manner destroyed the army, so that no service could be expected from it for a considerable time." Add to this, "My Lord Mountcashel entirely routed." Such were the griefs which, when Schomberg landed with an army on the 13th of August, "struck such a consternation among the generality as made them give up all for lost." †

We must revert to the close of the year 1688 to be able to present a rapid narrative of the course of the revolution in Scotland.

The attempt of James to dispense with the Test Act was as ill received in Scotland as in England. The Episcopalians suspected the motive; the moderate Presbyterians did not welcome his limited indulgence; the Cameronians spurned it, with a bitter hatred of their old oppressor and of all his evil instruments. But there was in Scotland that strong feeling of attachment to their own race of kings which would not very enthusiastically welcome their sudden and complete downfall. There was sure to be a struggle, however it might terminate, for the superiority of the Church of the minority established by law, and for the restoration of the Church of the majority proscribed and persecuted. Conflicting interests and passions were certain to be brought into more immediate and direct hostility than in the English revolution, in which an outrage upon the Church, with a view to the preponderance of Catholicism, united for a season the opposing principles of establishment and of dissent. In Scotland the government was wholly in the hands of those who had been the ministers of the intolerant tyranny of the king, and were the bitter enemies of those who clung to the Covenant. It was difficult

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* There are two original narratives of the siege of Londonderry, from which many of its incidents must be derived. One is, "A True Account of the Siege," by the famous George Walker, published in 1689. The other, published in 1690, is "A Narrative of the Siege," by John Mackenzie, a dissenting minister, who was chaplain to one of the regiments in the city. These accounts are condensed and compared in the "Life and Reign of William III.," by Walter Harris.

† "Life of James II.," vol. ii. p. 372. Original Memoirs.

to estimate what course events would take when the Prince of Orange landed in England. The Earl of Perth, the chancellor, had declared himself a Roman Catholic on the accession of James. When the Prince of Orange had landed the chancellor approached the Presbyterian ministers in Edinburgh with the statements of what King James had done for them, and how they ought to oppose the unnatural invasion of that good king's nephew. He was answered that the favors of the king had only for their object to ruin the Protestant religion. James fled, and then the terrified chancellor attempted to fly also; for, says he, "Blair came from Edinburgh, and told me that the king was gone into France, and that if I did not immediately get away I was a gone man." * The earl and his lady went on board a sloop, where the men used them "with all the barbarity Turks could have done;" and finally put them on shore "at the pier at Kirkcaldy, exposed to the mockery and hatred of the people." The mob of Edinburgh, on the 10th of December, had broken into the chapel of Holyrood House, which had been fitted up for the Roman Catholic service, had destroyed its decorations, and had committed the sacrilege of disturbing the graves of the old princes of Scotland. The rabble had been fired upon by Captain Wallace, who was in command of a party of soldiers at the palace; and the people of Kirkcaldy, says the Earl of Perth, "got into a tumult to have me immediately sent to Edinburgh; though the tide did not serve, and though they knew that at Edinburgh I should have been torn to pieces, for there they believed that Johnny Wallace was commanded by me to fire upon the people." † He was rescued from the furious multitude of Kirkcaldy, "who began to call for cords," and was conveyed to Stirling Castle, where he was detained as a prisoner for four years. Such was the temper of the people toward dignitaries at whose frown they had so lately trembled. The Episcopal clergy fared no better. The hatred of the Scottish Puritans against the observance of Christmas went far beyond the quarrel with mince-pie of the commonwealth Puritans. On the Christmas day of 1688, as if by universal agreement in the Western counties, the obnoxious ministers were, in the phrase of the day, "rabbled." Armed bodies of Covenanters terrified each clergyman in his manse, destroyed his furniture, gave him notice to quit, or turned him and his family out of their houses. They burned his prayer-book and they locked up his church. No lives were lost and no wounds were inflicted in these execrable outrages.

In such a temper of a long-oppressed people, William had issued his letters, as in England, for the assembly of a convention. In England the strictest regard was paid to the existing state of the representation. In Scotland the act of 1681, which compelled every elector to renounce the covenant, was superseded by William's authority, and lords were summoned who had been deprived of their seats in the recent times of tyrannical rule. Meanwhile, in the interval of two months before the convention was to assemble, furious passions were well-nigh leading to a state of public confusion. Edinburgh Castle was held for King James by the Duke of Gordon. The Whigs of Edinburgh and of the West were secretly arming. But each party was looking to the convention as the test of their political strength, and each prepared for a contest which should decide the future fortunes of Scotland. Nobles of each party were in London. The consistent opposers of the popish James flocked round the Prince of Orange at Whitehall. The most ardent supporters of the Stuart king were not driven from the new court. The Earl of Dundee, says Burnet, "had employed me to carry messages from him to the king, to know what security he might expect if he should go and live in Scotland without owning the government. The king said, if he would live peaceably, and at home, he would protect him; to this he answered that, unless he were forced to it, he would live quietly." William was pressed to proscribe the Claverhouse who had borne so hateful a part in the days of persecution; but he refused to make any exception to the general amnesty, by which he hoped to make Scotland in some degree a land of peace.

Viscount Dundee arrived at Edinburgh at the end of February, in company with the Earl of Balcarres. These noblemen were the confidential agents of James in Scotland; and from the day of their arrival the enemies of the revolution had a rallying-point. The Episcopal hierarchy were again full of hope that he they had called "the darling of Heaven" might be preserved and delivered by the mercy of God, by giving him the hearts of his subjects and the necks of his enemies.* Balcarres is an authority for some curious incidents of this crisis.† He and Dundee went to the Duke of Gordon to urge him to hold the castle of Edinburgh. They met "all the duke's furniture coming out;" but they made him promise to keep the fortress "until he saw what the convention would do." On the 14th of March the convention met. The Bishop of Edinburgh prayed for the safety and restoration of King James, without opposition. The heir of the attainted Argyle took his seat, with only one protest. The conquerors and the conquered stood face to face. But the real strength was soon discovered. The Duke of Hamilton had a majority of forty as president. Each party had put up a man that could not thoroughly be trusted. The Marquis of Athol was as loose a politician as his opponent. But they were the heads of powerful clans, and their rank and influence made them leaders of politicians who had as little honesty as themselves.

It was alleged against the Duke of Hamilton that he and other Western lords and gentlemen "had brought publicly into town several companies of foot, and quartered them in the city; besides great numbers that they kept hid in cellars and in houses below the ground, which never appeared until some days after the convention had begun." ‡ Dundee complained to Hamilton that information had come to his knowledge that he was to be assassinated. The allegation came before the convention on the 15th of March, and they took no concern in the matter. More important communications were to be laid before them. There was a letter to be read from King William in England, and a messenger had arrived with a letter from King James in France. The communication from King William had the precedence, by a decision of the majority. It was a mild and sensible document, exhorting to the laying aside of animosities and factions, and suggesting a union of the two nations, "living in the same island, having the same language, and the same common interest of religion and liberty." The letter of James was countersigned by the Earl of Melfort, a man execrated by all parties. It breathed no spirit of peace. "He," the king, "would pardon all such as should return to their duty before the last day of that month inclusive, and he would punish with the rigor of his laws all such as should stand out in rebellion against him or his authority." When the seal of that letter was broken the cause of James was felt to be lost. It was determined by Balcarres, Dundee, and a few other Tories, to leave the convention, and gather together at Stirling. Sunday intervened. They were to start on the next day. Difficulties arose, and then Dundee, in his impatience, resolved to set out alone. "Then," says Balcarres, "he went strait away with about fifty horse. As he was riding near the castle of Edinburgh, the Duke of Gordon made a sign to speak with him at the west side of the castle, where, though it be extremely steep, yet he told the duke all that was resolved upon, and begged that he would hold out the castle till the king's friends might get him released, which he positively promised to do." Dalrymple says that when Dundee galloped through the city, "being asked by one of his friends who stopped him, 'where he was going,' he waved his hat, and is reported to have answered, 'wherever the spirit of Montrose shall direct me.'"

> "The Gordon demands of him which way he goes—
> Where'er shall direct me the shade of Montrose—
> Your grace in short space shall hear tidings of me,
> Or that low lies the bonnet of bonny Dundee." §

The Duke of Hamilton caused the doors of the convention to be locked. The drums were beat in the streets. The Western Whigs came forth from their hiding-places. "There was never so miserable a parcel seen," says Balcarres. Nevertheless, the notion of a rival convention at Stirling was at an end; and Dundee went his own course, to redeem, by his death in the hour of victory, some of the odium which, in spite of the romance of history, must always attach to the realities of his cruel and fanatical life. For he, a hater of fanatics, was among the worst who have borne that name—one of

* "Letters from James, Earl of Perth," 1845, p. 1.
† Ibid., p. 5.

* Address to James, November 3d, 1688.
† "Account of the Affairs of Scotland relating to the Revolution in 1688, as sent to the late King James II., when in France," 1714.
‡ Ibid.
§ Scott, "The Doom of Devorgoil."

"those exploded fanatics of slavery, who formerly maintained what no creature now maintains, that the crown is held by divine, hereditary, and indefeasible right"*—one who, in the maintenance of this creed, divested himself of the ordinary attributes of humanity, to be as callous as an inquisitor, and as remorseless as a buccaneer. Disappointed in their scheme, the only thing, says Balcarres to James, that could be thought of by all your friends, "was to engage the Duke of Gordon to fire upon the town, which certainly would have broke up the convention." The duke was wiser. "He absolutely refused to do anything but defend himself until he had your majesty's order."

The convention now went fearlessly to work in the settlement of the kingdom. After long debates the house came to a resolution, which was embodied into an act. "The estates of the kingdom of Scotland find and declare that King James VII., being a professed papist, did assume the royal power, and acted as a king, without ever taking the oath required by law, and had, by the advice of evil and wicked counsellors, invaded the fundamental constitution of this kingdom, and altered it from a legal and limited monarchy to an arbitrary and despotic power; and had governed the same to the subversion of the Protestant religion, and violation of the laws and liberties of the nation, inverting all the ends of government; whereby he had forefaulted the crown, and the throne was become vacant."† An act was also passed for settling the crown of Scotland upon William and Mary. On the day that the king and queen were crowned in England they were proclaimed king and queen in Scotland. Commissioners were appointed from the convention to proceed to London, to invest their majesties with the government. They—the Earl of Argyle, Sir James Montgomery, and Sir John Dalrymple—were introduced at the Banqueting House on the 17th of May. Argyle tendered the coronation oath, which concluded with this clause, "that they would be careful to root out all heretics and enemies to the true worship of God." Upon this William declared that "he did not mean by these words that he was under any obligation to be a persecutor." The commissioners replied that "neither the meaning of the oath nor the law of Scotland did import it." "I take the oath in that sense," said William. In the claim of rights which the convention had prepared it was set forth "that prelacy, and superiority of an office in the Church above presbyters, is and has been a great and insupportable burden to this nation, and contrary to the inclinations of the generality of the people ever since the Reformation, they having reformed popery by presbytery, and therefore ought to be abolished."

When Dundee, with his fifty horsemen, who had deserted from the regiment in England, which he once commanded, had left the castle of Edinburgh far behind him, he scarcely then paused to think whither the spirit of Montrose would direct him. He retired to his country house in Forfar. He would probably have remained there unmolested by the new government; and he, as well as Balcarres, might have thought it most politic to continue quiet for a while. An agent of James arrived from Ireland, with letters recommending that nothing should be done till further orders; and Melfort, by the same messenger, wrote to Balcarres and Dundee. The letters fell into the hands of the dominant party in the convention. Balcarres was arrested. Dundee had put the Tay between himself and his unfriends, "and having a good party of his own regiment constantly with him, they found it not so safe to apprehend him." Balcarres was brought before the convention, and the letters of Melfort to him were read. In one, says Balcarres, "he expressed himself much after this manner: That he wished some had been cut off that he and I spoke about, and then things had never come to the pass they were at; but when we get the power again, such should be hewers of wood and drawers of water." Balcarres adds, addressing the king, that although he had never made any such proposition as that at which Melfort hinted, "nothing could have been more to the prejudice of your affairs, nor for my ruin, than this, which did show that nothing but cruelty would be used, if ever your majesty returned." When the order was given to arrest Dundee, he quitted his house with a few retainers, and was soon at the head of a body of Highlanders.

In the most picturesque history in our language there are no passages more picturesque than those in which the eloquent writer describes the Highlanders of this period.* He has produced his likeness of the Gael "by the help of two portraits, of which one is a coarse caricature, and the other a masterpiece of flattery." The caricature was produced out of the prejudices which existed up to the middle of the last century; the flattery has been created by poetry and romance in our own time. "While the old Gaelic institutions were in full vigor, no account of them was given by any observer qualified to judge of them fairly."† We venture to think that there is one account, not indeed very full or very striking, which contains many traits which appear to be the result of observation, and which are not distorted by any violent prejudice. Alexander Cunningham, who left a manuscript history of Great Britain from the revolution to the accession of George I., written in Latin,‡ was a native of Scotland, who is supposed to have been in Holland in 1688, and is held by his biographer to have been chosen by Archibald, Earl of Argyle, to be travelling tutor to his son, Lord Lorne. His position would naturally give him an interest in the state of the highlands, and would probably enable him to describe the people from personal observation. "The Scotch Highlanders," he says, "a race of warriors who fight by instinct, are a different people from the Lowlanders, of different manners and a different language." This may appear a trite observation to set out with; but it was the case then, as it was much more recently with many, that "by most Englishmen, Scotchman and Highlander were regarded as synonymous words."§ Cunningham goes on to say, "Though of a very ready wit, they are utterly unacquainted with arts and discipline; for which reason they are less addicted to husbandry than to arms, in which they are exercised by daily quarrels with one another."‖ The hostilities of clans was the great moving principle in every Highland adoption of a public quarrel, as we have seen in the career of Montrose and of Argyle. It was the principle upon which Dundee relied when he hurried to the clans who were in arms for a private quarrel at Inverness. But the cause of King James had a hold upon their affections beyond their desire to encounter the hostile chiefs who were the supporters of King William. They knew nothing of the political and religious grounds of difference. The causes of the great revolution of England were to them unknown and uncared for. It was enough that "their minds, roused by the remembrance of former times, were easily drawn over by the Viscount of Dundee, who was of the family of Montrose, to the interest of King James. They firmly believe that the ancient kings of Scotland were descended from them, and wore the very same dress which they now wear; and therefore they were easily persuaded that King James was of their own blood, and, by a kind of divine right, entitled to the crown."¶ Their hardihood, under exposure to cold and wet, their habitual exercise, their predatory excursions, are noticed by this historian. "Being in general poorly provided for, they are apt to covet other men's goods; nor are they taught by any laws to distinguish with great accuracy their own property from that of other people. They are not ashamed of the gallows; nay, they pay a religious respect to a fortunate plunderer."** Scott says that a foray was so far from being held disgraceful that a young chief was expected to show his talents for command by heading a plundering expedition.†† To their chief "the common people adhere with the utmost fidelity, by whose right hand they are wont to swear."‡‡ Dundee knew the qualities of the race that he was going to lead against the regular troops of the new government. Their peculiar character and organization were favorable for a dashing enterprise. They were perhaps most to be feared in the hour of success. "In battle, the point to which they bend their utmost efforts, and which they are most anxious to carry, is their enemy's baggage. If that once falls into their hands, disregarding all discipline and oaths, and leaving their colors, home they run."§§

The clan which Dundee joined at Inverness had for its chief Mac-Donald of Keppoch. This pugnacious warrior had recently won a

* Burke, "French Revolution."

† "Others were for making use of an obsolete word, *forefaulting*, used for a bird's forsaking her nest."—Balcarres.

* Macaulay's "History," vol. iii. c. xiii.

† Ibid., p. 304.

‡ Translated by Thomas Hollinbury, D.D., 1788.

§ Macaulay, vol. iii. p. 312.

‖ Cunningham, vol. i. p. 120.

¶ Ibid., p. 122.

** Ibid., p. 121.

†† Notes to "Lady of the Lake."

‡‡ "No oath, but by his chieftain's hand." "Lady of the Lake," canto iii.

§§ Cunningham, vol. i. p. 122.

battle against MacIntosh of Moy; and he was now about to harry the Saxon shopkeepers of Inverness for having taken part against his clan. In Inverness there was "sneezing," and sugar, and aqua-vitæ. He had recently been opposed to the soldiers of King James, who, under the direction of the privy council, had gone forth with letters of fire and sword to waste and kill in the country of MacDonald of Keppoch. When Dundee arrived, the chief thought less of the injuries which he had sustained from the government of King James than of the glorious opportunity of plunder in a fight against the government of King William. A goat was slain, a fire was kindled, the points of a small wooden cross were seared in the flame, and then the sparks were extinguished in the blood of the goat. "Their religion is partly taken from the Druids, partly from Papists, and partly from Protestants," says Cunningham. In the ceremony of preparing the fiery cross we may readily trace the pagan as well as the popish element. MacDonald of Keppoch sent the fiery cross through his district. It was the signal for arming and assembling at a given place of rendezvous. It was handed on by one swift messenger after another through the country of Keppoch's allies and friends. The name of the Graham was sufficient to arm all those who hated the Campbell. The deeds of Montrose were the favorite themes of the bards; and now another Graham was come to lead the clans near Inverary, who had thrown off their submission to Argyle, against another Argyle, who might again reduce them to their old condition of dependence. Dundee first surprised the town of Perth, seizing the public treasure, dispersed two troops of horse, and then entered into the Highlands to wait the arrival of aid from Ireland. The clans gathered around him in Lochaber, all eager to fight for the cause which had the Mac Cullum More for its enemy.

During the month of June active operations in the Highlands were suspended. But in the mean time Edinburgh Castle was surrendered by the Duke of Gordon. General Mackay had taken the command of the army in Scotland. "He was one of the best officers of the age, when he had nothing to do but to obey and execute orders; for he was both diligent, obliging, and brave; but he was not so fitted for command. His piety made him too apt to mistrust his own sense, and to be too tender, or rather fearful, in anything where there might be a needless effusion of blood." * To shed blood needlessly is the greatest opprobrium of a commander. To mistrust himself in the fear of unavoidable slaughter is to produce a more fatal effusion of blood. It is not piety which produces such mistrust. Whether Mackay, the bravest of the brave, was open to this covert reproach, does not appear in the narratives of his conduct of the battle of Killiecrankie. Dundee had learned that the Marquis of Athol, who had decided to take part with the ruling powers, had sent his son, Lord Murray, into Athol to raise the clans, but that his own castle of Blair had been held against him, and that a large number of his clan had quitted the standard of the marquis. He had also learned that Mackay was advancing to reduce Blair Castle, a post most important as the key of the northern Highlands. Dundee had received three hundred Irish troops from Ulster, and he had collected again about three thousand Highlanders, who had been allowed to leave Lochaber for their own glens. Mackay was approaching Blair Castle, out of Perthshire. Dundee arrived there on the 27th of July. Mackay was advancing up the pass of Killiecrankie. On one hand of the narrow defile was the river Garry, rushing below the difficult ascent. On the other side were rocks and wooded mountains. One laden horse and two or three men abreast would fill the roadway. In this defile the passage of Mackay might have been effectually resisted. Dundee chose to wait for his enemy till he had reached the open valley at the extremity of the pass. The troops were resting when the alarm was given that the Highlanders were at hand. From the hills a cloud of bonnets and plaids swept into the plain, and the regular soldier was face to face with the clansman—"Veterans practised in war's game" on one side, "shepherds and herdsmen" on the other.* There had been firing from each for several hours. It was seven o'clock before Dundee gave the word for action. Unplaided and unsocked the Highlanders rushed upon the red soldier. They threw away their firelocks after a volley or two, raised their war-yell, amid the shriek of the bagpipes, and darted upon Mackay's line. A few minutes of struggle, and then a headlong flight down the pass. What the poet calls "the precept and the pedantry of cold mechanic battle" could not stand up against the rush of enemies as strange as the mounted Spaniard was to the Peruvian. The slaughter was terrible, as the Saxons fled through the gorge, with the Celts hewing and slaying amid a feeble resistance. But there were no final results of the victory of Killiecrankie. The Highlanders did not follow up their success, for they were busy with the booty of the field; and Dundee had fallen. He was leading a charge of his small band of cavalry, and was waving his arm for his men to come on, when a musket-ball struck him in the part thus exposed by the opening of his cuirass. He fell from his horse, and, after a few sentences, "word spake never more." † There was terror in Edinburgh when it was known that Mackay had been defeated. There was hope when the news came that Dundee had fallen. The Highlanders went back to their mountains laden with plunder. In London there was necessarily alarm. "But when the account of Dundee's death was known the whole city appeared full of joy; and the king's enemies, who had secretly furnished themselves with arms, now laid aside all thoughts of using them." ‡ The over-sanguine hopes of the enterprise of Dundee among the followers of King James are thus expressed in a lament for his death: "Had he lived, there was little doubt but he had soon established the king's authority in Scotland, prevented the Prince of Orange going or sending an army into Ireland, and put his majesty in a fair way of regaining England itself." § Certainly not, while the real intentions of James toward Scotland and England continued to ooze out, as they were sure to do. Balcarres, in his account to King James of the affairs of Scotland, has this anecdote of the characteristic Stuart policy: "Next day after the fight, an officer riding by the place where my Lord Dundee fell found lying there a bundle of papers and commissions which he had about him. Those who stripped him thought them of but small concern, so they left them there lying. This officer a little after did show them to several of your friends, among which there was one paper did no small prejudice to your affairs, and would have done much more had it not been carefully suppressed. It was a letter of the Earl of Melfort's to my Lord Dundee, when he sent him over your majesty's declaration, in which was contained not only an indemnity but a toleration for all persuasions. This the Earl of Melfort believed would be shocking to Dundee, considering his hatred to fanatics; for he writes that, notwithstanding of what was promised in your declaration, indemnity and indulgence, yet he had couched things so that you would break them when you pleased; nor would you think yourself obliged to stand to them."

* Burnet, vol. iv. p. 47.

* Wordsworth.

† The letter that it is pretended he wrote to King James is a transparent forgery.

‡ Cunningham, p. 123. § "Life of James II.," vol. ii. p. 352.

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